BULLIET CROSSLEY HEADRICK HIRSCH JOHNSON NORTHRUP

THE EARTH AND ITS PEOPLES

A GLOBAL HISTORY

BRIEF EDITION

WITH THE RAND MCNALLY HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE WORLD

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THE EARTH AND ITS PEOPLES

A GLOBAL HISTORY

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BRIEF EDITION
by Richard W. Bulliet, Pamely Kyle Crossley, Daniel R. Headrick, Steven W. Hirsch,
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PREFACE

History is not easy. We met in a conference room at Houghton Mifflin: six professional historians seated around a table hammering out our ideas on what a global history textbook at the start of a new millennium should be. Together we brought to the project a high level of knowledge about Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe, the Middle East. We argued; we made up over dinner; we debated some more.

But there was no short cut. Though not by nature contentious people, we were determined to write the best global history we could. And that necessarily meant testing ideas aloud; considering alternatives put forward by smart, articulate colleagues; and bargaining over what to include and what, with regret, to pass over. We believe the result was worth the sweat.

We have been very pleased with the reception of our text in world history classrooms. We have also been made aware of the need for a brief edition. Some professors prefer briefer editions in order to assign more primary sources while others merely do not have time to cover all the material contained in a full edition text. As a result we have created this brief edition of *The Earth and Its Peoples* in collaboration with an editor and freelance writer, Margaret Manos. Our primary goal was to maintain the central theme of "technology and the environment" while editing the text to two-thirds of its original size. As any author knows, cutting words can be even harder than writing them in the first place, and we are indebted to Margaret for her intelligent and objective editorial eye, which led us to conclusions that ultimately resulted in this brief version.

As with the full edition our goal was to write a textbook that would not only speak for the past but speak to today's student and today's teacher. By the time a class has completed it, students and instructor alike should have a strong sense that the history of the human species, throughout the globe, follows a particular trajectory: from sparse and disconnected communities reacting creatively to their individual circumstances; through ever more intensive stages of contact, interpenetration, and cultural expansion and amalgamation; to a twenty-first century world situation in which people increasingly visualize a single global community.

The keynote of this book is not progress but process: a steady process of change over time, at first differently experienced in various regions of the world but eventually entangling peoples from all parts of the globe. Students should come away from this book with a sense that the problems and promises of their world are rooted in a past in which people of every sort, in every part of the world, confronted similar problems and coped with them as best they could. We believe our efforts will help students see where their world has come from and learn thereby something useful for their own lives.

Central Theme

We have subtitled *The Earth and Its Peoples* "A Global History" because the book explores the common challenges and experiences that unite the human past. Although the dispersal of early humans to every livable environment resulted in myriad economic, social, political, and cultural systems, all societies displayed analogous patterns in meeting their needs and exploiting their environments. Our challenge was to select the particular data and episodes that would best illuminate these global patterns of human experience.

To meet this challenge, we adopted "technology and environment" as our central theme to serve as the spinal cord of the text. We felt it represented the commonplace bases of all human societies at all times and granted no special favor to any cultural or social group even as it embraced subjects of the broadest topical, chronological, and geographical range.

It is vital for students to understand that technology, in the broad sense of experience-based knowledge of the physical world, underlies all human activity. Writing is a technology, but so is oral transmission from generation to generation of lore about medicinal or poisonous plants. The magnetic compass is a navigational technology, but so is the Polynesian mariners' hard-won knowledge of winds, currents, and tides that made possible the settlement of the Pacific islands.

All technological development, moreover, has come about in interaction with environments, both physical and human, and has, in turn, affected those environments. At the most basic level, concern with technology and the environment arises from the reality that all humans must eat. Yet less material cultural attainments are encompassed as well. Quite apart from such facilitating technologies as writing, papermaking, and printing, philosophies and religions have started from and sought to explain real world phenomena. Cultural achievements reflect changing understandings of human relations to one another and to the world. Thus they belong in this book, evidence of the technology and environment theme as a constant in human society and a solid basis for comparing different times, places, and communities.

Organization

The Earth and Its Peoples uses eight broad chronological divisions to define its conceptual scheme of global historical development. In **Part One: The Emergence of Human Communities, to 600 B.C.E.**, we examine important patterns of human communal organization. Though scarcity of written sources limits what we know about the world's first societies, the evolution of their technologies tells us much about gender relations, specialization of work activities, and patterns of everyday life—in short, about the growing complexity of human communities.

Part Two: The Formation of New Cultural Communities, 1000 B.C.E.–500 C.E., introduces the concept of a "cultural community," in the sense of a coherent pattern of activities and symbols pertaining to a specific human community. While all communities have distinctive cultures, the advances and conquests of some communities in this period magnified the geographical and historical imprint of their cultures.

Part Three: Growth and Interaction of Cultural Communities, 300–1200, deals with early episodes of technological, social, and cultural exchange and interaction on a continental scale outside the framework of imperial expansion. These are so different from earlier interactions arising from conquest or extension of political boundaries that they constitute a distinct era in world history, an era that set the world on the path of increasing global interaction and interdependence that it has been following ever since.

In **Part Four: Interregional Patterns of Culture and Contact, 1200–1500**, we take a look at the world during three centuries that saw both intensified cultural and commercial contact and increasingly confident self-definition of cultural communities in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Part Five: The Globe Encompassed, 1500–1800, treats a period dominated by the global effects of European expansion and continued economic growth. The contrasting capacities and fortunes of land empires and maritime empires, along with the exchange of domestic plants and animals between the hemispheres, underline the technological and environmental dimensions of this first era of complete global interaction.

In **Part Six: Revolutions Reshape the World, 1750–1870**, the word *revolution* is used in three senses: in the political sense of governmental overthrow, as in France and the Americas; in the metaphorical sense of radical transformative change, as in the Industrial Revolution; and in the broadest sense of a profound change in circumstances and world-view, as in the abolitionist movement.

Technology and environment lie at the core of these developments. With the ascendancy of the

Western belief that science and technology could overcome all challenges, environmental or otherwise, technology became not only an instrument of transformation but also an instrument of domination, threatening the integrity and autonomy of cultural traditions in nonindustrial lands.

Part Seven: Global Dominance and Diversity, 1850–1945, examines the development of a world arena in which people conceived of events on a global scale. Imperialism, world war, international economic connections, and world-encompassing ideological forces, like nationalism and socialism, present the picture of an increasingly interconnected globe. European dominance took on a worldwide dimension, at times seeming to threaten permanent subordination to European values and philosophies while at other times triggering strong political or cultural resistance.

For **Part Eight: The Perils and Promises of a Global Community, 1945 to the Present**, we chose a thematic structure in keeping with how many people perceive the past half century.

In a world contest for resources, the difference between growth and prosperity or overpopulation and poverty often hinged on technological and environmental factors, such as the development of high-yielding strains of rice and other crops. Yet even as the world faced the prospect of deepening gulfs between its rich and its poor regions, technological development simultaneously brought its peoples into closer contact than ever before.

Distinctive Features

To keep the technology and environment theme and the structural linkage between the parts clear, each part begins with an opening essay that sets the following chapters into the broad context of the book as a whole.

"Environment and Technology" boxes in alternating chapters further emphasize our central theme. Each feature expands on a particular topic in technological history—for example, ancient textiles and dyes, castles and fortifications, writing systems, Copernican astronomy, whaling, and compact disks.

"Voices and Visions" features likewise accompany alternate chapters. These consist of excerpts from primary written, or occasionally visual, sources. While encouraging close study of historical evidence, they also enhance our narrative by giving clear voice to an array of individual viewpoints and cultural outlooks. Slavery in different periods and places receives attention, for example, as does Tamil culture, society in Colonial Mexico, revolutionary art, a Nigerian woman's recollection of her childhood at the turn of the twentieth century, and China's family planning needs. Questions designed to stimulate critical interpretation of primary sources close each "Voices and Visions" feature.

Each chapter opens with a thematic introduction intended to engage the reader's interest while previewing what will follow. Maps and illustrations serve to reinforce and complement, not merely ornament, surrounding discussion, while charts and timelines help to organize and review major developments. Careful chapter conclusions draw together major topics and themes and link the present chapter to the one that follows. An annotated list of Suggested Reading at the end of each chapter contains up-to-date references to help students pursue their interests.

For further assistance, *The Earth and Its Peoples*, Brief Edition is issued in two formats to accommodate different academic calendars and approaches to the course. There is a one-volume paperback version containing all 29 chapters, along with a two-volume paperback edition: Volume I, To 1500 (Chapters 1–13), and Volume II, Since 1500 (Chapters 14–29).

At the end of each volume, an extensive pronunciation guide shows the reader how to pronounce the many foreign terms and names necessary to a book of this scope.

Supplements

We have assembled an array of text supplements to aid students in learning and instructors in teaching. These supplements, including an *Instructor's Resource Manual, Test Items, Computerized Test Items*, an interactive map CD-ROM, an Internet Study Guide on Houghton Mifflin's @history web site, and *Map Transparencies*, are tied closely to the text, to provide a tightly integrated program of teaching and learning.

The *Instructor's Resource Manual*, prepared by John Reisbord, provides useful teaching strategies for the global history course and tips for getting the most out of the text. Each chapter contains instructional objectives, a detailed chapter outline, discussion questions, individual learning activities, and audio-visual resources.

Each chapter of the *Test Items*, written by John Reisbord (Ph.D. Northwestern University), offers 14 to 16 key-term identifications, 4 to 6 essay questions with answer guidelines, 24 to 26 multiple-choice questions, and 2 to 3 history and geography exercises. We also provide a computerized version of the *Test Items*, to enable instructors to alter, replace, or add questions.

A new CD-ROM, GeoQuest World, features thirty interactive maps that demonstrate for students the connection between history and geography from ancient times to the present. Each map is accompanied by exercises with answers and essay questions. Four different types of interactivity allow students to move at their own pace through each section.

In addition Houghton Mifflin's @history web site provides text-based materials including primary sources, text specific self-tests, and gateways to relevant history sites.

A set of *Transparencies* of all the maps in the text is available on adoption.

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NOTE ON SPELLING AND USAGE

Where necessary for clarity, dates are followed by the letters C.E. or B.C.E. C.E. stands for "Common Era" and is equivalent to A.D. (*Anno Domini,* Latin for "in the year of the Lord"). B.C.E. stands for "Before the Common Era" and means the same as B.C. ("Before Christ"). In keeping with their goal of approaching world history without special concentration on one culture or another, the authors chose these neutral abbreviations as appropriate to their enterprise. Because many readers will be more familiar with English than with metric measurements, however, units of measure are generally given in the English system, with metric equivalents following in parentheses.

In general, Chinese has been romanized according to the *pinyin* method. Exceptions include proper names well established in English (e.g., Canton, Chiang Kai-shek) and a few English words borrowed from Chinese (e.g., kowtow). Spellings of Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Mongolian, Manchu, Japanese, and Korean names and terms avoid special diacritical marks for letters that are pronounced only slightly differently in English. An apostrophe is used to indicate when two Chinese syllables are pronounced separately (e.g., Chang'an).

For words transliterated from languages that use the Arabic script—Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Urdu—the apostrophe indicates that separately pronounced syllables may represent either of two special consonants, the *hamza* or the *ain*. Because most English speakers do not hear the distinction between these two, they have not been distinguished in transliteration, and they are not indicated when they occur at the beginning or end of a word. As with Chinese, some words and commonly used placenames from these languages are given familiar English spellings (e.g., Quran instead of Qur'an, Cairo instead of al-Qahira). Arabic romanization has normally been used for terms relating to Islam, even where the context justifies slightly different Turkish or Persian forms, again for ease of comprehension.

There is lively scholarly debate on how best to render Amerindian words in English letters. Nahuatl and Yacatec Maya words and placenames are given in familiar, conventional forms that some linguists now challenge. Thus terms like Tenochtitlán and Chichén Itzá contain accented vowels, contrary to some scholarly recommendations. Similarly, like most North American historians, we have not followed recent proposals for a new system of transliterating Aymara and Quechua words from the Andean region. Thus we retain Inca instead of Inka and *quipu* instead of *khipu*.

To help clarify placenames that have changed over time, the modern form of the name is often put in parentheses after the form appropriate to the period of history under discussion. Thus, Annam, an ancestor state of Vietnam, is referred to as such where appropriate historically, with its relationship to modern Vietnam noted in parentheses. In some cases, consideration of the reader has demanded careful anachronisms (e.g., "Inner China" and "Outer China" in discussion of the early history of territories that only much later became part of empires based in China, and eventually of China itself). Anachronisms of this sort are explained in the text.

The Earth and Its Peoples:

A Global History

Brief Edition

PART ONE

The Emergence of Human Communities, to 600 B.C.E.

In the first part of *The Earth and Its Peoples* we examine two aspects of the earliest human interactions with the natural world: how environmental forces affected humans' physical evolution and how evolving humans gradually devised tools and acquired technical knowledge that enabled them to reshape environments to meet their needs. These chapters also detail how the movement of humans across the planet gave rise to cultural differences in language, customs, and beliefs and how the development of increasingly complex societies led to social distinctions based on occupation and status as well as on gender and age.

An unusually cool climate dominated the long era during which human beings first appeared on the earth. During this "Great Ice Age," which lasted until about 10,000 years ago, the pace of change in human development was glacially slow. Like other creatures, members of the human genus *Homo* evolved physically in ways that improved their chances for survival.

During the late millennia of the Ice Age, a unique capacity for cultural change gave humans a survival strategy that unfolded more quickly and more easily than physical evolution. As humans gradually evolved physically, their mental capacities enabled them to devise new tools and strategies for adapting to various environmental situations. Researchers call the expanse of time from 2 million years ago to 5,000 years ago the "Stone Age" after the earliest tools. Those tools and learning ability enabled humans to fan out to the far reaches of the planet. Wherever they went, they learned how to hunt local animals, gather native plants for food, make clothing, and build dwellings from materials at hand. They also used their mental powers to develop languages, create works of art, and speculate about the meaning of life.

When the Ice Age ended and warmer temperatures returned, humanity entered a new stage in its relationship with nature. People began to cultivate edible plants and to domesticate animals such as wild cattle, pigs, and water buffalo. In arid lands people depended on herds of domesticated animals for their livelihood—a way of life known as *pastoralism*. In places with abundant water, people established permanent communities where they cultivated food crops. A series of "agricultural revolutions" in Eurasia, Africa, and the Americas between 10,000 and 5,500 years ago supported a steady rise in populations. Some agricultural settlements grew into towns and cities.

The growth and concentration of population intensified humans' manipulation of the environment around 3500 B.C.E. (Before the Common Era)—that is, some fifty-five hundred years ago. In the floodplains of great river valleys in Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and, later, China, communities constructed complex systems of irrigation to increase crop yields. Under the direction of powerful rulers, they built cities distinguished by monumental buildings, and they waged war to defend and extend their territories.

One of the striking changes apparent in these river-valley civilizations was social stratification—the emergence of a class structure. At the top were powerful and wealthy kings who directed and controlled the lives of ordinary people, defending them from invaders, collecting taxes, and issuing and enforcing laws. Priests, who headed the state religion, were another exalted class. They performed religious rites, offered sacrifices to the gods, and conducted public festivals. At the bottom of the social ladder were the people conquered and enslaved in the course of frequent wars. In general, women seem to have lost standing to men as the social hierarchies of these civilizations emerged.

Striking changes also appeared in the material culture of the river-valley civilizations, especially in architecture, writing, and recordkeeping. Stone became an important construction material. The development of tools made of bronze (an alloy of copper and tin) enabled builders to shape building stones with exquisite care. Just as the characteristic stone tools gave their name to the "Stone Age," so the "Bronze Age," beginning about 3500 B.C.E., was named for its key technology.

Writing was invented, and specially trained writing specialists—scribes—kept track of the collection of taxes, recorded royal laws, and memorialized military victories and other royal achievements. Temple scribes began to record myths and other religious lore.

Technology

2,000,000 B.C.E.—Stone tools (Africa)
1,000,000 B.C.E.—Controlled use of fire (Africa)
ca. 10,500 B.C.E.—First pottery in China
9000 B.C.E.—Domestication of animals and plants
7000 B.C.E.—Early metalworking (Middle East)
4000 B.C.E.—Bronze casting (Middle East)
3500 B.C.E.—Invention of wheel and plow (Mesopotamia)
3100 B.C.E.—First writing (Sumer)
3000 B.C.E.—Domestication of the camel (Arabia)
2500 B.C.E.—Domestication of the horse (Central Asia)

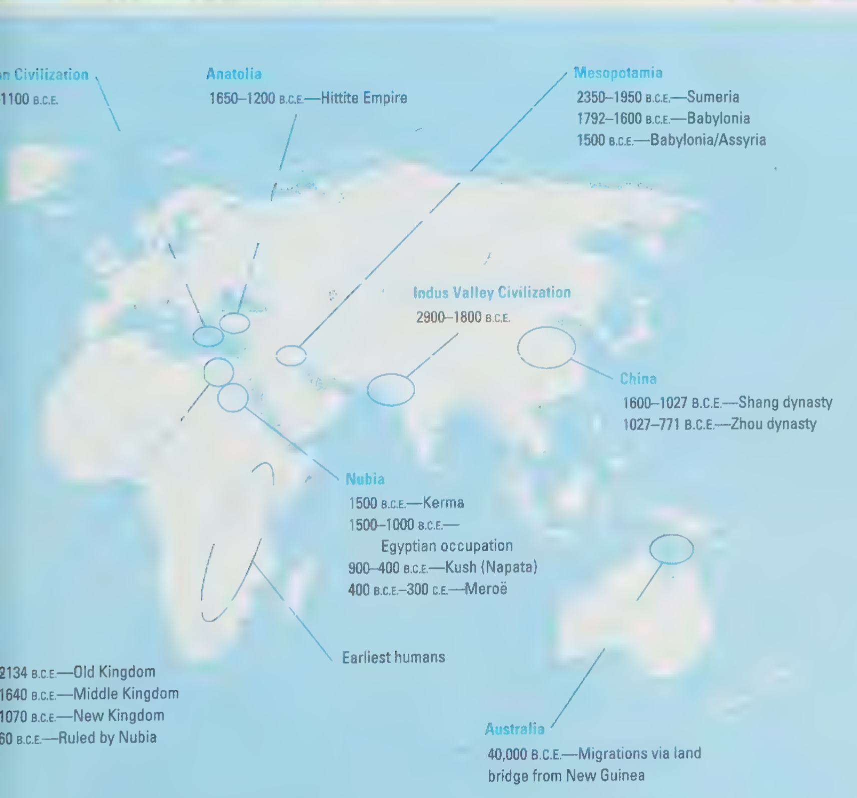
Environment

2,000,000–12,000 B.C.E.—Great Ice Age
32,000–12,000 B.C.E.—Last glacial period; animal extinctions
12,000 B.C.E.—Warming trend melts glaciers

Americas
30,000–11,000 B.C.E.—Migrations via land bridge from Asia

The influence of the river-valley civilizations extended beyond their borders, because members of the higher classes traded with people living in distant parts of their realm. In the Middle East merchants helped to spread aspects of their culture beyond the areas of conquest. Egyptian culture influenced Nubia to the south. During the Late Bronze Age of the second and first millennia B.C.E., the reach, complexity, and sophistication of the river-valley civilizations grew. Despite disrupting invasions around 1200 B.C.E., these communities left enduring legacies. The development of a sophisticated culture around the Aegean Sea in the eastern Mediterranean owed much to influences from Egypt and other parts of the Middle East.

Yet, on the whole, most of the world was little affected by the development of the river-valley civilizations. Most people continued to practice pastoralism, hunting and gathering, and small-scale farming. Although their ways of life left no spectacular ruins, they did produce significant achievements. For example, in the third millennium B.C.E., pastoralists domesticated the camel in Arabia and the horse in Central Asia. Both animals became important for warfare, trade, and communication.


n Civilization
1100 B.C.E.
Anatolia
1650–1200 B.C.E.—Hittite Empire
Mesopotamia
2350–1950 B.C.E.—Sumeria
1792–1600 B.C.E.—Babylonia
1500 B.C.E.—Babylonia/Assyria
Indus Valley Civilization
2900–1800 B.C.E.
China
1600–1027 B.C.E.—Shang dynasty
1027–771 B.C.E.—Zhou dynasty
Nubia
1500 B.C.E.—Kerma
1500–1000 B.C.E.—Egyptian occupation
900–400 B.C.E.—Kush (Napata)
400 B.C.E.–300 C.E.—Meroë
Earliest humans
2134 B.C.E.—Old Kingdom
1640 B.C.E.—Middle Kingdom
1070 B.C.E.—New Kingdom
60 B.C.E.—Ruled by Nubia
Australia
40,000 B.C.E.—Migrations via land bridge from New Guinea

Society

1,000,000 B.C.E.—Gathering and hunting bands
9000 B.C.E.—Agricultural communities
ca. 8000 B.C.E.—First walled town (Jericho)
ca. 3500 B.C.E.—First religious elites
ca. 3100 B.C.E.—First kingdoms
ca. 3000 B.C.E.—First major cities (Mesopotamia)
237 B.C.E.—First empires (Middle East)

Culture

First languages
First music and dance
First religious practices
30,000 B.C.E.—Earliest known cave art
4000 B.C.E.—Megalithic tombs
2590 B.C.E.—Great Pyramid at Giza
1750 B.C.E.—Hammurabi's Law Code

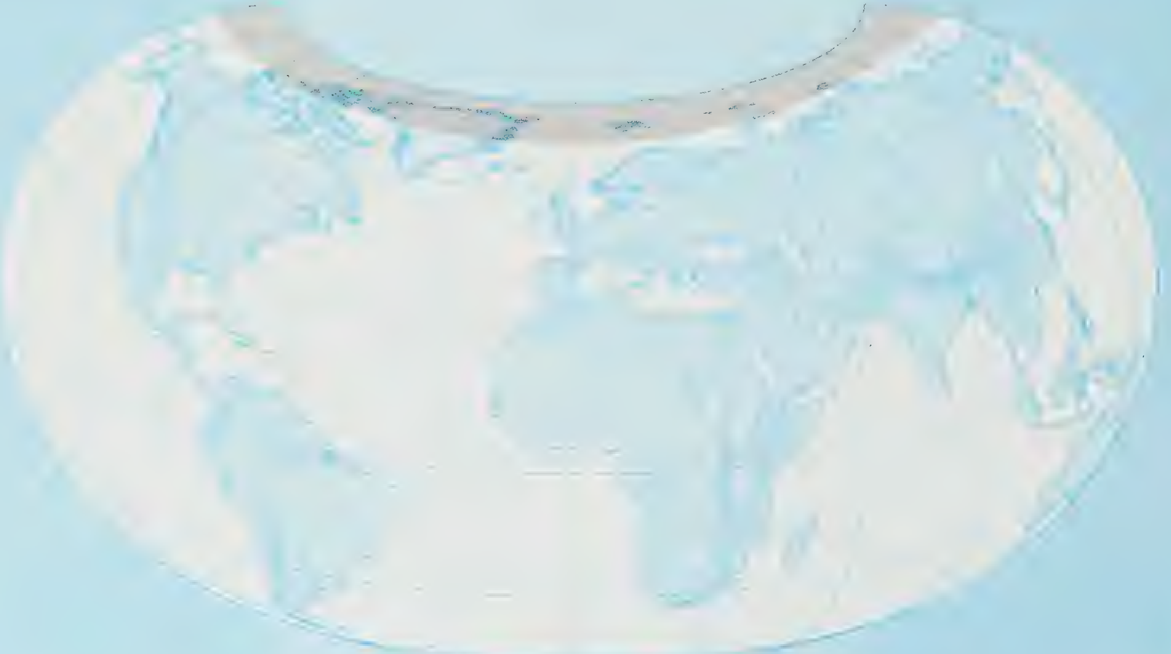
CHAPTER ONE

Human Origins and the First River-Valley Civilizations, to 1500 B.C.E.

African Genesis • History and Culture in the Ice Age

The Agricultural Revolutions • Life in Neolithic Communities

The First River-Valley Civilizations



Here is a story handed down by the Yoruba people of West Africa: At one time there was only water below the sky. Then the divine Owner of the Sky let down a chain, and his son Oduduwa descended along with sixteen male companions. Oduduwa scattered a handful of soil across the water and set down a chicken that scratched the soil into the shape of the land. A palm nut that he planted in the soil grew to became the bountiful forest that is the home of the Yoruba people. Oduduwa was their first king.

At some point in their history most societies tell similar stories about their origins. In some the first humans come down from the sky; in others they emerge from a hole in the ground. Historical accuracy is not the point of such creation myths, which in the absence of any contradictory evidence become embedded in peoples' identities and beliefs. In the nineteenth century, however, evidence started to accumulate that human beings and ways of life based on farming and the herding of domesticated animals had origins quite different from the beginnings that the myths described.

Natural scientists were learning that humans began their existence not with the ability to control and manipulate nature but as part of the natural world, subject to its laws. The physical and mental abilities that humans gradually acquired gave them a unique capacity to adapt to new environments by altering their way of life rather than by evolving physically as other species did. After nearly 2 million years of physical and cultural development, human communities in different parts of the world opened up extraordinary possibilities for change when they learned how to domesticate plants and animals. Finally, about fifty-five hundred years ago, the first civilizations developed.

AFRICAN GENESIS

Since the time of the English naturalist Charles Darwin it has been popular (and controversial) to say that humans are descended from apes. Modern research has found that over 98 percent of human DNA, the basic genetic blueprint, is identical to that of the great apes. For this reason anthropologist David Philbeam has called human beings "rather odd African apes."[1] But from a biological perspective, three major characteristics distinguish humans from other primates: *bipedalism* (the ability to walk upright on two legs), a very large brain, and the human larynx (voice box), which lies much lower in the neck than does the larynx of other primates.

How and why did these immensely important biological changes take place? Scientists still employ Darwin's concept of *natural selection*, the process by which biological variations that enhance a population's ability to survive become dominant in that species and over very long periods lead to the formation of distinct new species. It is widely accepted that major shifts in the world's climate led to evolutionary changes in human ancestors and other species. About 10 million years ago the earth entered a period of low average temperatures that culminated in the Great Ice Age, or Pleistocene epoch, from about 2 million to about 11,000 years ago. The Pleistocene epoch included more than a dozen very cold periods, each spanning several thousand years, separated by warmer periods. The changes that these climate shifts produced in rainfall, vegetation, and temperature imposed great strains on existing plant and animal species. As a result, large numbers of new species evolved during the Pleistocene. Among them, appearing between 2 million and 3 million years ago, was *Homo habilis*, the first species to be classified in the same genus (*Homo*) as modern humans. *Homo habilis* (handy human), a species most distinguished from earlier primates by its larger brain, used its greater intelligence to locate a vast number of different kinds of things to eat throughout the year. Seeds and other fossilized remains in ancient *Homo habilis* camps indicate that the new species ate a variety of seasonal foods.

About 1.8 million years ago *Homo erectus* (upright human) appeared in eastern Africa. The brains of these creatures were a third larger than those of *Homo habilis*. A nearly complete skeleton of a twelve-year-old male discovered in Kenya shows that from the neck down *Homo erectus* closely resembled modern people. *Homo erectus* was very successful in dealing with different environments and for a million years underwent hardly any biological changes. Then, by a long, imperfectly understood evolutionary process between 400,000 and 100,000 years ago, a new human species emerged: *Homo sapiens* (wise human). The brains of *Homo sapiens* were a third larger than those of *Homo erectus*, whom they gradually superseded. *Homo sapiens* also had greater speech capacity. By 40,000 years ago evolutionary changes had produced fully modern humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*).

This slow but remarkable process of physical evolution, which distinguished humans by a small but significant degree from other primates, was only one part of what was happening. Equally remarkable was the way in which humans were extending their habitat.

Early humans gradually expanded their range in eastern and southern Africa, then ventured out of Africa, perhaps following herds of animals or searching for food in time of drought. The details are unsettled, but the end result is clear: humans learned to survive in every part of the globe—from the arctic to the equator, from deserts to tropical rain forests—from earliest times demonstrating a talent for adaptation.

Some evidence suggests that *Homo sapiens sapiens* may have originated in Africa. Displacing older human populations, this new species moved for the first time into the Americas, Australia, and the Arctic. As populations migrated, they may have undergone minor evolutionary changes that helped them adapt to extreme environments. One such change was in skin color. The deeply pigmented skin of today's indigenous inhabitants of the tropics (and presumably of all early humans who evolved there) reduces the harmful effects of the sun. At some point, possibly as recently as 5,000 years ago, pale skin became characteristic of Europeans living in northern latitudes with far less sunshine, especially during winter months. The loss of pigment enabled their skins to produce more vitamin D from sunshine, but it exposed Europeans to a greater risk of sunburn and skin cancer when they migrated to sunnier climates.

As distinctive as skin color is, it represents a very minor biological variation. Far more remarkable about the widely dispersed populations of *Homo sapiens sapiens* was that they varied so little. Despite global dispersal and adaptation to many different environments, all modern human beings are members of the same species. Instead of evolving physically like other species in order to adapt to new environments, modern humans were able to change their eating habits and devise new forms of clothing and shelter. Human communities became culturally diverse while remaining physically homogeneous.

HISTORY AND CULTURE IN THE ICE AGE

Evidence of early humans' splendid creative abilities first came to light in 1940 near Lascaux, in southern France, in a vast cavern whose walls were covered with paintings of animals, some extinct for thousands of years. Other examples of cave painting have been found in Spain and elsewhere in southern France. Observers have been struck by the great age of this art and by its high artistic quality. To even the most skeptical person, such rich finds are awesome demonstrations that thousands of years before the first "civilizations" there existed individuals with richly developed imaginations and skill. Though less strikingly visible, great talent is also apparent in the production of specialized tools and in the development of complex social relations.

The fact that similar art and tools were produced over wide areas and long periods of time indicates that skills and ideas were deliberately passed along within societies. These learned patterns of action and expression constitute *culture* —a concept that embraces material objects such as dwellings, clothing, tools, and crafts, as well as nonmaterial values, beliefs, and languages. The development, transmission, and transformation of cultural practices and events are the subject of *history*. All living creatures are part of natural history, which traces biological development; but only human communities have a history that traces cultural development.

Food Gathering and Stone Technology

When archaeologists examine the remains of ancient human sites, what jumps out at them is the abundant evidence of human toolmaking—the first recognizable cultural activity. Because the tools that survive are made of stone, the extensive period of history from the appearance of the first fabricated stone tools around 2 million years ago until the appearance of metal tools around 5 thousand years ago has been called the *Stone Age*.

Small-brained *Homo habilis* probably lacked the skill to hunt large animals successfully and probably obtained animal protein by scavenging meat from kills made by animal predators or by accident. There is evidence that *H. habilis* used large stone choppers for cracking open bones to get at the nutritious marrow. *Homo erectus* were also scavengers, but their larger brains would have made them cleverer than *H. habilis*—capable, for example, of finding and stealing the kills of leopards and other predators that drag their kills into trees. *H. erectus* also made more effective tools for butchering large animals: most characteristic was a hand ax formed by chipping away both sides of a stone to produce a sharp outer edge.

Homo sapiens were far more skillful hunters. They tracked and killed large animals (such as mastodons, mammoths, and bisons) throughout the world. The success of *H. sapiens* reflected their superior intelligence, evident in an array of finely made tools. Sharp stone flakes chipped from carefully prepared rock cores were often used in combination with other materials. A spear could be made by attaching a stone point to a wooden shaft. Embedding several sharp stone flakes in a bone handle produced a sawing tool.

Like modern hunter-gatherers, early humans would have used skins and mats woven from leaves for collecting fruits, berries, and wild seeds. They would have dug edible roots out of the ground with wooden sticks. Archaeologists believe that the donut-shaped stones often found at Stone Age sites may have been weights placed on wooden digging sticks to increase their effectiveness. Evidence of early food preparation is scarce and largely indirect. People in present-day hunting and gathering societies pound and grind roots and seeds to make them more palatable, and their earliest ancestors probably did the same. The ordinary stones that they used would not appear distinctive in the archaeological remains. Cooked foods were probably first found by accident after wildfires, but new evidence from East and South Africa indicates that humans were setting fires deliberately between 1 million and 1.5 million years ago.

Gender Divisions and Social Life

The gender division of labor in present-day hunting and gathering societies suggests that in the Ice Age women would have done most of the gathering and cooking (which they could perform while caring for small children). Men, with stronger arms and shoulders, would have been better suited than women to hunting, particularly for large animals. Some early cave art shows males in hunting activities.

All modern hunter-gatherers live in small groups or bands. The community has to have enough members to defend itself from predators and to divide responsibility for the collection and preparation of food. However, if it has too many members, it risks exhausting the food available in its immediate vicinity. Even a band of optimal size has to move at regular intervals to follow migrating animals and take advantage of seasonally ripening plants in different places. Archaeological evidence from Ice Age campsites suggests early humans were organized into highly mobile bands.

We can only guess how the two-parent family developed, but it is likely that physical and social evolution were linked. Brain size was a contributing factor. Big-headed humans have to be born in a less mature state than other mammals so that they can pass through the narrow birth canal. Thus they take much longer to mature outside the womb. Other large mammals are mature at two or three years of age. The need of human infants and children for much longer nurturing makes care by mothers, fathers, and other relatives a biological imperative. Enduring bonds between human parents increased the likelihood that vulnerable offspring would receive the care they needed during the long period of their childhood. In addition, human couples could nurture dependent children of different ages at the same time, unlike other large mammals, whose females must raise their offspring nearly to maturity before beginning another reproductive cycle. Spacing births close together also ensured offspring a high rate of survival and enabled humans to multiply more rapidly than other large mammals. Gender specialization in hunting and food gathering would also have improved band members' chances for survival.

Hearths and Cultural Expressions

Because frequent moves were necessary to keep close to migrating herds and ripening plants, hunting and gathering peoples usually did not lavish much time on housing. Natural shelters under overhanging rocks or in caves in southern Africa and southern France are known to have been favorite camping places to which bands returned regularly. Where the climate was severe or where natural shelters did not exist, people erected huts of branches, stones, bones, skins, and leaves as seasonal camps. More elaborate dwellings were common in areas where protection against harsh weather was necessary.

Making clothing was another necessary technology in the Stone Age. Animal skins were an early form of clothing, and the oldest evidence of fibers woven into cloth dates from about 26,000 years ago. An "Iceman" from 5,300 years ago, whose frozen remains were found in the European Alps in 1991, was wearing garments made of animal skins sewn together with thread fashioned from vegetable fibers and rawhide.

Although accidents, erratic weather, and disease took a heavy toll on a hunting and gathering band, there is reason to believe that day-to-day existence was not particularly hard or unpleasant. Some studies suggest that securing the necessities of food, clothing, and shelter would have occupied only from three to five hours a day. This would have left a great deal of time for artistic endeavors as well as for toolmaking and social life.

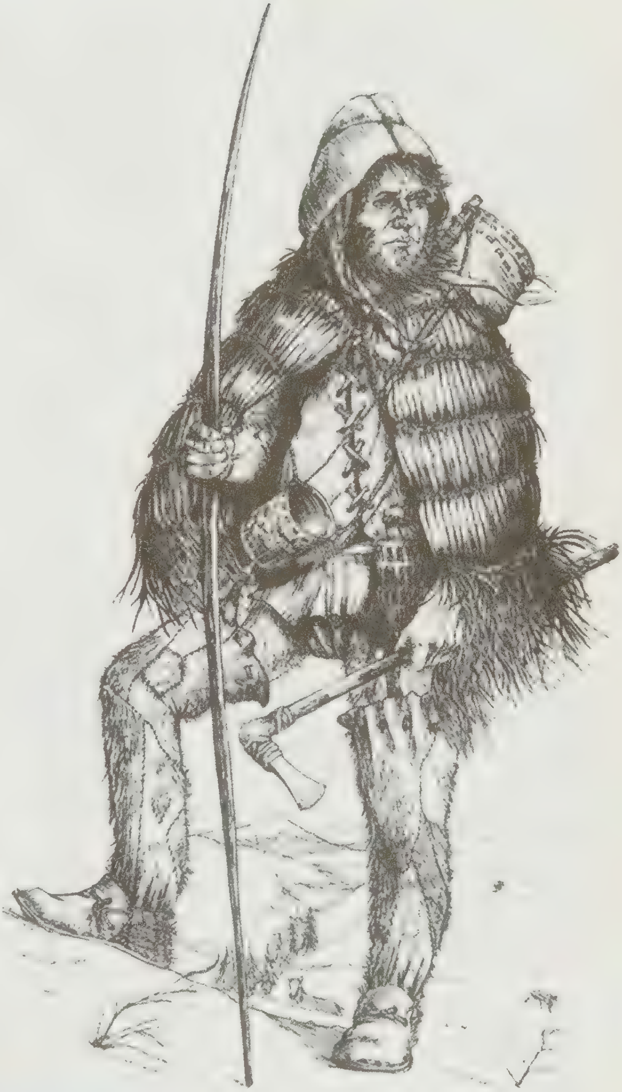
Although the foundations of what later ages called science, art, and religion are hard to detect and interpret, they were established during the Stone Age. Extensive and precise knowledge about the natural environment was basic to human survival. Gatherers needed to know which local plants were best for food and the seasons when they were available. Successful hunting required intimate knowledge of the habits of game animals. People learned how to use plant and animal parts for clothing, twine, and building materials, as well as which natural substances were effective for medicine, consciousness altering, dyeing, and other purposes. Knowledge of the natural world included the ability to identify minerals suitable for paints, stones for making the best tools, and so forth.

Given humans' physical capacity for speech, it is likely that the transmission of such prescientific knowledge involved verbal communication, even though direct evidence for language appears only in later periods.

Early manifestations of music and dance have left no traces, but the evidence of painting and drawing is vivid and abundant. Cave paintings were being made in Europe and North Africa by 32,000 years ago and at later times in other parts of the world. Theories about cave and rock art emphasize concerns with fertility, efforts to educate the young, and elaborate mechanisms for time reckoning.

Without written religious texts it is difficult to know exactly what early humans believed, but sites of deliberate human burials from about 100,000 years ago give some hints. The fact that an adult was often buried with stone implements, food, clothing, and red-ochre powder suggests that early people revered their leaders enough to honor them after death and may imply a belief in an afterlife.

It is likely that future discoveries will add substantially to the understanding of life in the Stone Age. Important in its own right, the period was also a necessary preparation for the major changes ahead as human communities passed from being food gatherers to being food producers.



The "Iceman" A 5,300-year-old body found frozen in the Alps preserved remarkable evidence of clothing and tools. Dressed for cold weather, the man wore a fur hat, tailored deerskin vest, and leather leggings. His tools included a copper-headed ax, a long bow and quiver of arrows, a flint knife in a string sheath, a flint scraper, a flint awl, and fire-starting tools. The Iceman also carried a birch-bark cup. (New York Times Picture Sales)

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTIONS

The change from food gathering to food production around 10,000 years ago, at the end of the Stone Age, has been called the "Neolithic ("new stone") revolution." However, stone tools were not its essential component, and it was not a single event but a series of separate transformations in different parts of the world. Thus *agricultural revolutions* is a more precise label, stressing that the central change was in food production and that this momentous transformation occurred independently in many different parts of the world (see Map 1.1).

The Transition to Plant Cultivation

Food gathering gave way to food production over hundreds of generations. The process may have begun when hunter-gatherer bands returning year after year to the same seasonal camps took measures to encourage the nearby growth of the foods they liked. They deliberately scattered the seeds of desirable plants in locations where they would thrive, and they discouraged the growth of competing plants by clearing them away. Such techniques of semicultivation could have supplemented food gathering for many generations. Families willing to devote their energies principally to food production, however, had to settle permanently.

One component of settled agriculture was the production of new specialized tools and the development of techniques to enhance success. Indeed, the abundant evidence of new tools first alerted archaeologists to the significance of the food production revolutions. Many specialized stone tools were developed or improved for agricultural use, including sickle blades of small, sharp stone chips imbedded in bone or wooden handles, polished or ground stone heads used to work the soil, and stone mortars in which grain was pulverized.

More fundamental than new tools to the success of agriculture was the new technique of selecting the highest-yielding strains of wild plants, which over time led to the development of valuable new domesticated varieties. Because women were the principal gatherers of wild plant foods, they are likely to have played a major role in the transition to plant cultivation. The success of a farming community also would have required extensive male labor, especially to clear fields for planting.

The oldest traces of food production in northern Africa are in the eastern Sahara, which was able to support farming during a wet period after 8000 B.C.E. Emmer wheat and barley became the principal crops and sheep, goats, and cattle the main domesticated animals. The return of drier conditions about 5000 B.C.E. led many Saharan farmers to move to the Nile Valley, where the annual flooding of the Nile River provided moisture for cereal farming.

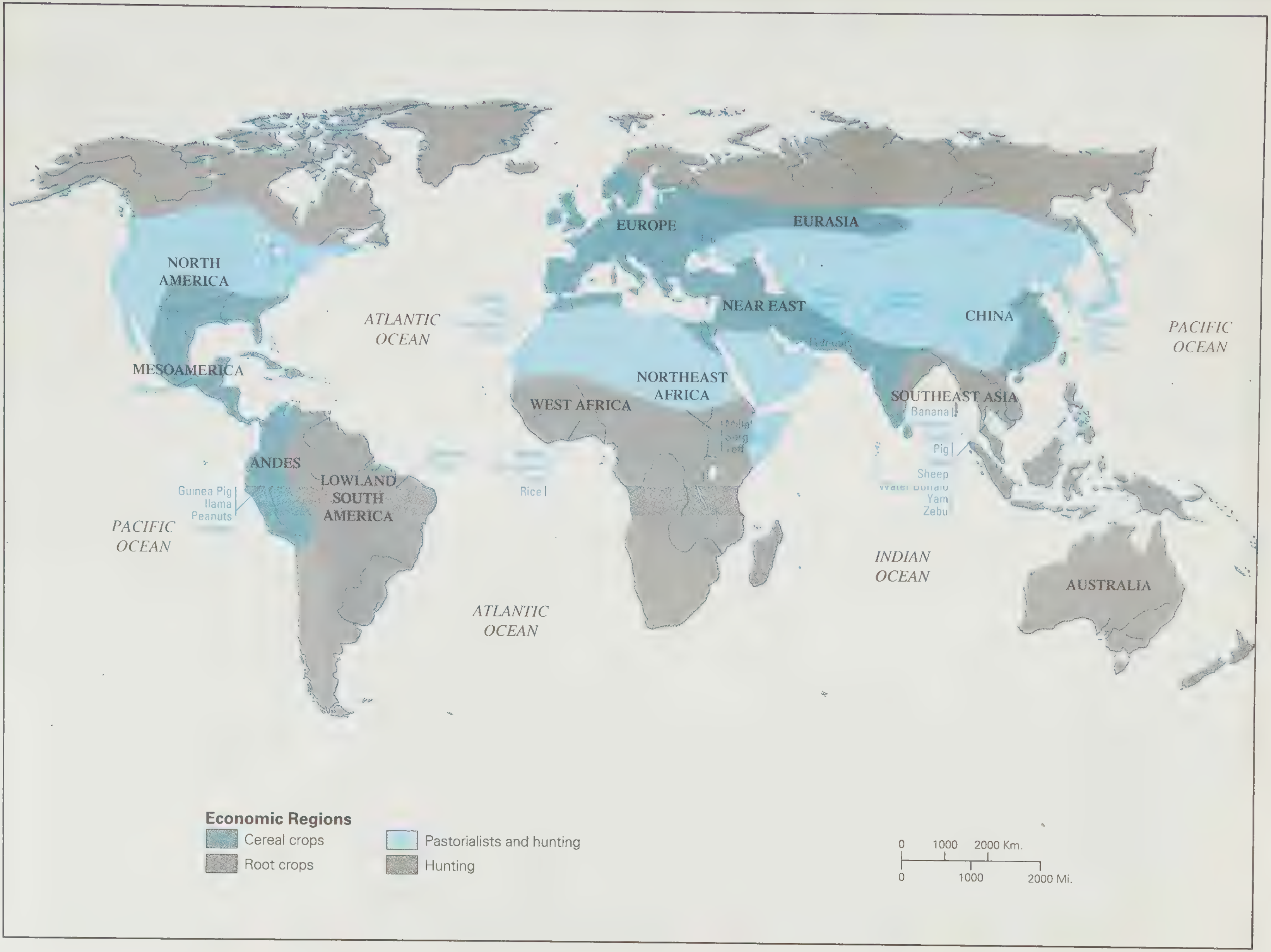
In Europe cultivation of wheat and barley began as early as 6000 B.C.E. in Greece, combining local experiments and Middle Eastern borrowings. Shortly after 4000 B.C.E. farming developed in the light-soiled plains of Central Europe and along the Danube River. As forests receded because of climate changes and human clearing efforts, agriculture spread to other parts of Europe over the next millennium.

Although the lands around the Mediterranean seem to have shared a complex of crops and farming techniques, major geographical barriers limited its spread. Wheat and barley were unsuited to the rainfall patterns south of the Sahara, where farming came to be based on locally domesticated grains, including sorghums, millets, and (in Ethiopia) teff. Grains could not be grown at all in the very humid regions of equatorial West Africa, where there is early evidence of indigenous domestication of root crops such as yams. Rice cultivation thrived in eastern and southern Asia, and wild vegetable foods and maize (corn) emerged in the Americas.

Animal Domestication and Pastoralism

The domestication of animals also expanded rapidly during these same millennia. The first domesticated animal was probably the dog, tamed to assist early hunters in tracking game. Later, other animals were domesticated to provide meat, milk, and energy: wild cattle in northern Africa; pigs and water buffalo in China; and

Map 1.1 Centers of Plant and Animal Domestication Many different parts of the world made original contributions to domestication during the "agricultural revolutions" that began about 10,000 years ago. Later interactions helped spread domesticated animals and plants to new locations. In lands less suitable for crop cultivation, pastoralism and hunting predominated. (From *Times Atlas of World History*, Fourth Edition by Geoffrey Barraclough. Copyright © 1994 by Harper Collins Cartographic. Reprinted by permission.)


NORTH AMERICA
MESOAMERICA
ANDES
LOWLAND SOUTH AMERICA
Guinea Pig
llama
Peanuts
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Rice
EUROPE
EURASIA
NEAR EAST
CHINA
NORTHEAST AFRICA
WEST AFRICA
Millet
Sorg
Teff
SOUTHEAST ASIA
Banana
Pig
Sheep
Water Buffalo
Yam
Zebu
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
Economic Regions
Cereal crops
Root crops
Pastorialists and hunting
Hunting
0
1000
2000 Km.
0
1000
2000 Mi.

humped-back Zebu cattle, buffalo, and pigs in India. As in the case of food plants, varieties of domesticated animals from abroad sometimes replaced the species initially domesticated. For example, Zebu cattle originally domesticated in India first became important in sub-Saharan Africa about 2,000 years ago.

In the Americas, comparatively few species of wild animals were suitable for domestication, other than llamas (for transport and wool) and guinea pigs and some fowls (for meat). No species could be borrowed from elsewhere because a land bridge connecting the Americas to Asia had submerged as melting glaciers raised sea levels. Hunting remained an important source of meat for Amerindians, but perhaps their exceptional contributions to the world's domesticated plant crops were partly in compensation for the shortage of domesticated meat animals (see Chapter 10).

In more arid parts of Africa and Central Asia, pastoralism, a way of life dependent on large herds of stock, predominated. The need to move their herds to new pastures and watering places throughout the year meant that pastoralists had to be almost as mobile as hunter-gatherers. Like modern pastoralists, early cattle-keeping people were probably not great meat-eaters but relied heavily on the milk from their animals for their diet. During seasons when water and grasses for grazing were plentiful, they could also have done some hasty crop cultivation or bartered meat and skins for plant foods with nearby farming communities.

Agriculture and Ecological Crisis

Most researchers today believe that some ecological crisis during the period of global warming after the Ice Age drove people to abandon hunting and gathering in favor of pastoralism and agriculture. Although the precise nature of the crisis has not been identified, some scholars think food production may have been a response to shortages of wild food. In some places a warmer, wetter climate could have promoted rapid forest growth in former grasslands, reducing supplies of game and wild grains. Or, because a warmer climate made it easier for more people to survive, rising population could have depleted supplies of wild food.

Additional support for an ecological explanation comes from the fact that agriculture was not adopted in many dry parts of the world where wild food remained abundant. The inhabitants of Australia continued to rely exclusively on hunting and gathering until recent centuries, as did some peoples in all the other continents. Many Amerindians in the arid grasslands from Alaska to the Gulf of Mexico hunted bison, while in the Pacific Northwest others took up salmon-fishing. Abundant supplies of fish, shellfish, and aquatic animals permitted food gatherers east of the Mississippi River in North America to become increasingly sedentary. Conditions in the equatorial rain forest and in the southern part of Africa favored retention of the old ways. The reindeer-based societies of northern Eurasia were also unaffected by the spread of farming.

Whatever the causes, the effects of the gradual adoption of food production in most parts of the world between 12,000 and 2,000 years ago were momentous. Modern studies suggest that farmers and pastoralists have to work much harder and for longer periods than do food gatherers. In return for modest harvests, early farmers needed to put in long days of arduous labor clearing and cultivating the land. Pastoralists had to guard their herds from wild predators, guide them to fresh pastures, and tend to their many needs. There is evidence that even though the food supply of early farmers was more secure than that of pastoralists and food-gathering peoples, the farmers' diet was less varied and nutritious.

The most notable benefit of agriculture was a more dependable supply of food that could be stored between harvests to tide people over seasonal changes and short-term climate fluctuations such as droughts. As humans expanded into new land and adopted agriculture, their numbers gradually rose. Over several millennia, permanent settlements experienced slow but steady population growth. From 10 million by 5000 B.C.E., the human population mushroomed, reaching from 50 million to 100 million by 1000 B.C.E. and 200 million or more a millennium later. There were also profound changes in culture and the emergence of towns and craft specialization.

LIFE IN NEOLITHIC COMMUNITIES

Researchers have long wondered how farmers displaced hunter-gatherers. The key may have been the simple fact that small surpluses gave farmers a long-term advantage in population growth by ensuring slightly higher survival rates during droughts or other crises. The respected archaeologist Colin Renfrew argues, for example, that over a few centuries farming-population densities in Europe could have increased from fifty to one hundred fold. According to this scenario, as population densities rose, individuals who had to farm at a great distance from their native village eventually formed a new farming settlement.[2] The process would have been so gradual that it need not have provoked any sharp conflicts with existing hunter-gatherers, who simply could have stayed clear of the agricultural frontier or gradually adopted agriculture themselves and been absorbed by the advancing farming communities.

Like hunter-gatherer bands, the expanding farming communities were organized around kinship and marriage. Nuclear families (parents and their children) probably did not become larger, but people traced kinship relations back over more generations so that distant cousins were clearly aware of their membership in the same kin network. This was important because landholding was likely to be vested in large kinship units known as *lineages* and *clans*.

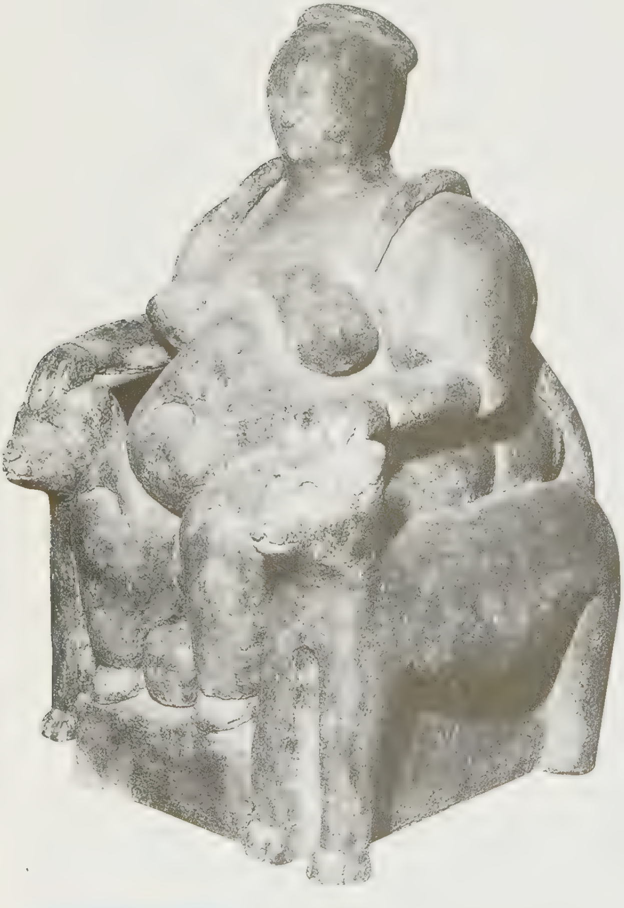
Cultural Expressions

Kinship systems influenced early agricultural people's outlook on the world. Reverence for departed ancestors fostered group solidarity, and the deaths of old persons tended to be marked by elaborate burials. The religion of food producers also reflected their awareness of their relationship to nature. The religions of food gatherers tended to center on sacred groves, springs, and wild animals. In contrast, the religious activities of many farming communities centered on the Earth Mother, a female deity believed to be the source of all new life, and on other gods and goddesses representing fire, wind, and rain. Belief in an all-powerful (and usually) male sky-god was also common.

Another fundamental cultural contribution of the Neolithic period was the dissemination of the large language families that form the basis of most languages spoken today. Renfrew has suggested that the spread of the western half of the giant Indo-European language family (from which Germanic, Romance, and Celtic languages are derived) was the work of the pioneering agriculturalists who gradually moved across Europe. The age of the language family and its differentiation into many related but distinct languages are indeed more consistent with a pattern of gradual infiltration than with rapid conquest. Similarly, the Afro-Asiatic language family that spans the Middle East and northern Africa might have been the result of the food producers' expansion, as might the spread of the Sino-Tibetan family in East and Southeast Asia.

Çatal Hüyük

Most early farmers lived in small villages, but in some parts of the world a few villages grew into towns, which were centers of trade and craft specialization. One town in the Middle East, Çatal Hüyük in central Anatolia (modern Turkey), has been extensively excavated. Çatal Hüyük dates to between 7000 and 5000 B.C.E. and covered 32 acres (13 hectares) at its height. It was a bustling agricultural town that prospered from long-distance trade in obsidian, a hard volcanic rock that craftspeople chipped, ground, and polished into tools, weapons, mirrors, and ornaments. Other residents made fine pottery and practiced other crafts, including weaving baskets and woolen cloth, making stone and shell beads, and working leather and wood.



Neolithic goddess Many versions of a well-nourished and pregnant female figure were found at Çatal Hüyük. Here she is supported by twin leopards whose tails curve over her shoulders. To those who inhabited the city some 8,000 years ago the figure likely represented fertility and power over nature. (C. M. Dixon)

The extensive representational art at Çatal Hüyük indicates clearly that hunting retained a powerful hold on people's minds. Elaborate wall paintings depict hunting scenes remarkably similar to those of earlier cave paintings, and men were buried with weapons of war and hunting, not with the tools of farming. Moreover, many of the wall scenes depict persons, both males and females, adorned with leopard skins.

Perhaps the most striking finds at Çatal Hüyük are concerned with religious practice. There is a religious shrine for every two houses. At least forty rooms contained shrines with depictions of horned wild bulls, female breasts, goddesses, leopards, and handprints. The fact that statues of plump female deities far outnumber statues of male deities persuaded the principal excavator of Çatal Hüyük that a cult of the goddess was central to the town's religion.

Religious leadership, by either men or women, was a specialized occupation in many Neolithic communities. Spectacular evidence is provided by large stone structures constructed after 3000 B.C.E., such as stone circles in western Europe (of which Stonehenge is the most famous), ziggurats in Mesopotamia and Mesoamerica, the pyramids of Egypt, and the citadels of the Indus Valley. There is no reason to think these widely scattered structures had any connection to each other. Like agriculture, each arose in its own cultural context as an expression of human communal ties, fears, and aspirations.

The growth of towns, specialized crafts, and elaborate religious shrines added to the already heavy workload of agriculturalists. The towns' permanent houses needed much labor to build, and extra food had to be produced for the nonfarming full-time priests and craft specialists. Building religious monuments in stone must have occupied much time during the less busy season of the agricultural year. No evidence from this period indicates whether these tasks were performed freely or coerced. But after 3500 B.C.E. it is clear that political authorities were coercing labor for large building projects.

THE FIRST RIVER-VALLEY CIVILIZATIONS

The *Epic of Gilgamesh*, dating to some time before 2000 B.C.E. and perhaps the oldest surviving work of literature, provides a definition of *civilization* as the people of ancient Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq) understood it. Gilgamesh, a king, sends a priestess to tame Enkidu, a wild man who lives like an animal in the grasslands. After using her sexual charms to win Enkidu's trust, she says to him:

> "Come with me to the city, to Uruk,
> to the temple of Anu and the goddess Ishtar . . .
> to Uruk, where the processions are and music,
> let us go together through the dancing
> to the palace hall where Gilgamesh presides."[3]

The priestess then clothes Enkidu and teaches him to eat cooked food, drink brewed beer, and bathe and oil his body. By her actions she indicates some of the behavior and choices that ancient Mesopotamians associated with civilized life.

The tendency of the Mesopotamians, like other peoples throughout history, to equate civilization with their own way of life should serve as a caution for us. What assumptions are hiding behind the frequently made claim that the "first" civilizations, or the first "advanced" or "high" civilizations, arose in western Asia and northeastern Africa sometime before 3000 B.C.E.? Given that *civilization* is a loaded and ambiguous concept, the idea that the "first" civilizations emerged in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt needs to be explained carefully.

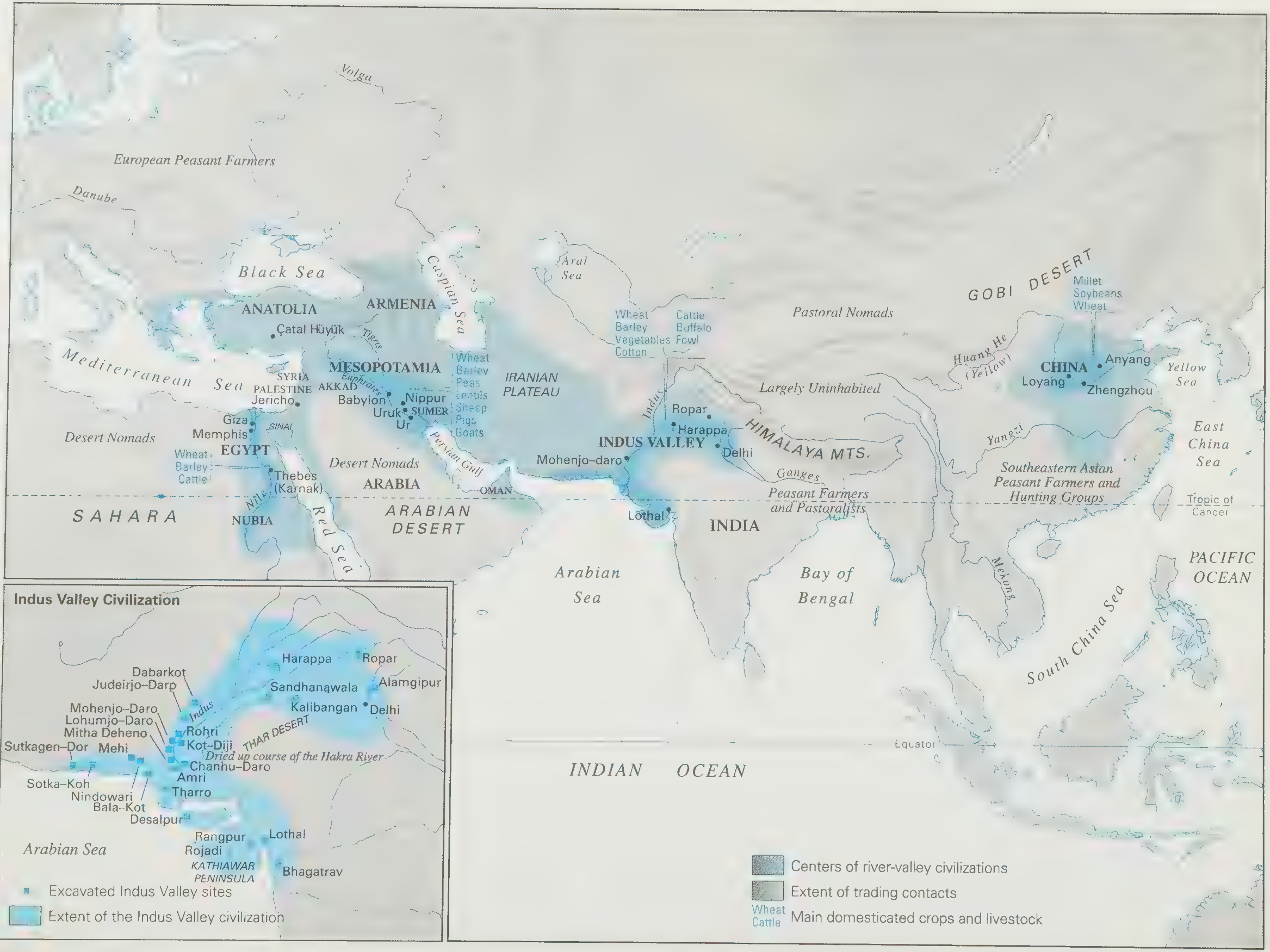
Scholars agree that certain political, social, economic, and technological phenomena are indicators of civilization: (1) cities that served as administrative centers, (2) a political system based on territory rather than on kinship, (3) specialization of labor and a significant number of people engaged in non-food-producing activities, (4) class divisions and a substantial increase in the accumulation of wealth, (5) monumental building, (6) a system for keeping permanent records, (7) long-distance trade, and (8) major advances in science and the arts. We know that the earliest societies in which those features are apparent developed in the floodplains of great rivers in Asia and Africa: before 3000 B.C.E. along the Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamia, the Nile in Egypt, and the Indus in Pakistan, and somewhat later along the Yellow (Huang He) in China (see Map 1.2). The periodic flooding of the rivers brought benefits—deposits of fertile silt and irrigation for the fields—but also threatened lives and property. To protect themselves and channel these powerful forces of nature, people living near these rivers created new technologies and forms of political and social organization.

Mesopotamia

Mesopotamia is a Greek word meaning "land between the rivers." Mesopotamian civilization developed in the alluvial plain alongside and between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, which originate in the mountains of eastern Anatolia (modern Turkey) and empty into the Persian Gulf.

Mesopotamia lies mostly within modern Iraq. Certain natural features establish its boundaries. To the north and east, an arc of mountains extends from northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia to the Zagros Mountains, which cut off the plain of the Tigris and Euphrates from the Iranian plateau. To the west and southwest lie the Syrian and Arabian deserts. To the southeast lies the Persian Gulf. This region is subject to unpredictable extremes of weather. Floods can be sudden and violent and come at the wrong time for grain agriculture—in the spring when the crop is ripening in the field. Also ever present is the danger of the rivers changing course, suddenly cutting off fields and population centers from supplies of water and avenues of communication.

The first domestication of plants and animals took place not far away, in the "Fertile Crescent"


Volga
European Peasant Farmers
Danube
Black Sea
ANATOLIA
Çatal Hüyük
ARMENIA
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Mediterranean Sea
SYRIA
PALESTINE
Jericho
Tigris
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
AKKAD
Babylon
Nippur
Uruk
SUMER
Ur
Wheat
Barley
Peas
Lentils
Sheep
Pigs
Goats
IRANIAN PLATEAU
Persian Gulf
OMAN
Desert Nomads
Giza
Memphis
SINAI
EGYPT
Wheat
Barley
Cattle
Thebes (Karnak)
Nile
Desert Nomads
ARABIA
SAHARA
NUBIA
Red Sea
ARABIAN DESERT
Wheat
Barley
Vegetables
Cotton
Cattle
Buffalo
Fowl
Indus
Ropar
Harappa
INDUS VALLEY
Delhi
Mohenjo-daro
Lothal
HIMALAYA MTS.
Ganges
Peasant Farmers and Pastoralists
INDIA
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
INDIAN OCEAN
Equator
Pastoral Nomads
Largely Uninhabited
GOBI DESERT
Millet
Soybeans
Wheat
Huang He (Yellow)
CHINA
Anyang
Loyang
Zhengzhou
Yellow Sea
Yangzi
East China Sea
Southeastern Asian Peasant Farmers and Hunting Groups
Tropic of Cancer
Mekong
PACIFIC OCEAN
South China Sea
Centers of river-valley civilizations
Extent of trading contacts
Wheat Cattle Main domesticated crops and livestock
Indus Valley Civilization
Harappa
Ropar
Dabarkot
Judeirjo-Darp
Sandhanawala
Alamgipur
Indus
Kalibangan
Delhi
Mohenjo-Daro
Lohumjo-Daro
Mitha Deheno
Rohri
Kot-Diji
THAR DESERT
Sutkagen-Dor
Mehi
Dried up course of the Hakra River
Chanhu-Daro
Amri
Sotka-Koh
Nindowari
Tharro
Bala-Kot
Desalpur
Rangpur
Lothal
Rojadi
Arabian Sea
KATHIAWAR PENINSULA
Bhagatrav
Excavated Indus Valley sites
Extent of the Indus Valley civilization

region of northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia, around 8000 B.C.E. Agriculture did not come to Mesopotamia until approximately 5000 B.C.E. Agriculture that depends on rain requires annual rainfall of at least 8 inches (20 centimeters). In hot, dry southern Mesopotamia, agriculture depended on irrigation. At first, people probably took advantage of the occasional flooding of the rivers into nearby fields, but shortly after 3000 B.C.E. they learned to construct canals to supply water as needed and to carry water to more distant parcels of land.

By 4000 B.C.E. farmers were using plows pulled by cattle to turn over the earth. A funnel attached to the plow dropped a carefully measured amount of seed. Barley was the main cereal crop in southern Mesopotamia. Fields were left fallow (unplanted) every other year, to replenish the nutrients in the soil. Date palms provided food, fibers, and some wood. Small garden plots produced vegetables. Reed plants, which grew on the river banks and in the marshy southern delta, could be woven into mats, baskets, huts, and boats. Fish from the rivers and marshes were an important part of people's diet. Herds of sheep and goats, which grazed on the fallow land and beyond the zone of cultivation, provided wool and milk. Cattle and donkeys carried or pulled burdens, joined in the third and second millennia B.C.E. by newly introduced camels and horses.

The earliest people living in Mesopotamia in the "historical period"—that is, the period for which we have some written evidence—are the Sumerians, who were in southern Mesopotamia at least by 5000 B.C.E. and perhaps even earlier. The Sumerians created the main framework of civilization in Mesopotamia—a framework adopted and adapted by other ethnic groups that later rose to dominance. The third millennium B.C.E. was primarily a Sumerian epoch, although from as early as 2900 B.C.E. the names of individuals recorded in inscriptions from northerly cities in the southern plain suggest the presence of Semites—people who spoke a Semitic language. (The term *Semitic* refers to a family of related languages that have long been spoken across parts of western Asia and North Africa. In antiquity these languages included Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician; the most widespread modern member of the Semitic family is Arabic.) The Semites assimilated to Sumerian culture and sometimes gained positions of wealth and power.

Map 1.2 River-Valley Civilizations, 3500–1500 B.C.E. The earliest complex societies arose in the floodplains of large rivers: in the fourth millennium B.C.E. in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Mesopotamia and the Nile River in Egypt, in the third millennium B.C.E. in the valley of the Indus River in Pakistan, and in the second millennium B.C.E. in the valley of the Yellow River in China.

By 2000 B.C.E. the Semitic peoples had become politically dominant, and from this time forward Akkadian, a Semitic language, was the primary language in Mesopotamia. Much of the Sumerian cultural legacy, however, was preserved. Sumerian-Akkadian dictionaries were compiled, Sumerian literature was translated, and from these stories we know that the gods of the Semites and the Sumerian gods had similar characteristics and adventures. This cultural synthesis parallels a biological merging of Sumerian and Semitic stocks through intermarriage. Other ethnic groups, including mountain peoples such as the Kassites as well as Elamites and Persians from Iran, played a part in Mesopotamian history. But not until the arrival of Greeks in the Middle East in the late fourth century B.C.E. would the Sumerian/Semitic cultural heritage of Mesopotamia be fundamentally altered.

Cities, Kings, and Trade In nonurban societies almost everyone engages in the basic tasks of subsistence, gathering or growing enough food to feed themselves and their families. Mesopotamia, however, was a land of villages and cities, and cities depend on farmers to produce surplus food to feed urban residents specializing in activities such as metallurgy, crafts, administration, and serving the gods. Most cities evolved from villages. As a successful village grew, small satellite villages developed nearby, and eventually the main village and its satellites coalesced into an urban center. Cities and villages remained linked in a relationship of mutual dependence. Many early Mesopotamian city dwellers went out each day to labor in nearby fields. A city controlled the agricultural land and villages in its vicinity, requiring surplus foodstuffs to feed its population of specialists. At the same time the city provided rural districts with military protection against bandits and raiders and with a market where villagers could trade surplus products for manufactured goods.

We use the term *city-state* to refer to independent ancient urban centers and the agricultural hinterlands they controlled. Early Mesopotamia was a land of many small city-states. Stretches of open and uncultivated land, whether desert or swamp, lay between the territories controlled by the various communities and served as buffers. However, disputes over land, water rights, and movable property often sparked hostilities between neighboring cities and prompted most to build protective walls of sun-dried mud bricks. But cities also cooperated in various ways, sharing water and allowing safe passage of trade goods through their territories.

An extensive irrigation network allowed Mesopotamians to open up new land to agriculture. Canals brought water to distant fields, and drainage ditches carried water away from flooded fields. Dikes protected young plants emerging in fields near the riverbanks from being destroyed in flood season. Gravity moved water through the network. Dams raised the water level of the river so that water could flow into irrigation channels. A machine with counterweights was invented to lift water—for example, up from the river and over the dike to the land beyond. Because the rivers carried so much silt, channels got clogged and needed constant dredging.

The successful operation of such a sophisticated irrigation infrastructure depended on the emergence of individuals or groups capable of compelling and organizing large numbers of people to work together. Other projects also relied on the cooperation of many people: the harvest, sheep shearing, the construction of fortification walls, the construction of monuments, and waging war. The two centers of power for which there are written records are the temple and the king.

Each Mesopotamian city contained one or more temples, centrally located, housing the cult of the deity or deities who watched over the community. The temples owned extensive tracts of agricultural land and stored the gifts that worshipers donated. Priests, who controlled the shrine and managed the deity's considerable wealth, appear to have been the dominant political and economic force in early Mesopotamian communities.

In the third millennium B.C.E. a figure referred to in Sumerian documents as *lugal*, or "big man"—we would call him a "king"—emerged. How this position evolved is not clear, but it may have been related to an increase in the frequency and scale of warfare as ever-larger communities quarreled over land, water, and raw materials. Certain men chosen by the community to lead the armies in time of war found ways to extend their authority into peacetime and to assume key judicial and ritual functions. The position of lugal was not automatically hereditary, but capable sons had a good chance of succeeding their fathers.

The later development of this secular authority is often reflected in the position of the palace, the seat of the king's power. The palace tends not to be as centrally located as the temple, having emerged after the heart of the city had been established, but the king held more power than the religious leaders, presumably because the army backed him. Though remaining influential because of their wealth and religious mystique, the priests and temples gradually became dependent on the palace. By the late third millennium B.C.E. royal officials were supervising the temples. Some Mesopotamian kings claimed to be gods on earth, but this concept did not take root, and the normal pattern was for the king to portray himself as the earthly representative of the god.

Appointed and favored by the divinity, the king assumed responsibility for the upkeep and building of temples and the proper performance of ritual. Other key royal responsibilities included maintenance of the city walls and defenses, upkeep and extension of the irrigation channels, preservation of property rights, and protection of the people from outside attackers and from perversions of justice at home. Some kings even took steps to correct economic inequalities, by setting prices and canceling debts.

Over time certain political centers became powerful enough to extend their control over other city-states. Sargon, ruler of the city of Akkad around 2350 B.C.E., was the first to unite many cities under the control of one king and capital. His title, "King of Sumer and Akkad," became symbolic of this claim to universal dominion ("Sumer" and "Akkad" denoted, respectively, the southern and central portions of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley). Because Sargon and his people were of Semitic stock, the cuneiform system of writing used for Sumerian was adapted to express their language. A uniform system of weights and measures and standardized formats for official documents facilitated tasks of administration such as the assessment and collection of taxes, recruitment of soldiers, and organization of large labor projects.

The Akkadians eventually were succeeded by Semitic Amorites, who founded a new city at Babylon, not far from Akkad (see Map 1.2). During the reign of the aggressive Hammurabi (r. 1792–1750 B.C.E.), Babylon became the capital of what historians have named the "Old Babylonian" state, which extended its control not only over Sumer and Akkad but also far to the north and northwest from 1800 to 1600 B.C.E. Hammurabi is best known for his Law Code, inscribed on a polished black stone tablet. Though not a comprehensive list of all the laws of the time, Hammurabi's Code provided judges with a lengthy set of examples illustrating the principles they were to employ when deciding cases. Some of its formulations call for physical punishments to be inflicted on the body of an offender to compensate for a crime, precursors of the Israelites' principle of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" (see Chapter 3). Penalties for crimes prescribed in the Law Code differed, depending on the class of the offender.

The far-reaching conquests of some Mesopotamian states were motivated, at least in part, by the need to obtain access to vital resources. The alternative was to trade for raw materials, and long-distance commerce did flourish in most periods. Evidence of boats used in sea trade goes back as far as the fifth millennium B.C.E. Wood was acquired from cedar forests in Lebanon and Syria. Silver came from Anatolia, gold from Egypt, copper from the eastern Mediterranean and Oman (on the Arabian peninsula), tin from Afghanistan (in south-central Asia). Chlorite, a greenish stone from which bowls were carved, came from the Iranian plateau; black diorite, from the Persian Gulf; lapis lazuli, from eastern Iran and Afghanistan; and carnelian, for jewelry and carved figurines, from Pakistan (in south-central Asia).

Mesopotamian Society A persistent feature of urbanized civilizations is the development of *social divisions*—significant variation in the status and privileges of different groups of people due to differences in wealth, in social functions, and in legal and political rights. The rise of cities, specialization of function, centralization of power, and use of written records enable certain groups of people to accumulate wealth on an unprecedented scale. In Mesopotamia the temple leadership and the kings controlled large agricultural estates, and the palace administration collected various taxes from subjects. It is less apparent how Mesopotamians who made up what we might call an elite class acquired large holdings of land, for the sale of land was rare. Debtors who could not pay what they owed forfeited their land, and soldiers and religious officials received plots of land in return for their services.

There were three social divisions in Mesopotamian society: (1) *awilum*, the free, landowning class, which included royalty, high-ranking officials, warriors, priests, merchants, and some artisans and shopkeepers; (2) *mushkenum*, the class of dependent farmers and artisans, who were legally attached to land that belonged to king, temple, or elite families and thus provided the bulk of the work force for the rural estates and temple complexes; and (3) *wardum*, the class of slaves, primarily employed in domestic service. Slavery was not as prevalent and fundamental to the economy as it would be in the later societies of Greece and Rome (see Chapters 4 and 5). Many of the slaves came from mountain tribes and had been either captured in war or sold by slave traders. There was a separate category of slavery for those who were unable to pay off a debt.

Ordinary Mesopotamians, especially those who lived in villages or on large rural estates, left little trace in the archaeological or literary record, and it is particularly difficult to discover very much about the experiences of women. The written sources are the product of male scribes (trained professionals who applied their skills in reading and writing to tasks of administration) and, for the most part, reflect elite male activities. Archaeological remains provide only limited insight into attitudes, status, and gender roles.

Anthropologists theorize that women lost social standing and freedom as part of the transition from hunter-gatherer to agricultural societies. Women previously had provided the bulk of the community's food from their gathering activities. But agricultural labor in a place like Mesopotamia depended on the hard physical work of dragging around a plow and digging irrigation channels and tended to be done by men. At the same time, a food surplus permitted families to have more children, and bearing and raising children was the primary occupation of many women. The amount of time given to child care made it hard for women to acquire the specialized skills of the scribe or artisan, though in rare instances women did fill these roles. Non-elite women who stayed at home must have been engaged in other tasks—helping with the harvest, planting vegetable gardens, milking cattle, cooking and baking, cleaning the house, fetching water, tending the household fire, and weaving baskets and textiles. Some women worked outside the household, in textile factories and breweries or as prostitutes, tavern keepers, bakers, or fortunetellers. Women had no apparent political role, but they had important economic rights and were able to own property, maintain control of their dowry, and even engage in trade.

Women's standing declined in the Semitic second millennium B.C.E., perhaps due to the rise of an urbanized middle class and an increase in private wealth. A woman could be used by her family to preserve and increase the family's wealth through an arranged marriage, which created an alliance between families, or through the avoidance of marriage (and the resulting loss of a dowry) by dedicating a girl to the service of a deity as "god's bride." The husband became more dominant in the household and had greater latitude in the laws relating to marriage and divorce. Although Mesopotamian society was generally monogamous, a man could obtain a second wife if the first gave him no children, and in the later stages of Mesopotamian history kings and others who could afford to do so had several wives.

Gods, Priests, and Temples The ancient Mesopotamians believed in a multitude of gods who embodied the forces of nature. People believed the gods were *anthropomorphic*—that is, like humans in form and conduct. They thought the gods had bodies and senses, sought nourishment from sacrifice, enjoyed the worship and obedience of humanity, and were driven by lust, love, hate, anger, and all the other emotions that motivated human beings.

Each city built temples to honor one or more patron divinities who protected the community and were given special devotion. Nippur, with its temple of the air-god Enlil, was especially venerated as a religious center for all the peoples of Sumer. The temple was regarded as the residence of the god, and the cult statue, in a special interior shrine, was believed to embody the life-force of the deity. Priests literally waited on this physical image of the divinity, trying to anticipate and meet its every need in a daily cycle of waking, bathing, dressing, feeding, moving around, entertaining, soothing, and revering.

A high wall surrounded the temple precinct. Within the enclosed area were the shrine of the chief deity, as well as open-air plazas, chapels for lesser gods, facilities for the priests and other members of the temple staff, and craft shops, storerooms, and service buildings to meet the needs of a large and busy organization. The most visible part of the temple precinct was the *ziggurat,* a multistoried, mud-brick tower approached by ramps and stairs. Modern scholars are not entirely certain of the ziggurat's function and symbolic meaning.

Even harder to determine are the everyday beliefs and religious practices of the common people. Modern scholars do not know how accessible the temple buildings were to the general public. Individuals did place votive statues in the sanctuaries. They believed that these miniature replicas of themselves could continually beseech and seek the favor of the deity. The survival of many amulets (small charms meant to protect the bearer from evil) and representations of a host of demons suggest a widespread belief in the value of *magic*—the use of special words and rituals that allow people to manipulate and control the forces of nature. A headache, for example, was believed to be caused by a demon that could be driven out of the ailing body. Or in return for an appropriate gift or sacrifice, a god or goddess might reveal information about the future.

The religion of the elite and the religion of ordinary people came together in great festivals such as the twelve-day New Year's Festival held each spring in Babylon to mark the beginning of a new agricultural cycle. The Babylonians believed that the world went through a cycle from birth to death each year, but they did not assume that the cycle would automatically recur every year. The New Year's Festival was a virtual restaging of the act of creation, an effort to ensure the victory of life over death and the restarting of time.

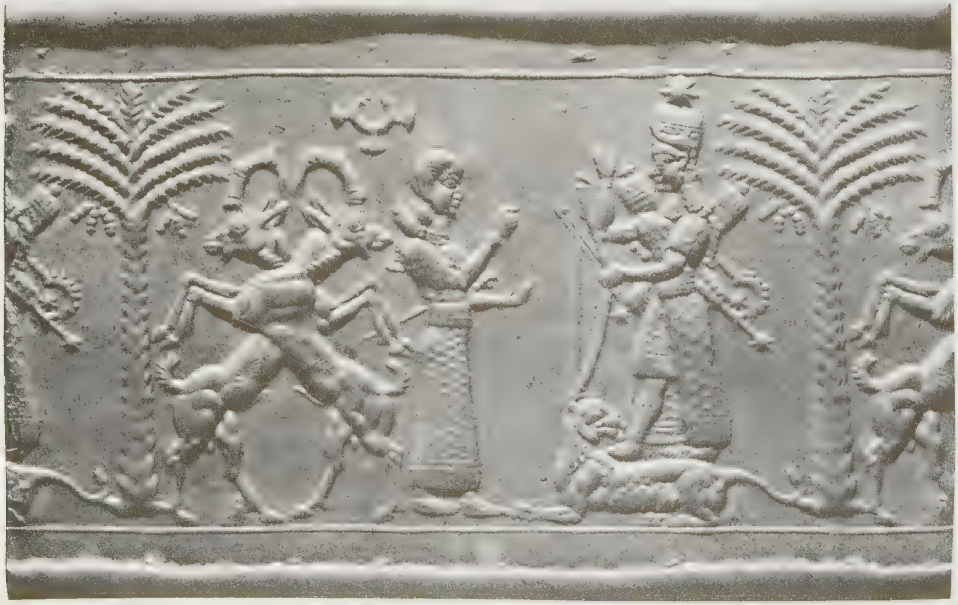
Technology and Science The ancient Mesopotamians, like all complex societies, developed technologies that allowed them to exert some control over their environment. Particularly important was writing, which first appeared in Mesopotamia before 3300 B.C.E. The earliest inscribed tablets, found in the chief temple at Uruk, date from a time when the temple was the most important economic institution in the community. According to a plausible recent theory, writing originated from a system of tokens used to keep track of property—sheep, cattle, wagon wheels, and the like—as increases in the amount of accumulated wealth and the volume and complexity of commercial transactions strained the capacity of people's memory to preserve an accurate record. These tokens were made in the shape of the commodity and were inserted and sealed in a clay envelope. Pictures of the tokens were incised on the outside of the envelope as a reminder of what was inside. Eventually people realized that the incised pictures were an adequate record of the transaction, rendering the tokens inside redundant. These pictures became the first written symbols.

The most common writing method was to use a sharpened reed to incise a moist clay tablet. Because the reed made wedge-shaped impressions, the early pictures were increasingly stylized into a combination of strokes and wedges that evolved into *cuneiform* (Latin for "wedge-shaped") writing. Mastering this system required years of training and practice. Several hundred signs were in use at any one time, as compared to the twenty-five or so signs required for an alphabetic system. Members of the scribal class enjoyed prestige and regular employment because of their skill and thus may have been reluctant to simplify the cuneiform system. In the Old Babylonian period, the growth of the private commercial sector was accompanied by an increase in the number of people who could read and write. Nevertheless, only a small percentage of the population was literate. Kings and commanders normally did not know how to read and write and paid scribes to exercise this skill on their behalf.

Cuneiform is not a language but a system of writing. Developed originally for the Sumerian language, it was later adapted to express the Akkadian language of the Mesopotamian Semites as well as other languages of western Asia such as Hittite, Eblaite, Elamite, and Persian. The earliest documents are economic, but cuneiform is an outstanding example of a technology that had wide-ranging uses beyond the use for which it was originally conceived. In the early period, legal acts had been validated by the recitation of oral formulas and the performance of symbolic actions. After the development of cuneiform, written documents that were marked with the seal of the participants became the primary indicator of validation. The system of writing also came to be used for political, literary, religious, and scientific purposes.

Mesopotamians developed other technologies to meet the challenges of their environment. Fields were irrigated by means of canals, dams, and dikes. Methods of transportation varied from region to region. Carts and sledges drawn by cattle were common in some locations. In the south, where water channels cut up the landscape, boats and barges were more effective. In northern Mesopotamia, donkeys were the chief pack animals for overland caravans in the centuries before the advent of the camel.

The Mesopotamians had to import raw metal ore, but they became skilled in metallurgy, mixing copper with arsenic or tin to make bronze. Bronze is more malleable than stone. Liquid bronze can be poured into molds, and hardened bronze takes a sharper edge than stone, is less likely to break, and is more easily repaired. Stone



Impression made by a Mesopotamian cylinder seal Seals indicated the identity of an individual and were pressed into wet clay or wax to "sign" legal documents or to mark ownership of an object. Here the owner of the seal (left) stands before the goddess Ishtar, recognizable by her characteristic star symbol and lion. Ishtar, whose domains encompassed both love and violence, is dressed as a warrior. (Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum) implements, however, continued to be produced, for the poorest people usually could not afford bronze.

Resource-poor Mesopotamians possessed one commodity in abundance: clay. Mud bricks, dried in the sun or baked in an oven for greater durability, were their primary building material. Construction on a monumental scale—city walls, temples, palaces—required practical knowledge of architecture and engineering. For example, the reed mats that Mesopotamian builders laid between the mud-brick layers of ziggurats served the same stabilizing purpose as girders in modern high-rise construction. Because of the abundance of good clay, pottery was the most common form of dishware and storage vessel. The potter's wheel was in use by 4000 B.C.E.

In the military sphere as well there were innovative developments—in organization, tactics, and weapons and other machinery of warfare. The powerful states of the later third and second millennia B.C.E. built up professional armies. In the early second millennium B.C.E. horses appeared in western Asia, and the horse-drawn chariot came into vogue, carrying close to enemy lines a driver and an archer who could unleash a volley of arrows. Using increasingly effective siege machinery, Mesopotamian soldiers could climb over, undermine, or knock down the walls protecting the cities of their enemies.

In other ways, too, the Mesopotamians sought to gain control of their physical environment. They used a base-60 number system (the origin of the seconds and minutes we use today) in which numbers were expressed as fractions or multiples of 60 (in contrast to our base-10 system). Advances in mathematics and careful observation of celestial phenomena made the Mesopotamians sophisticated practitioners of astronomy. Mesopotamian priests compiled lists of omens or unusual sightings on earth and in the heavens, together with a record of the events that coincided with them. They consulted these texts at critical times, for they believed that if, at some future time, a similar omen appeared, the event that originally occurred with the omen would occur again.

Egypt

Nowhere is it more apparent how profoundly natural environment shapes the history and culture of a society than in ancient Egypt. Located at the intersection of Asia and Africa, Egypt is protected by surrounding barriers of desert and a harborless seacoast. Mesopotamia was open to migration or invasion and was dependent on imported resources. In contrast, natural isolation and essential self-sufficiency allowed Egypt to develop a unique culture that for long periods of time had relatively little to do with other civilizations.

The Land of Egypt: "Gift of the Nile" The fundamental geographical feature of Egypt, ancient and modern, is the Nile River. The world's longest river, the Nile originates from Lake Victoria and from several large tributaries in the highlands of tropical Africa and flows northward, carving a narrow valley between the chain of hills on either side, until it reaches the Mediterranean Sea. The land through which it flows is mostly desert, but the river makes green a narrow strip on either side of its banks. About 100 miles (160 kilometers) from the Mediterranean the river divides into channels to form a triangular delta. Nearly the entire population of the region lives in that twisting, green ribbon alongside the river or in the Nile Delta. The rest of the country, 90 percent or more, is a bleak and inhospitable desert of mountains, rocks, and dunes. The ancient Egyptians recognized this stark dichotomy between the low-lying, life-sustaining "Black Land" with its dark soil alongside the river and the elevated, deadly "Red Land" of the desert. With justification and insight did the fifth-century B.C.E. Greek traveler Herodotus call Egypt the "gift of the Nile."

The hot climate with plenty of sunshine was favorable for agriculture, but south of the delta there is practically no rainfall. Thus agriculture was entirely dependent on river water. Each September, with considerable regularity, the river overflowed its banks, spreading water out into the depressed basins. Unlike the Mesopotamians, the Egyptians did not need to construct dams and mechanical devices to lift water to channels and fields. And unlike the Tigris and Euphrates, whose flood came at a disadvantageous time, the Nile flooded at just the right time for grain agriculture. When the waters receded, they left behind a fertile layer of mineral-rich silt, and farmers could easily plant their crops in the moist soil. The Egyptians had many versions of the Creation Myth, but it always involved the emergence of life from a primeval swamp.

Egypt was well endowed with natural resources. Egyptians used reeds that grew in marshy areas and along the banks of the river to make sails, ropes, and a kind of paper. Hunters pursued the wild animals and birds that abounded in the marshes and on the edge of the desert, and fishermen lowered their nets into the river. Building stone could be quarried and floated downstream from southern Egypt. Clay for mud bricks and pottery could be found almost everywhere. Copper and turquoise deposits in the Sinai desert to the east and gold from Nubia to the south were within reach, and the state organized armed expeditions and mustered forced labor to exploit these resources. Thus Egypt was self-sufficient to a much larger degree than Mesopotamia.

The circumstances that led to Egypt becoming a focal point of civilization were due, at least in part, to a change in climate that took place gradually from the fifth to the third millennium B.C.E. Until that time, the Sahara, the vast region that is now the world's largest desert, had a relatively mild and wet climate and lakes and grasslands that supported a variety of plant and animal species as well as populations of hunter-gatherers. As the climate changed and the Sahara began to dry up and become a desert, some displaced groups migrated into the Nile Valley.

Divine Kingship The increase in population produced new, more complex levels of political organization, including a form of local kingship. The pivotal event, in the view of later generations of Egyptians, was the conquest of these smaller units and the unification of all Egypt by Menes, a ruler from the south, around 3100 B.C.E.

Historians organize Egyptian history into thirty dynasties (sequences of kings from the same family) identified by Manetho, an Egyptian from the third century B.C.E. Scholars refer to the "Old," "Middle," and "New Kingdoms," each a period of centralized political power and brilliant cultural achievement, punctuated by "Intermediate Periods" of political fragmentation and cultural decline.

The central institution in the Egyptian state was the *pharaoh*, or king. From the period of the Old Kingdom if not earlier, the principle was established that the king was the son of the sun-god Re. Egyptians believed that their king was sent to earth by the gods and that his function on earth was to maintain *ma'at*, the divinely authorized order of the universe. He was the indispensable link between his people and the gods, and through his benevolent rule he ensured the welfare and prosperity of the country. The Egyptians' conception of a divine king who was the source of law and authority may explain the apparent lack of efforts to publish in Egypt an impersonal code of law comparable to Hammurabi's Code in Mesopotamia.

In a very real sense, all of Egypt belonged to the king and everyone served him. When the monarchy was strong, it controlled the country and nearly every facet of people's lives. An extensive administrative apparatus began at the village level and progressed to the districts into which the country was divided and, finally, to the central government based in the capital city, which changed according to the dynasty occupying the throne. Memphis, on the Lower Nile near the apex of the delta (close to Cairo, the modern capital), held this central position during the Old Kingdom. Thebes, far to the south, came to prominence during much of the Middle and New Kingdom periods (see Map 1.2).

The royal bureaucracy used writing to keep track of land, labor, products, and people. The ruler extracted as taxes a substantial portion of the annual revenues of the country—at times as much as 50 percent. The income was used to subsidize the palace, bureaucracy, and army, to build and maintain temples, and to raise great monuments celebrating the ruler's reign. Because the villages lined up along the river, it was easy for the government to monitor their activities and extract their surplus resources.

The royal administration maintained a monopoly over key sectors of the economy and controlled long-distance trade. Private enterprise was almost nonexistent. Everyone worked in some capacity for the state, though independent exchanges of goods surely took place on a small scale at the local level. This was quite different from Mesopotamia, where commerce increasingly fell into the hands of an acquisitive urban middle class.

The death of the king was a critical moment in the life of the country because so much depended on him. Every effort was made to ensure the well-being of his soul on its perilous journey to rejoin the gods. Massive resources flowed into the construction of royal tombs, the celebration of elaborate funerary rites, and the sustenance of kings' souls in the afterlife by perpetual offerings in funerary chapels attached to the royal tombs. Early rulers were buried in flat-topped, rectangular tombs made of mud brick. But around 2630 B.C.E., Djoser, a Third Dynasty king, ordered the construction for himself at Saqqara, about 20 miles (32 kilometers) south of the delta, of a spectacular stepped pyramid consisting of stone platforms laid one on top of the other. Rulers in the Fourth Dynasty filled in the steps to create the smooth-sided, limestone pyramids that have become the most memorable symbol of ancient Egypt. Between 2550 and 2490 B.C.E., the pharaohs Khufu and Khefren erected huge pyramids at Giza, several miles to the north of Saqqara, the largest stone structures ever built by human hands. Khufu's pyramid originally reached a height of 481 feet (147 meters).

Egyptians accomplished all this construction with bronze tools and no machinery other than simple levers, pulleys, and rollers. What made it possible was almost unlimited human muscle power. Although this labor was compulsory, the Egyptian masses probably regarded it as a kind of religious service that helped to ensure the continuity of their beneficent environment. Most of the surplus resources of the country went into the construction of these artificial mountains of stone. In the end, the outlay was more than the country could sustain. The age of the great pyramids lasted only about a century, although pyramids continued to be built on a smaller scale for two millennia afterward.

Administration and Communication A complex administrative bureaucracy maintained the necessary records of Egyptian resources. These officials received grants of land from the king and were supported by dependent peasants who worked the land. The hallmark of this administrative class was literacy. A system of writing had been developed by the beginning of the Old Kingdom, perhaps under the influence of Mesopotamia but with distinctively Egyptian qualities. *Hieroglyphics*, the earliest form of this writing system, were picture symbols standing for words, syllables, or individual sounds. Our ability to read ancient Egyptian writing is due to the decipherment, in the early nineteenth century C.E., of the Rosetta Stone, a document from the second century B.C.E. that gave hieroglyphic and Greek versions of the same text.

Hieroglyphic writing long continued in use on monuments and ornamental inscriptions. By 2500 B.C.E., however, a cursive script, in which the original pictorial nature of the symbol was less readily apparent, had been developed for the everyday needs of administrators and copyists working with ink on a writing material called *papyrus*, after the reed from which it was made. Writing came to be used for many purposes other than administrative recordkeeping. A large written literature developed—tales of adventure and magic, love poetry, religious hymns, and manuals of instruction on technical subjects. Workshops attached to the temples produced copies of traditional texts.

When the monarchy was strong, officials were appointed and promoted on the basis of merit and accomplishment. Lower-level officials were assigned to work in villages and district capitals;

high-ranking officials served in the royal capital. When Old Kingdom officials died, they were buried in tombs laid out around the monumental tomb of the king so that they could serve him in death as they had done in life.

In comparison with Mesopotamia, a far larger percentage of the Egyptian population lived in rural villages and engaged in agriculture, and the essential wealth of Egypt resided to a higher degree in the land and its products. Towns and cities in ancient Egypt were less crucial than Mesopotamian urban centers to the economic and cultural dynamism of the country. Unfortunately, archaeologists have been unable to excavate many ancient urban sites in Egypt because they have been continuously inhabited and lie beneath modern communities.

During the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the king maintained limited contact with other advanced civilizations in the region but did not actively seek to expand beyond Egypt's natural boundaries. When necessary, local militia units backed up a small standing army of professional soldiers. Nomadic tribes living in the eastern and western deserts and the Libyans living in the northwest were a nuisance rather than a real danger to the Nile Valley and were readily handled by the Egyptian military. Egypt's interests abroad focused primarily on maintaining access to valuable resources rather than on acquiring territory. Trade with the coastal towns of the Levant (modern Israel, Lebanon, and Syria) brought in cedar wood. In return, Egypt exported grain, papyrus, and gold.

The People of Egypt The population of ancient Egypt—perhaps between 1 million and 1½ million people—was physically heterogeneous, ranging from dark-skinned people related to the populations of sub-Saharan Africa to lighter-skinned people akin to the Berber and Arab populations of North Africa and western Asia. Although Egypt, unlike Mesopotamia, was not subject to large-scale migrations and invasions, throughout the historical period settlers trickled into the Nile Valley and assimilated with the people already living there.

Social stratification existed in Egypt, but no rigid class structure emerged. At the top of the social hierarchy were the king and high-level officials. In the middle were lower-level officials, local leaders, priests and other professionals, artisans, and well-to-do farmers. At the bottom were peasants, the vast majority of the population. Peasants lived in rural villages. Their lives were filled with the seasonally changing tasks of agriculture—plowing, sowing, tending emerging shoots, reaping, threshing, and storing grain or other products of the soil. Plowing was relatively easy in the soft, silt-laden soil that the floodwaters left behind. The irrigation network of channels, basins, and dikes had to be maintained, improved, and extended. Domesticated animals—cattle, sheep, goats, and fowl—and fish supplemented their diet. Inhabitants of the same village must have shared implements, work animals, and storage facilities, as well as helped one another at peak times in the agricultural cycle and in the construction of houses and other buildings. They also prayed and feasted together at festivals to the local gods and at other public celebrations. Villagers periodically were required to contribute labor to state projects, such as construction of the pyramids. If the burden of taxation or compulsory service proved too great, few avenues of resistance were available to villagers other than fleeing into the inhospitable desert.

This account of the lives of ordinary Egyptians is largely conjectural because the villages of ancient Egypt, like those of Mesopotamia, left few traces in the archaeological or literary record. Tomb paintings of the elite sometimes depict the lives of common folk. The artists employed pictorial conventions to indicate status, such as obesity for the possessors of wealth and comfort, baldness and deformity for members of the working classes. Egyptian poets frequently used metaphors of farming and hunting, and legal documents on papyruses preserved in the hot, dry sands tell of property transactions and the disputes of ordinary people.

Slavery existed on a limited scale but was of little significance for the economy. Prisoners of war, condemned criminals, and debtors could be found on the country estates or in the households of the king and the upper classes. Treatment of slaves was relatively humane, and they could be given their freedom.

Information about the lives of women of the Egyptian upper classes is available though filtered through the brushes and pens of male artists and scribes. Upper-class Egyptian women had rights over their dowry in case of divorce, they could own property, and they could will their property to whomever they wished. Historical evidence suggests that at certain times queens and queen-mothers played significant behind-the-scenes roles in the politics of the royal court. Tomb paintings show women of the royal family and elite classes accompanying their husbands and engaging in typical domestic activities. They are depicted with dignity and affection, though clearly they are subordinate to the men. The artistic convention of depicting men with a dark red and women with a yellow flesh tone implies that the elite woman's proper sphere was indoors, away from the searing sun.

In the beautiful love poetry of the New Kingdom the lovers address each other in terms of apparent equality and express emotions akin to our own ideal of romantic love. We cannot be sure how accurately this poetry represents the prevalent attitude in other periods of Egyptian history or among groups other than the educated elite. The limited evidence, however, suggests that women in ancient Egypt were treated more respectfully and had more social freedom than women in Mesopotamia and other ancient societies.

Belief and Knowledge The religion of the Egyptians was rooted in the landscape of the Nile Valley and in the vision of cosmic order that this environment evoked. The consistency of their environment—the sun rose every day into a clear and cloudless sky, and the river flooded on schedule every year, ensuring a bounteous harvest—persuaded the Egyptians that the natural world was a place of recurrent cycles and periodic renewal.

In normal times the king—himself the son of Re, the sun-god—was the chief priest of Egypt, intervening with the gods on behalf of his land and people. Egyptian rulers took a special interest in building new temples, refurbishing old ones, and making lavish gifts to the gods, as well as overseeing the construction of their own monumental tombs. Thus a considerable portion of the wealth of Egypt was used for religious purposes as part of a ceaseless effort to win the gods' favor, maintain the continuity of divine kingship, and ensure the renewal of the life-giving forces that sustained the world.

The many gods of ancient Egypt were diverse in origin and nature. Some deities were normally depicted with animal heads; others were always given human form. Many towns had temples in which locally prominent deities were thought to reside. Cult activities were carried out in the privacy of the inner reaches of the temples, where priests daily served the needs of the deity by attending to his or her statue. During great festivals, a boat-shaped litter carrying the shrouded statue and cult items of the deity was paraded around the town. Such occasions allowed large numbers of people to have contact with the deity and to participate in a mass outpouring of devotion and celebration. Little is known about the day-to-day beliefs and practices of the common people, however. In the household family members revered and made small offerings to Bes, the grotesque god of marriage and domestic happiness, to local deities, and to the family's ancestors. Amulets and depictions of demonic figures reflect the prevalence of magical practices. In later times Greeks and Romans regarded Egypt as a place where the devotion to magic was especially strong.

Egyptians believed in the reality of the afterlife and made extensive preparations for a safe and successful passage to the next world and a comfortable existence once they arrived there. One common belief was that death was a journey beset with hazards. The Egyptian Book of the Dead, present in many excavated tombs, contained rituals and prayers to protect the soul of the deceased at each point of the trip. The final and most important challenge was the weighing of the deceased's heart before the judges of the Underworld to determine whether the traveler had led a good life and deserved to reach the ultimate blessed destination.

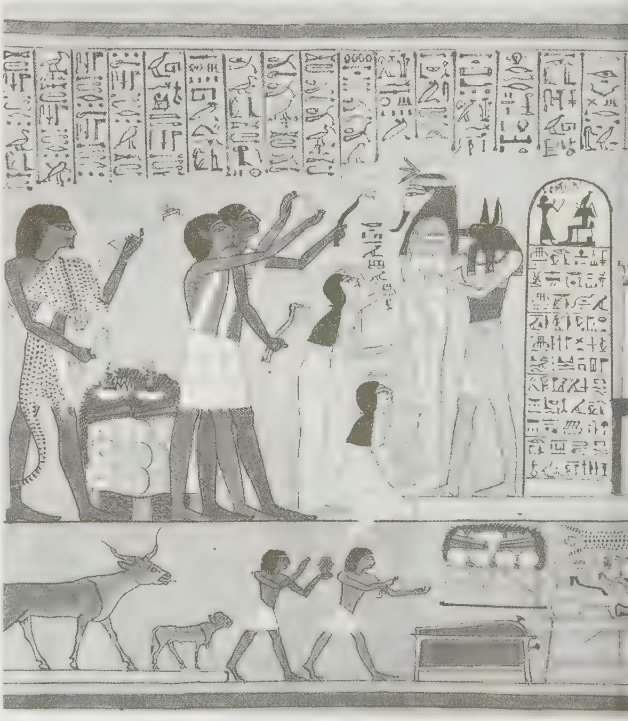
Along with the obsession over the afterlife went great concern about the physical condition of the cadaver. The Egyptians perfected techniques of mummification to preserve the dead body. The idea probably derived from the early practice of burying the dead in the hot, dry sand on the edge of the desert, where bodies decomposed slowly. The elite classes utilized the most expensive kind of mummification. The brain and certain vital organs were removed, preserved, and stored in stone jars laid out around the corpse. Body cavities were filled with various packing materials. The cadaver was immersed for long periods in dehydrating and preserving chemicals and eventually was wrapped in linen. The mummy was then placed in one or more decorated wooden caskets and was entombed.

Tombs usually were placed at the edge of the desert so as not to tie up valuable farmland. They were filled with pictures and samples of food and the objects of everyday life so that the deceased would have whatever he or she might need in the next life. Small figurines called *shawabtis* were included to play the part of servants and to take the place of the deceased in case the regimen of the afterlife included periodic calls for compulsory labor. The elite classes ordered chapels to be built near their tombs and left endowments to subsidize the daily attendance of a priest and offerings of foodstuffs to sustain their souls for all eternity.

The form of the tomb also reflected the wealth and status of the deceased. Common people had to make do with simple pit graves or small mudbrick chambers. Members of the privileged classes built larger tombs and covered the walls with pictures and inscriptions. Kings erected pyramids and other grand edifices, employing subterfuge to hide the sealed chamber containing the body and treasures, as well as curses and other magical precautions to foil tomb robbers. Rarely did they succeed, however. Nearly all the tombs that archaeologists have discovered had been plundered.

The ancient Egyptians developed an array of advantageous technologies. They learned much about chemistry through their experiments to find ever better methods for preserving the dead body. The process of mummification also provided ample opportunities to learn about human anatomy, and as a result Egyptian doctors were in demand in the courts of western Asia because of their relatively advanced medical knowledge and techniques. The Egyptians devoted much effort to constructing, maintaining, and expand-

Scene from the Egyptian Book of the Dead, ca. 1300 B.C.E. The mummy of a royal scribe named Hunefar is approached by members of his household before being placed in the tomb. Behind Hunefar is jackal-headed Anubis, the god who will conduct the spirit of the deceased to the afterlife. The Book of the Dead provided Egyptians with the instructions they needed to complete this arduous journey and gain a blessed existence in the afterlife. (Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum)



ing the Nile's network of irrigation channels and holding basins. They needed mathematics to survey and measure the dimensions of fields and calculate the quantity of agricultural produce owed to the state, and they gleaned sophisticated astronomical knowledge from their efforts to calculate when the Nile would rise.

The construction of pyramids, temple complexes, and other monumental building projects called for great skill in engineering and architecture. Vast quantities of earth had to be moved. Large stones had to be quarried, dragged on rollers, floated downstream on barges, lifted into place, then carved to the exact size needed and made smooth. Long underground passageways were excavated to connect the mortuary temple by the river with the tomb near the desert's edge, and on several occasions Egyptian kings dredged out a canal more than 50 miles (80 kilometers) long in order to join the Nile Valley to the Red Sea and expedite the transport of goods.

The Indus Valley Civilization

Civilization arose almost as early in India as in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Just as each of the Middle Eastern civilizations was centered on a great river valley, civilization in India originated on a fertile floodplain. In the valley of the Indus River, settled farming created the agricultural surplus essential to urbanized society.

Natural Environment In the central portion of the Indus Valley, in the Sind region of modern Pakistan, a plain of more than 1 million acres (400,000 hectares) lies between the mountains to the west and the Thar Desert to the east (see Map 1.2). Because the Indus River carries a great load of silt, over the ages the riverbed and its containing banks have risen above the plain. Twice a year the river overflows its banks and spreads for as much as 10 miles (16 kilometers). In spring, melting snow feeds the river's sources in the Pamir and Himalaya mountain ranges. Then in August, the great monsoon (seasonal wind) blowing off the ocean to the southwest brings rains that swell the streams flowing into the Indus. As a result, farmers in this region of little rainfall are able to plant and harvest two crops a year. In ancient times, the Hakra River, which has since dried up, ran parallel to the Indus about 25 miles (40 kilometers) to the east and provided a second area suitable for intensive cultivation.

Several adjacent regions were also part of this fertile zone. To the northeast is the Punjab, where five rivers converge to form the main course of the Indus. Lying beneath the shelter of the towering Himalaya range, the Punjab receives considerably more rainfall than the central plain but is less prone to flooding. From this region settlements spread as far as Delhi in northwest India. Another zone of settlement extended south into the great delta where the Indus empties into the Arabian Sea, and southeast into India's hook-shaped Kathiawar Peninsula, an area of alluvial plains and coastal marshes. The territory covered by the Indus Valley civilization is roughly equivalent in size to modern France—much larger than the zone of Mesopotamian civilization.

Material Culture The Indus Valley civilization flourished from approximately 2900 to 1800 B.C.E. Although archaeologists have located several hundred sites, the culture is best known from the archaeological remains of two great cities first discovered nearly eighty years ago. The ancient names of these cities are unknown, so they are referred to by modern names: Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. Unfortunately, a rise in the water table at these sites has made excavation of the lowest and earliest levels of settlement virtually impossible.

The identity, origins, and fate of the people who created and maintained this advanced civilization for more than a thousand years are in dispute. Until recently, scholars assumed that they were dark-skinned speakers of the Dravidian languages whose descendants were later pushed out of the north into central and southern India by invading Indo-European nomads around 1500 B.C.E. Studies of skeletal evidence, however, indicate that the population of these lands remained stable from ancient times to the present. Scholars now think that settled agriculture in this part of the world dates back to at least 5000 B.C.E. The precise relationship between the Indus Valley civilization and several earlier cultural complexes in the Indus Valley and in the hilly lands to the west is unclear. Also unclear are the forces giving rise to the urbanization, population increase, and technological advances that occurred in the early third millennium B.C.E. Nevertheless, the case for continuity seems stronger than the case for a sudden migration due to the movement of new peoples into the valley.

Like the Mesopotamians and Egyptians, the people of the Indus Valley had a system of writing. They used more than four hundred signs to represent syllables and words. Archaeologists have recovered thousands of inscribed seal stones and copper tablets. Unfortunately, these documents have not yet been deciphered, although it has been suggested that the seal stones may carry the names of merchants who stamped their wares.

This society produced major urban centers. Harappa, the smaller of the two excavated so far, was 3½ miles (5.6 kilometers) in circumference and may have housed a population of 35,000. Mohenjo-Daro was several times larger. In planning and construction, these cities show marked similarities. High, thick brick walls surrounded each. The streets were laid out in a grid pattern. Covered drainpipes carried away waste. The regular size of the streets and length of the city blocks, as well as the uniformity of the mud bricks used in construction, may be evidence of a strong central authority. The seat of this authority may have been located in the citadel—an elevated, enclosed compound containing large buildings. Nearby stood well-ventilated structures that scholars think were storehouses of grain for feeding the urban population and for export. The presence of barracks may point to some regimentation of the skilled artisans.

A common assumption has been that these urban centers dominated the surrounding rural areas, though there is no proof that they did. Mohenjo-Daro seems to dominate the great floodplain of the Indus. Harappa, nearly 500 miles (805 kilometers) from Mohenjo-Daro, may have served as a "gateway" to the natural resources of the northwest, such as copper, tin, and precious stones. Seaports to the south also would have had a commercial function, expediting seaborne trade with the Persian Gulf.

Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa have received the most attention from archaeologists, and published accounts of the Indus Valley civilization tend to treat those urban centers as the norm. Most people, however, lived in smaller settlements. Two intriguing features of the Indus Valley civilization are the considerable standardization of styles and shapes for many kinds of artifacts and the fact that the full range of materials, as well as the types and styles of artifacts, is found not only in the large cities but also in smaller settlements. Some scholars suggest that this standardization may be due not to a strong and authoritarian central government but rather to extensive exchange and trading of goods.

There is a greater abundance of metal in the Indus Valley than in Mesopotamia or Egypt, and most of the metal objects that archaeologists have found in the Indus Valley are utilitarian—tools and other useful objects. In contrast, metal objects unearthed in Mesopotamia and Egypt tend to be decorative—jewelry and the like. Moreover, in the Indus Valley metal objects were available to a large cross-section of the population, but in the Middle East they were primarily reserved for the elite classes.

The civilization of the Indus Valley possessed impressive technological capabilities. These people were adept in the technology of irrigation. They used the potter's wheel. They laid the foundations of large public buildings with mud bricks baked in a kiln because sun-dried bricks exposed to floodwaters would have dissolved quickly. Smiths worked with various metals—gold, silver, copper, and tin. The varying ratios of

ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

Environmental Stress in the Indus Valley

The three river-valley civilizations discussed in this chapter were located in arid or semiarid regions. Such regions are particularly vulnerable to changes in the environment. Scholars' debates over the existence and impact of changes in the climate and landscape of the Indus Valley illuminate some of the potential factors at work, as well as the difficulties of verifying and interpreting long-ago changes.

One of the points at issue is climatic change. An earlier generation of scholars believed that the climate of the Indus Valley was considerably wetter during the height of that civilization than it is now. As evidence, they cited the enormous quantities of timber, cut from extensive forests, that would have been needed to bake the millions of mud bricks used to construct the cities (see photo), the distribution of human settlements on land that is now unfavorable for agriculture, and the representation of jungle and marsh animals on decorated seals. Other experts, skeptical about a dramatic climatic change, countered with refined calculations of the amount of timber needed, instances of the use of unbaked brick, evidence of plant remains, and the growing of barley (a grain that is tolerant of dry conditions). Radiocarbon-dated samples of ancient pollen have been used to support speculation about both continuity and change in the climate. However, recent studies of the stabilization of sand dunes, which occurs in periods of heavy rainfall, and analysis of the sediment deposited by rivers and winds, have been used to strengthen the claim that the Indus Valley used to be wetter and in the early-to-mid second millennium B.C.E. entered a period of drier conditions that have persisted to the present.

Mud-brick construction in Harappa (Photo from *The Cambridge History of India: The Indus Civilization*, by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. With permission of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.)

A much clearer case can be made for changes in the landscape caused by shifts in the courses of rivers. These shifts are due, in many cases, to tectonic forces such as earthquakes. Dry channels, whether detected in satellite photographs or by on-the-ground inspection, reveal the location of old riverbeds, and it appears that a second major river system once ran parallel to the Indus some distance to the east. Either the Sutlej, which now feeds into the Indus, or the Yamuna, which now pours into the Ganges Basin, may have been the main source of water for this long-gone system. As for the Indus itself, the present-day course of the lower reaches of the river has shifted 100 miles (161 kilometers) to the west since the arrival of the Greek conqueror Alexander the Great in the late fourth century B.C.E., and the deposit of massive volumes of silt has pushed the mouth of the river 50 miles (80 kilometers) farther south.

A recent study concludes: "It is obvious that ecological stresses, caused both climatically and technically, played an important role in the life and decay of the Harappan Civilization."

tin to copper in their bronze objects suggest that they were acutely aware of the hardness of different mixtures and conserved the relatively rare tin by using the smallest amount necessary, since, for example, knives need not be as hard as axes.

Thanks to passes through the mountains in the northwest, the people of the Indus Valley had ready access to valuable resources in eastern Iran and Afghanistan, as well as to ore deposits in western India: metals (such as copper and tin), precious stones (lapis lazuli, jade, and turquoise), building stone, and timber. Rivers served as major thoroughfares for the movement of goods. Inhabitants of the Indus Valley and of Mesopotamia obtained raw materials from some of the same sources. Because Indus Valley seal stones have been found in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, some scholars believe that Indus Valley merchants served as middlemen in the long-distance trade, obtaining raw materials from the lands of west-central Asia and shipping them to the Persian Gulf.

We know little about the political, social, economic, and religious structures of Indus Valley society. Attempts have been made to demonstrate the presence at this early date of many cultural features that are characteristic of later periods of Indian history (see Chapter 6), but much of this work is highly speculative. Further knowledge about this society can come only from additional archaeological finds and decipherment of the Indus Valley script.

Transformation of the Indus Valley Civilization The Indus Valley cities were abandoned sometime after 1800 B.C.E. Archaeologists once thought that invaders destroyed them but now believe that this civilization suffered "systems failure"—the breakdown of the fragile interrelationship of the political, social, and economic systems that sustain order and prosperity. The precipitating cause may have been one or more natural disasters, such as an earthquake or massive flooding. Gradual ecological changes may also have played a role (see Environment and Technology: Environmental Stress in the Indus Valley). Towns no longer on the river, ports no longer by the sea, and regions suffering a loss of fertile soil and water would have necessitated the relocation of large numbers of people and a change in the livelihood of those who remained. In the end, the urban centers could not be sustained, and village-based farming and herding took their place. As the interaction between regions lessened, distinct regional variations replaced the standardized technology and style of the previous era.

Historians can do little more than speculate about the causes behind the changes and the experiences of the people who lived in the Indus Valley around 1800 B.C.E. But it is important to keep two tendencies in mind. In most cases like this, the majority of the population adjusts to the new circumstances. But members of the political and social elite, who depended on the urban centers and complex political and economic structures, lose the source of their authority and are merged with the population as a whole.

CONCLUSION

The span of time that this chapter covers is far longer than the combined time spans of all the rest of the chapters in the book. Compressing so long a period into a single chapter highlights the broad, fundamental, and gradually evolving relationships between humans and their natural environment—relationships that underlie human history. The struggle to survive in the early Ice Age gave rise to the physical evolution of human beings. Distinctive physical and mental abilities enabled humans to adapt to many different natural environments. Since the Neolithic period, people have modified parts of the natural world to suit their needs, finally developing similar organizational and technological responses in the first advanced civilizations.

These events suggest several themes that have been important throughout human history.

First, the fact that human nature and human cultures have been profoundly shaped by the struggle to survive the rigors of their environments strongly suggests that we humans must respect our place in nature. However much we use our unique abilities to reshape the land and develop new domesticated species by artificial selection, we must be careful not to upset the ecological balance on which our own existence depends.

Second, the use of tools, techniques, and specialized technical knowledge that societies passed down from one generation to the next enabled humans to exploit many natural environments. Technology enabled cultural change to become the alternative to biological change.

A third theme concerns diversity. Although many distinct species of humans once existed, by the late Neolithic period humans were the least varied biologically of any living organism. Yet they were also the earth's most widely dispersed mammals. A single species, *Homo sapiens sapiens*, had developed many different cultures and learned to thrive in all the habitable continents.

The transition from food collection to food production brought the greatest modification of the natural environment and the greatest cultural changes since people first walked on earth. Indeed, the agricultural revolutions were one of the most momentous changes in all of human history. The transition to farming and settled life opened the way to still greater changes in technology and population size as well as in social and cultural diversity. The patterns of language and belief, of diet, dress, and dwelling, that emerged in the Neolithic period shaped the next several millennia. Finally, specialization made possible by settled life gave rise to significant advances in architecture and metallurgy, to artistic achievements, to the growth of complex religious and political systems—and to the first civilizations. Each of the first civilizations met the challenges of daily life with a particular spirit deriving from its own distinctive outlook on life and death, nature and the supernatural, and the individual and the state.

In the second millennium B.C.E., as the societies of Mesopotamia and Egypt consolidated their cultural achievements and entered new phases of political expansion, and as the Indus Valley centers went into irreversible decline, a new and distinctive civilization, based likewise on the exploitation of the agricultural potential of a floodplain, was emerging in the valley of the Yellow River in eastern China. It is to that area that we turn our attention in Chapter 2.

SUGGESTED READING

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Stephen Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (1990), is a highly regarded treatment of a complex subject. George Hart, *Egyptian Myths* (1990), gathers the limited written evidence for what must have been a thriving oral tradition.

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NOTES

1. Quoted in Richard Leakey and Roger Lewin, *Origins Reconsidered: In Search of What Makes Us Human* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 81.

2. Colin Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 125, 150.

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CHAPTER TWO

The Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Hemisphere, 2200–500 B.C.E.

Early China • The Cosmopolitan Middle East • Nubia
The Aegean World • The Fall of Late Bronze Age Civilizations

Around 1450 B.C.E. Queen Hatshepsut of Egypt sent a naval expedition down the Red Sea to the fabled land that the Egyptians called "Punt." Historians believe Punt was in the northern coastal region of modern Somalia. Myrrh exported from Punt usually passed through the hands of several intermediaries before reaching Egypt. Hatshepsut hoped to bypass the middlemen and establish direct trade between Punt and Egypt. Besides bringing back myrrh resin and various sub-Saharan luxury goods—ebony and other rare woods, ivory, cosmetics, live monkeys, panther skins—the ships also carried young myrrh trees, probably to create a home-grown source of this precious substance, which the Egyptians burned on the altars of their gods. In Hatshepsut's royal Egyptian tomb at Deir el-Bahri, near Thebes, these items are represented as tribute given by the people of Punt to their Egyptian overlord, although the Egyptian emissaries must have traded for them.

Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt reveals much that is important about the ancient world in the second millennium B.C.E. The major centers resolutely pursued important resources by trade or conquest, and regions and states, both large and small, were interconnected in complex webs of political relationships and economic activities. Embassies, treaties, trade agreements, political marriages, and scribes utilizing widely recognized languages and writing systems were but some of the links joining the heterogeneous peoples of these regions. Commerce over long distances, centering on the trade in metals, was vital to the power and prosperity of the ruling classes.

The movement of goods across long distances promoted the flow of ideas and technologies, including concepts of kingship, methods of administration, systems of writing, religious beliefs and rituals, artistic tastes, metallurgical skills, and new forms of transportation. By the standards of the ancient world, the Late Bronze Age was a cosmopolitan and comfortable era, a time of stability and prosperity, of technological progress and cultural accomplishments. This period, which witnessed the last flourishing of the ancient centers of civilization in Egypt and southern Mesopotamia, also saw the formation of new centers of power and the first stirrings of peoples who would take center stage in the first millennium B.C.E.: Assyrians in northern Mesopotamia, Nubians in northeastern Africa, Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean, and the Shang and Zhou in northeastern China.

EARLY CHINA

Chinese civilization evolved in the second millennium B.C.E. on the eastern edge of the great Eurasian landmass. As in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Indus Valley, the rise of a complex society depended on the marshaling of human labor and exploitation of the waters of a great river system—the Yellow River (Huang He) and its tributaries—to support intensive agriculture in the plains. Although there is archaeological evidence of some movement of goods and ideas between western and eastern Asia, classical Chinese civilization emerged largely independent of the rise of complex societies elsewhere.

Geography and Resources

China is isolated from the rest of the Eastern Hemisphere by formidable natural barriers: to the southwest the Himalayas, the highest mountains on the planet; to the west the Pamir and Tian Mountains and the Takla Makan Desert; to the northwest the Gobi Desert and the treeless, grassy hills and plains of the Mongolian steppe; to the east the vastness of the Pacific Ocean. Although China's separation was not total—trade goods, people, and ideas moved back and forth between China, India, and Central Asia—its development in many instances was unique. The early history of China centered on the demanding environment of the northern plains, where rainfall is erratic and restricted. In that region arose the important technologies, political traditions, and philosophical and religious views that remain the hallmark of Chinese civilization.

The eastern river valleys and North China Plain contained timber, stone, and scattered deposits of metals. Most important, this region offered potentially productive land. Since prehistoric times, winds rising over the vast expanse of Central Asia have been depositing a yellowish-brown silt called *loess* (this silt in suspension in the water gives the Yellow River its distinctive hue and name). Over the ages this annual sprinkling has accumulated into a thick mantle of soil that is extremely fertile and soft enough to be worked with wooden digging sticks. The soil's lack of compactness is the reason why the region is subject to catastrophic damage from earthquakes. In this landscape agriculture, which first appeared in the fourth millennium B.C.E., demanded immense human labor. In parts of northern China forests had to be cleared to open land for planting. The Yellow River was prone to devastating floods, necessitating the construction of earthen dikes and channels to carry off the overflow. The region was equally vulnerable to prolonged droughts, for which the best defense was the digging of catch basins (reservoirs) to store river water and rainfall.

In the northern region, the staple crops were millet, indigenous to China, and wheat, which spread to East Asia from the Middle East. The cultivation of rice in the Yangzi River Valley and in the south required an even greater outlay of labor, but the reward was a spectacular yield—rice can feed a larger number of people per cultivated acre than can any other grain.

The Shang Period

Early Chinese populations grew millet and raised pigs and chickens, and they made pottery on a wheel and fired it in high-temperature kilns. They mastered the techniques of silk-cloth production, fostering the growth of silkworms, which gorged on the leaves of mulberry trees and spun the cocoons that people carefully unraveled to produce silk thread. The early Chinese built walls of pounded earth by hammering the soil inside temporary wooden frames until it became hard as cement. By 2000 B.C.E. they had acquired bronze metallurgy.

Later generations of Chinese told stories about the dynasty of the Xia, who are said to have ruled the core region in the centuries before and after 2000 B.C.E. The validity of those stories, however, is difficult to gauge. For all practical purposes Chinese history begins with the rise to power of the Shang clans, coinciding with the earliest written records in the early second millennium B.C.E.

The Shang, whose most prominent class was a warrior aristocracy, originated in the part of the Yellow River Valley that lies in the present-day province of Henan. Between approximately 1750 and 1027 B.C.E. they extended their control across a large swath of territory extending north into Mongolia, west as far as Gansu, and south into the Yangzi River Valley. The king and his administrators, who were members of the aristocracy, ruled the core area of the empire directly. Members of the royal family and high-ranking nobility managed provinces farther out, but the king was often on the road, traveling to the courts of his subordinates to reinforce their ties of loyalty.

Frequent military campaigns provided the warrior aristocracy with a theater for brave achievements and yielded considerable plunder. The "barbarians," as the Chinese called the nomadic peoples who occupied the steppe and desert regions to the north and west, periodically were rolled back and given a reminder of Shang power. (The word *barbarian* reflects the language and view of Chinese sources. Modern readers should be wary of the Chinese claim that these nomads were culturally backward and morally inferior to the Chinese.) The campaigns against peoples in the north and west produced large numbers of prisoners of war who were carried off to the Shang capital and used as slaves.

Far-reaching networks of trade sprang up across China, bringing to the core area of the Shang domain valued commodities such as jade, ivory, and mother of pearl used for jewelry, carved figurines, and decorative inlays. There are indications that Shang China and Mesopotamia were in contact and exchanged goods and ideas.

Bronze vessel with rams and dragons from the Shang Period Such vessels were used in rituals that allowed the Shang ruling class to make contact with its ancestors. As both the source and the proof of this elite's authority, these vessels were often buried in their tombs. The complex shape and elaborate decoration testify to the artisans' skill. (Seth Joel/Laurie Platt Winfrey, Inc.)

The Shang kings presented themselves as indispensable intermediaries between their people and the gods. The Shang aristocracy worshiped the spirits of their male ancestors and believed that these ancestors were intensely interested in the fortunes of their descendants and had special influence with the gods. Before taking any action, the Shang used divination to ascertain the will of the gods. Court ritual also called for sacrifices to gods and to ancestors in order to win divine favor. Burials of kings also entailed sacrifices, not only of animals but also of humans, including noble officials of the court, women, servants, soldiers, and prisoners of war.

Possession of bronze objects was a sign of authority and legitimacy and was mostly confined to members of the elite. Rural peasants were still using stone tools. Bronze was used in warfare and ritual, which, according to ancient sources, were the primary purposes of the state. The sheer quantity of bronze objects found in tombs of the Shang ruling class is impressive, especially since copper and tin (the principal ingredients of bronze) were not plentiful in northern China. Clearly the Shang elite expended a huge effort on finding and mining deposits of those elements, refining the mixed ores into pure metal, transporting the precious cargo to the capital, and commissioning the creation of skillfully made and beautifully decorated objects.

The Shang period was a time of other significant technological advances as well. The horse-drawn chariot, which the Shang may have adapted from the Middle East, was a formidable instrument of war. Domestication of the water buffalo provided additional muscle power. Growing knowledge of the principles of engineering and an effective administrative organization for mobilizing human labor led to the construction of cities, massive defensive walls of pounded earth, and monumental royal tombs.

Key to this effective administration was the form of writing developed in this era. Pictograms (pictures representing objects and concepts) were combined with phonetic symbols representing the sounds of syllables to form a complex system requiring scribes to memorize hundreds of signs. Because of the time needed to master this system, writing was the hallmark of the educated, elite class. The Chinese system has endured for thousands of years, unlike the cuneiform of Mesopotamia and the hieroglyphics of Egypt, which were replaced by simpler alphabets.

The Zhou Period

Shang domination of central and northern China lasted more than six centuries. In the eleventh century B.C.E. the last Shang king was defeated by Duke Wu of Zhou. The Zhou line of kings (ca. 1027–221 B.C.E.) would prove to be the longest lasting and most revered of all dynasties in Chinese history. The Zhou preserved the foundations of culture created by their predecessors, adding important new elements of ideology and technology.

The positive image of Zhou rule, though in many respects accurate, was skillfully constructed by propagandists for the new regime. The early Zhou monarchs referred to the chief deity as "Heaven," the monarch as the "Son of Heaven," and his rule as the "Mandate of Heaven." According to this new theory of kingship, the ruler would retain the backing of the gods as long as he served as a wise, principled, and energetic guardian of his people. His mandate could be withdrawn if he misbehaved, as the last Shang ruler had done.

Although elements of Shang ritual were allowed to continue, there was a marked decline in the practice of divination and in the extravagant and bloody sacrifices and burials common in Shang court ceremonials. The priestly power of the ruling class, which alone during the Shang period had been able to make contact with the powerful spirits of ancestors, was largely removed. The resulting separation of religion from political dealings allowed China to develop important secular philosophies in the Zhou period. The beautifully crafted bronze vessels that had been sacred implements in the Shang period became family treasures.

The early period of Zhou rule—the eleventh through ninth centuries B.C.E.—is sometimes called the Western Zhou era. These centuries saw the development of a sophisticated administrative apparatus. The Zhou built a series of capital cities with pounded earth foundations and walls. The Zhou regime was highly decentralized. More than a hundred subject territories were ruled with considerable autonomy by members and allies of the royal family.

By around 800 B.C.E., Zhou power began to wane. Proud and ambitious local rulers operated ever more independently and waged war on one another, and nomadic peoples began to press on the borders from the northwest. Moreover, the center had lost its technological advantages over outlying regions. Knowledge of how to forge bronze tools and weapons and build sturdy city walls had spread to the subjects of the Zhou Empire and even to some of the "barbarian" groups.

The subsequent epoch of Chinese history is sometimes called the Eastern Zhou era. Members of the Zhou lineage who in 771 B.C.E. had relocated to a new, more secure, eastern capital near Louyang continued to hold the imperial title and to receive at least nominal homage from the real power brokers of the age. This was a time of political fragmentation, rapidly shifting centers of power, and rampant competition and warfare among numerous small and independent states. Cities, some of them quite large, spread across the Chinese landscape. Long walls of pounded earth, the ancestors of the Great Wall of China, protected the kingdoms from suspect neighbors and northern nomads. By 600 B.C.E. iron had begun to replace bronze as the primary metal for tools and weapons, and the Chinese had learned from the steppe nomads to put fighters on horseback.

In each of the states bureaucrats expanded in number and function. Codes of law were written down. The government collected taxes from the peasants directly, and people's lives were regimented and regulated by the great rituals of court. The ruling class both justified its position and was steered toward right conduct by its claim that its actions were in accordance with a high standard of morality.

In this era, too, the clan-based kinship structures that had characterized the Shang and early Zhou periods declined and were replaced by the three-generation family—grandparents, parents, and children—which became the fundamental social unit. The concept of private property emerged; land was considered to belong to the men of the family and was divided equally among the sons when the father died.

Very little is known about the conditions of life for women in early China. Some scholars believe that women may have had an important role as shamans, entering into trance states to communicate with supernatural forces, make requests on behalf of their communities, and receive predictions of the future. By the time written records begin to illuminate our knowledge of their experiences, however, women were in a subordinate position in the strongly patriarchal family.

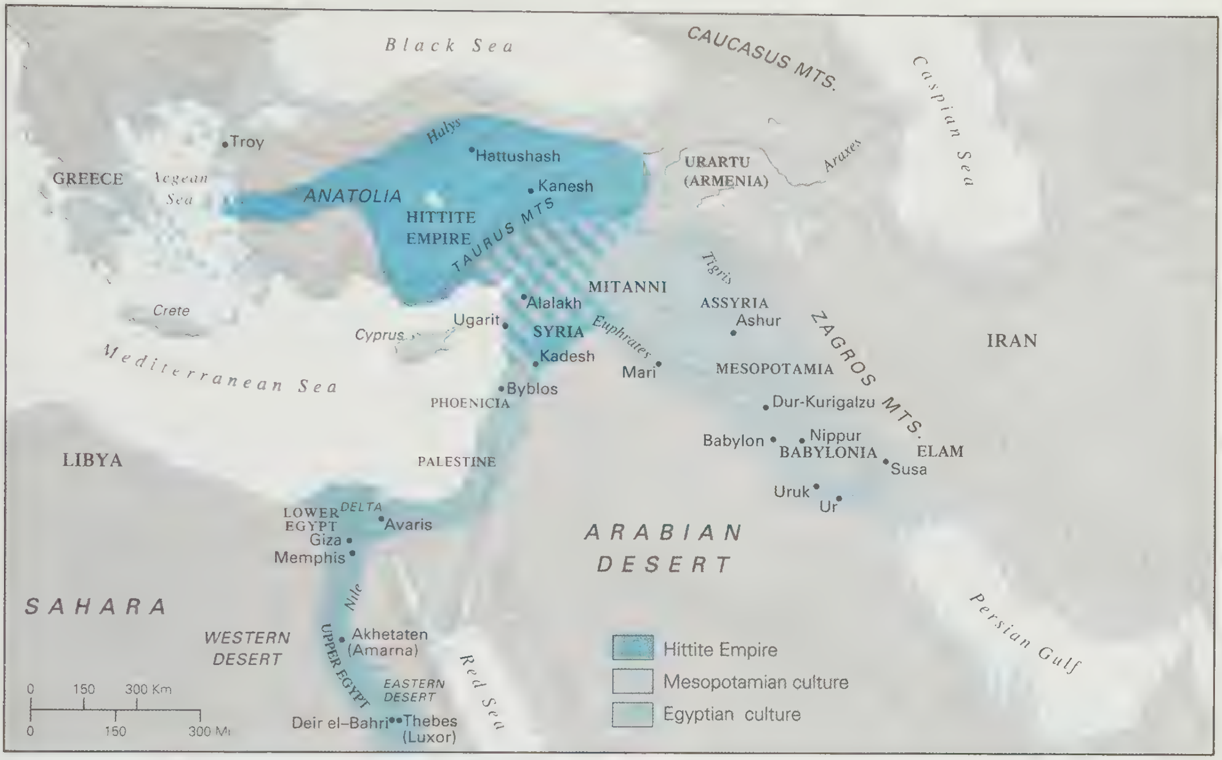
The disparity in male and female roles in early China was rationalized by the concept of *yin* and *yang*, which represented the Chinese view of the complementary nature of male (yin) and female (yang) roles in the natural order. Male toughness was to be balanced by female gentleness, male action and initiation by female endurance and need for completion, male leadership by female willingness to follow. Only men were allowed to conduct the all-important rituals and make offerings to the ancestors; women helped to maintain the ancestral shrines in the household. Fathers held authority over the women and children, arranged marriages for their offspring, and were free to sell the labor of family members. A man was supposed to have only one wife but was permitted additional sexual partners, who had the lower status of concubines. Among the elite classes marriages were used to create political alliances, and it was common for the groom's family to offer a substantial "bride-gift" to the family of the prospective bride. A man whose wife died had a virtual duty to remarry in order to produce male heirs to keep alive the cult of the ancestors. Widows, however, were under considerable pressure not to remarry as proof of their devotion to their husbands.

In sum, during the long centuries of Zhou rule the classical Chinese patterns of family, property, and bureaucracy took shape. Still to emerge was a strong central power to unify the Chinese lands. This outcome would be achieved by the state of Qin in the third century B.C.E. (see Chapter 5).

THE COSMOPOLITAN MIDDLE EAST

Both Mesopotamia and Egypt succumbed to outside invaders in the seventeenth century B.C.E. (see Chapter 1). Eventually the outsiders were either ejected or assimilated, and a new political equilibrium was achieved. In the period between 1500 and 1200 B.C.E. large states dominated the Middle East (see Map 2.1). Those centers of power controlled the smaller city-states, kingdoms, and kinship groups as they competed with, and sometimes fought against, one another for control of valuable commodities and trade routes.

Historians have called the Late Bronze Age in the Middle East a "cosmopolitan" era, meaning one in which elements of culture and lifestyle were widely shared among different groups. Extensive diplomatic relations and commercial contacts fostered the flow of ideas, and throughout the region one could find among the elite groups a relatively high standard of living and similar products and concepts. Peasants in the countryside—the majority of the population—may have seen some improvement in their standard of living but reaped far fewer of the benefits flowing from trade and other contact.



Map 2.1 The Middle East in the Second Millennium B.C.E. Wars were not uncommon, but treaties, diplomatic missions, and correspondence in Akkadian cuneiform helped to smooth relations between states tied together by extensive networks of exchange centering on the trade in metals. Even peripheral regions, such as Nubia and the Aegean Sea, were drawn into the web of commerce.

Western Asia

By 1500 B.C.E. Mesopotamia was divided into two distinct political zones: Babylonia in the south and Assyria in the north (see Map 2.1). The city of Babylon had gained political and cultural ascendancy over the southern plain under the dynasty of Hammurabi in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries B.C.E. By 1460 B.C.E. a Kassite dynasty of peoples from the Zagros Mountains to the east who spoke a non-Semitic language had come to power in Babylon. The Kassites retained names in their native language but otherwise embraced Babylonian language and culture and intermarried with the native population. During their 250 years in power, the Kassite lords of Babylonia did not actively pursue territorial conquest and were content to defend their core area and trade for vital raw materials.

The Assyrians of the north had a more expansionist destiny. Back in the twentieth century B.C.E. the city of Ashur had become one pole of a busy trade route that crossed the northern Mesopotamian plain and ascended the Anatolian Plateau, where representatives of Assyrian merchant families maintained trade settlements outside the walls of important Anatolian cities. This commerce brought tin and textiles to Anatolia in exchange for silver. In the eighteenth century B.C.E. an Assyrian dynasty gained control of Mari, a key city-state on the upper Euphrates River near the present-day border of Syria and Iraq. Although this "Old Assyrian" kingdom, as it is now called, was short-lived, it illustrates the importance of the cities that lay astride the trade routes connecting Mesopotamia to Anatolia and the Syria-Palestine coast. After 1400 B.C.E. a resurgent "Middle Assyrian" kingdom was once again engaged in campaigns of conquest and economic imperialism.

Other ambitious states emerged on the periphery of the Mesopotamian heartland. Most formidable were the Hittites, speakers of an Indo-European language who became the foremost power in Anatolia from around 1700 to 1200 B.C.E. The hills of Anatolia contained rich deposits of some of the metals that were so prized in this age—copper, silver, and iron—and the Hittites came to play an indispensable role in international commerce. The Hittite king laid down a standardized code of law, demanded military service and labor in exchange for grants of land, and supported artists and craftsmen engaged in the construction and decoration of palaces and temples.

Mesopotamian political and cultural concepts from the original Sumerian core area spread across much of the region. The cuneiform system of writing was employed to communicate in Elamite, Hittite, and other languages. Mesopotamian myths and legends were taken over by other peoples, and Mesopotamian styles of art and architecture were imitated. In this new regional order the old center was often hard-pressed by newcomers who had learned well and improved on the lessons of Mesopotamian civilization. The small, fractious, Mesopotamian city-states of the third millennium B.C.E. had been concerned with their immediate neighbors in the southern plain. In contrast, the larger states of the second millennium B.C.E. interacted politically, militarily, and economically in a geopolitical sphere extending across western Asia.

New Kingdom Egypt

Egypt entered a period of political fragmentation, economic regression, and cultural disruption in the seventeenth century B.C.E. and came under foreign rule for the first time—at the hands of the Hyksos, or "Princes of Foreign Lands," Semitic peoples from the Syria-Palestine region to the northeast (today the countries of Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria). The Hyksos intermarried with the Egyptian population and largely assimilated to native ways. They used the Egyptian language and maintained Egyptian institutions and culture. Nevertheless, in contrast to the relative ease with which outsiders were assimilated in Mesopotamia, the Egyptians, with their strong sense of ethnic identity and long tradition of political unity, continued to regard the Hyksos as "foreigners." Eventually, after three decades of unrelenting fighting, the Hyksos were expelled from Egypt by a dynasty of native princes from Thebes, who ushered in the New Kingdom, which lasted from about 1532 to 1070 B.C.E.

The century of foreign domination was a blow to Egyptian pride and shook the new leaders of Egypt out of the isolationist mindset of earlier eras. New Kingdom Egypt was an aggressive and expansionist state, engaging in frequent campaigns of conquest and extending its territorial control north into Syria-Palestine and south into Nubia. In this way Egypt won access to valuable commodities—timber, copper, gold—an infusion of wealth in the form of taxes and tribute, and a buffer zone of occupied territory that protected Egypt itself against foreign attack. At the same time, Egypt became a full-fledged participant in the network of diplomatic and commercial relations that linked the large and small states of western Asia. Egyptian soldiers, administrators, diplomats, and merchants spent much time outside Egypt. Their travels exposed Egypt to new technologies, including improved potter's wheels and looms for weaving, new fruits and vegetables, new musical instruments, and the war chariot. In sum, the New Kingdom was a period of great innovation.

During this period at least one woman laid claim to the throne of Egypt. Hatshepsut was the queen of Pharaoh Tuthmosis II. When he died, she served at first as regent for her young stepson but soon claimed the royal title for herself (r. 1473–1458 B.C.E.). In the inscriptions that she commissioned for her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, she often used the male pronoun to refer to herself, and drawings show her wearing the long, conical beard symbolic of the king of Egypt. Hatshepsut used the success of the naval expedition to Punt, described at the beginning of this chapter, to bolster her claim to the throne. After her death, in a reaction that reflected simmering opposition in some official quarters to having a woman as ruler, her picture was defaced and her name blotted out wherever it appeared.

The reign of another ruler also saw sharp departures from the ways of the past. Originally called Amenhotep IV, this ruler began to refer to himself as Akhenaten (r. 1353–1335 B.C.E.), which means "beneficial to the Aten." Changing his name was just one of the ways in which he emphasized the primacy of the Aten (the disk of the sun). He also closed the temples of the other gods, directly challenging the long-standing supremacy of Amon among the gods and the temporal power and influence of the priests of Amon. Scholars have drawn various conclusions about the spiritual impulses behind these changes. It is likely that Akhenaten's motives were at least partly political and that he was attempting to reassert the superiority of the king over the priests and to renew belief in the divinity of the king: the worship of Aten was confined to the royal family in the palace; the Egyptian population was pressed to revere Akhenaten himself.

Akhenaten built a new capital at modern-day Amarna, halfway between Memphis and Thebes (see Map 2.1). He and his artists created a new style of realism: the king, his wife Nefertiti, and the family were depicted in fluid, natural poses. The discovery at Amarna of an archive containing correspondence between the Egyptian government and various local rulers in the Syria-Palestine dependencies illuminates the diplomatic currents of this so-called Amarna period (see Voices and Visions: The Amarna Letters).

The reforms of Akhenaten stirred resistance from the administration, the priesthood, and other groups whose privileges and wealth were linked to the traditional system. After his death the old ways were restored with a vengeance: the temples were reopened, Amon was returned to his position of primacy in the pantheon, and the institution of kingship was weakened to the advantage of the priests. When the Ramesside family took possession of the throne, the new dynasty also renewed the policy of conquest and expansion that had been neglected in the Amarna period. The greatest monarch of this line, Ramesses II—Ramesses the Great, as he is sometimes called—ruled for sixty-six years (r. 1290–1224 B.C.E.) and dominated his age.

Commerce and Diplomacy

A great rivalry between Egypt and the Hittite kingdom developed over control of the region lying between them—Syria-Palestine—the pivot in the trade routes that bound together this part of the globe. The inland cities of Syria-Palestine were meeting places where merchants from different lands could exchange goods. The coastal port towns served as transshipment points for products going to or coming from the lands ringing the Mediterranean Sea.

In the Late Bronze Age, access to metal resources was vital for any state with pretensions to power. Indeed, commerce in metals energized the long-distance trade that linked the economies of the various states of the time. The sources of the most important *utilitarian* metals—copper and tin to make bronze—lay in different directions: copper came from Anatolia and Cyprus; tin came from Afghanistan and possibly the British Isles.

New modes of transportation expedited communications and commerce. Horses arrived in western Asia around 2000 B.C.E. Domesticated by nomadic peoples in Central Asia, they were brought into Mesopotamia from the northeastern mountains and reached Egypt by about 1500 B.C.E. Horse-drawn chariots became the premier instrument of war, giving a terrifying advantage over soldiers on foot. New opportunities developed for the creation of large territorial states

The Amarna Letters

The Amarna Letters are nearly four hundred documents discovered in 1887 C.E. at modern Tell el-Amarna (ancient Akhetaten), the capital of the Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaten. The documents date from approximately 1355 to 1335 B.C.E.—from the last years of Akhenaten's father, Amenhotep III, through the reign of Akhenaten. Primarily they are correspondence between the Egyptian monarch and various subordinate local rulers within the territory of modern Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria. Using Akkadian cuneiform, the vehicle for international communication at the time, the scribes sometimes betray their origins as Canaanites (the indigenous Semitic people of Syria-Palestine) by linguistic slips.

This archive reveals the complex and shifting political dynamics of the Egyptian empire, as can be seen in this letter from Lab'ayu, the Canaanite ruler of Shechem in central Israel, to Amenhotep III:

To the king, my lord and my Sun-god: Thus Lab'ayu, thy servant, and the dirt on which thou dost tread. At the feet of the king, my lord, and my Sun-god, seven times and seven times I fall.

I have heard the words which the king wrote to me, and who am I that the king should lose his land because of me? Behold, I am a faithful servant of the king, and I have not rebelled and I have not sinned, and I do not withhold my tribute, and I do not refuse the requests of my commissioner. Now they wickedly slander me, but let the king, my lord, not impute rebellion to me!

The opening language of abject subordination to the divine king is a formula that appears in almost every document. Apparently Lab'ayu had been accused of disobedience by some of his neighbors and was writing to protest his innocence. In fact, Lab'ayu is frequently accused in the Amarna Letters of attacking the territory and robbing the caravans of other Egyptian subjects.

What can we deduce from this document about the relationship of the Egyptian government to the complex patchwork of subordinate local rulers in Syria-Palestine? What were the duties of Egyptian subjects? Why might the Egyptian government have tolerated quarreling and competition among the local chiefs?

Other documents in the archive provide glimpses of the goods (including human beings) traded through this region, a crossroads between Egypt, Syria, the Mediterranean, and Mesopotamia:

To Milkilu, prince of Gezer. Thus the king. Now I have sent thee this tablet to say to thee: Behold, I am sending to thee Hanya, the commissioner of the archers, together with goods, in order to procure fine concubines (i.e.) weaving women: silver, gold, linen garments, turquoise, all sorts of precious stones, chairs of ebony, as well as every good thing, totalling 160 deben. . . . So send very fine concubines in whom there is no blemish.

The appearance of Canaanite, Egyptian, and Indo-European names in the letters reveals the diverse mix of ethnic groups living in this region. There are also frequent references to the troubles caused by the Apiru, characterized as backward, nomadic peoples prone to prey on the farmlands and towns, as in this appeal to Akhenaten from Shuwardata, a local ruler from the Hebron region:

Let the king, my lord, learn that the chief of the Apiru has risen in arms against the lands which the god of the king, my lord, gave me; but I have smitten him. . . . So let it be agreeable to the king, my lord, and let him send Yanhamu, and let us make war in earnest, and let the lands of the king, my lord, be restored to their former limits!

What common interests bind together the Egyptian monarchy and the local rulers in Syria-Palestine? What forms might cooperation between these groups take?

and empires because soldiers and government agents on horseback could cover great distances in a relatively short time.

NUBIA

Since the first century B.C.E. the name "Nubia" has been applied to a thousand-mile (1,600-kilometer) stretch of the Nile Valley lying between Aswan and Khartoum (see Map 2.2). The ancient Egyptians called it "Ta-sety," "Land of the Bow," after the favorite weapon of its warriors, and "Kush." Nubia is the only continuously inhabited stretch of territory connecting the lands south of the Sahara with North Africa. For thousands of years it has served as a corridor for trade between tropical Africa and the Mediterranean. It also was richly endowed with coveted natural resources—gold, copper, and semiprecious stones like diorite—which it exported.

Nubia's vital intermediary position and natural wealth explain the early rise there of a civilization with a complex political organization, social stratification, metallurgy, monumental building, and writing. Egyptian efforts to secure control of Nubian gold sparked the emergence of this vital and long-lived civilization. Nubia traditionally has been considered a periphery of Egypt and its culture regarded as derivative. Now, however, most scholars emphasize the interactions between Egypt and Nubia and the mutually beneficial borrowings and syntheses that took place.

Painting on a wooden casket from the tomb of Tutankhamun The light, wooden chariot drawn by a pair of horses introduced into warfare a fearsome new level of speed and mobility. Tutankhamun, here shown riding in a war chariot and slaughtering Nubian enemies, was pharaoh during the New Kingdom, a period in which Egypt abandoned its traditional isolation and extended its control over neighboring peoples in Nubia and Syria-Palestine. It is unlikely, however, that this scene represents a real event in the brief reign of the boy-king (r. 1333–1323 B.C.E.). (Griffiths Institute, Ashmokan Museum, Oxford)

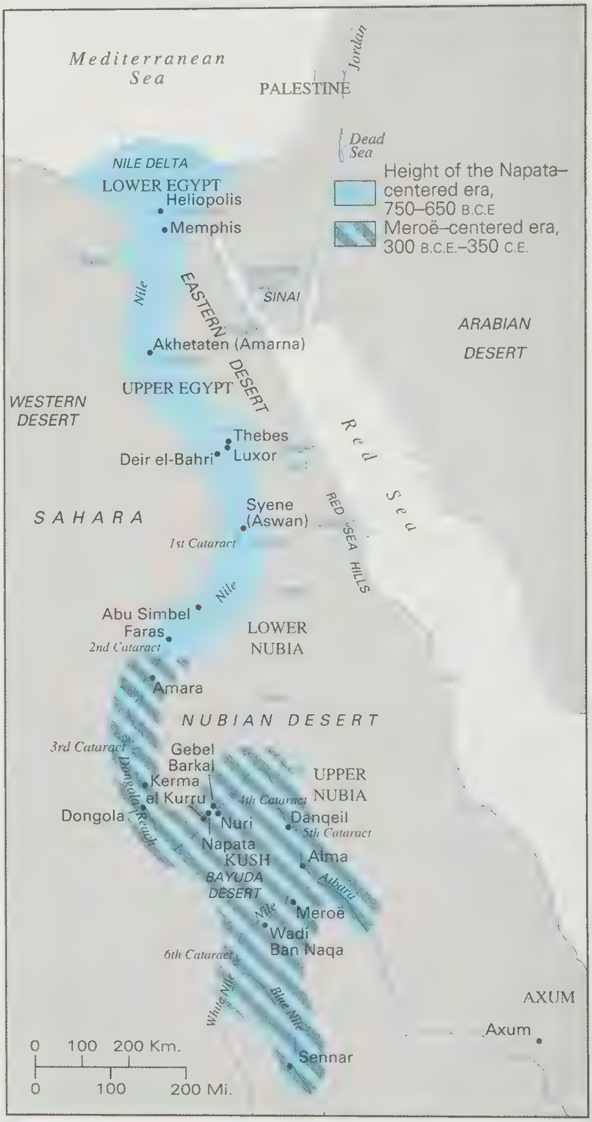
Early Cultures and Egyptian Domination

The central geographical feature of Nubia, as of Egypt, is the Nile River. In this part of its course the Nile flows through a landscape of rocky desert, grassland, and fertile plain. Water from the river was essential for agriculture in a climate that was severely hot and practically without rainfall. Because of six cataracts—large boulders and threatening rapids—it was not possible for boats to follow the river continuously. Nevertheless, commerce and travel were made possible by boats operating over shorter distances between the cataracts and by tracks for walking and riding alongside the river or across the desert.

Nubia first enters the historical record around 2300 B.C.E., in Old Kingdom Egyptian accounts of trade missions dispatched to southern lands. At that time Aswan, just north of the Nile's First Cataract, was the southern limit of Egyptian control. Egyptian noblemen stationed there led donkey caravans south in search of gold, incense, ebony, ivory, slaves, and exotic animals from tropical Africa.

During the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2040–1640 B.C.E.) Egypt adopted a more aggressive stance toward Nubia. Egyptian rulers were eager to secure direct control of the gold mines located in the desert east of the Nile and to cut out the Nubian middlemen who drove up the cost of luxury goods from the tropics. The Egyptians erected a string of mud-brick forts on islands and riverbanks south of the Second Cataract to protect the southern frontier against Nubians and desert raiders and regulate the flow of commerce. There seem to have been peaceable relations but little interaction between the occupying Egyptian forces and the native population of northern Nubia, which continued to practice its age-old farming and herding ways.

Farther south, where the Nile makes a great U-shaped turn in the fertile plain of the Dongola Reach (see Map 2.2), a more complex political entity was evolving from the chiefdoms of the third millennium B.C.E. The Egyptians gave the name "Kush" to the kingdom whose capital was located at Kerma, one of the earliest urbanized centers in tropical Africa. The kings of Kush mustered and organized the labor to build monu-



Map 2.2 Ancient Nubia The land route alongside the Nile River as it flows through Nubia has long served as a corridor connecting sub-Saharan Africa with North Africa. The centuries of Egyptian occupation, as well as time spent in Egypt by Nubian hostages, mercenaries, and merchants, led to a marked Egyptian cultural influence in Nubia. (Based on Map 15 from the *Historical Atlas of Africa*, ed. by J. F. Ajyi and Michael Crowder. Reprinted by permission of Addison Wesley Longman Ltd.)

mental walls and structures of mud brick, and they were accompanied to the grave by dozens or even hundreds of servants and wives. These human sacrifices as well as the rich objects found in the tombs prove the wealth and power of the kings and suggest a belief in some sort of afterlife where attendants and possessions would be useful. Kushite craftsmen were skilled in metalworking, whether for weapons or jewelry, and their pottery surpassed in skill and beauty anything produced in Egypt.

During the expansionist New Kingdom (ca. 1532–1070 B.C.E.) the Egyptians penetrated even more deeply into Nubia. They destroyed the kingdom of Kush and extended their frontier to the Fourth Cataract. A high-ranking Egyptian official called "Overseer of Southern Lands" or "King's Son of Kush" ruled Nubia. In an era of intense commerce among the states of the Middle East, when everyone was looking to Egypt as the prime source of gold, Egypt extensively exploited the mines of Nubia at considerable human cost. Fatalities were high among native workers in the brutal desert climate, and the army had to ward off attacks from desert tribes.

Five hundred years of Egyptian domination in Nubia left many marks. The Egyptian government imposed Egyptian culture on the native population. The children of high-ranking natives were brought to the Egyptian royal court, simultaneously serving as hostages to ensure the good behavior of their families back in Nubia and absorbing Egyptian language, culture, and religion, which they later carried home with them. Many Nubians went north to serve as archers in the Egyptian armed forces. The Nubians built towns on the Egyptian model and erected stone temples to Egyptian gods, particularly Amon. The frequent depiction of Amon with the head of a ram, however, may reflect a blending of the chief Egyptian god with a Nubian ram deity.

The Kingdom of Meroë

Egypt's authority in Nubia collapsed after 1200 B.C.E., and in the eighth century B.C.E. a powerful new native kingdom emerged in southern Nubia. The story of this civilization, which lasted for over a thousand years, can be divided into two parts. During the early period, between the eighth and fourth centuries B.C.E., Napata, the former Egyptian headquarters, was the primary center. During the later period, from the fourth century B.C.E. to the fourth century C.E., the center of gravity shifted farther south to the site of Meroë, near the Sixth Cataract.

For half a century, from around 712 to 660 B.C.E., the kings of Nubia ruled all of Egypt. They conducted themselves in the age-old manner of Egyptian rulers. They were addressed by royal titles, depicted in traditional costume, and buried according to Egyptian custom. However, they kept their Nubian names and were depicted with Nubian physical features. They inaugurated an artistic and cultural renaissance, building on a monumental scale for the first time in centuries and reinvigorating Egyptian art, architecture, and religion by drawing selectively on practices and motifs of various periods. In this period each Nubian king resided at Memphis, the Old Kingdom capital. Thebes, the capital of the New Kingdom, was the residence of a female member of the king's family who remained celibate and was titled "God's Wife of Amon."

The Nubian dynasty overextended itself beginning in 701 B.C.E. by assisting local rulers in Palestine in their resistance to the Assyrian Empire. The Assyrians retaliated by invading Egypt and driving the Nubian monarchs back to their southern domain by 660 B.C.E. Napata again became the chief royal residence and the religious center of the kingdom, and Egyptian cultural influences remained strong. Egyptian hieroglyphs were the medium of written communication. Pyramids of modest size were erected over the subterranean burial chambers of royalty. Royal bodies were mummified and the tombs filled with *shawabtis*, human figurines intended to play the role of servants in the next life.

By the fourth century B.C.E. the center of gravity had shifted south to Meroë, perhaps because Meroë was better situated for both agriculture and trade, the economic mainstays of the Nubian kingdom. One consequence was a movement in cultural patterns away from Egypt and toward sub-Saharan Africa. A clear sign is the abandonment of Egyptian hieroglyphs and the adoption of a new set of symbols to write the Meroitic language. This form of writing is still essentially undeciphered. People continued to worship Amon as well as Isis, an Egyptian goddess connected to fertility and sexuality. But those deities had to share the stage with Nubian deities like the lion-god Apedemak, and elephants had some religious significance. Meroitic art was an eclectic mixture of Egyptian, Greco-Roman, and indigenous traditions.

Women of the royal family played an important role in the Meroitic era, another reflection, perhaps, of the influence of cultural concepts from sub-Saharan Africa. The Nubians employed a matrilineal system in which the king was succeeded by the son of his sister. In a number of cases Nubia was ruled by queens, either by themselves or in partnership with their husbands. Greek, Roman, and biblical sources refer to a queen of Nubia named Candace. However, these sources relate to different times, so "Candace" was most likely a title borne by a succession of rulers rather than a proper name. At least seven of these queens can be dated to the period

Temple of the lion-headed god Apedemak at Naqa in Nubia, first century C.E. Queen Amanitore (right) and her husband, Natakamani, are shown here slaying their enemies. The architectural forms are Egyptian, but the deity is Nubian. The costumes of the monarchs and the important role of the queen also reflect the trend in the Meroitic era to draw upon sub-Saharan culture practices. (P. L. Shinnie)

between 284 B.C.E. and 115 C.E. Few details of their reigns are known, but they played a part in warfare, diplomacy, and the building of great temples and pyramid tombs.

Meroë itself was a huge city for its time, more than a square mile in area, overlooking a fertile stretch of grasslands and dominating a converging set of trade routes. It was a major center for iron smelting (after 1000 B.C.E. iron had replaced bronze as the primary metal for tools and weapons), and the enclosed "Royal City" was filled with palaces, temples, and administrative buildings.

Weakened by shifts in the trade routes when profitable commerce with the Roman Empire was diverted to the Red Sea and to the rising kingdom of Axum (in present-day Ethiopia), Meroë collapsed in the early fourth century C.E. Nomadic tribes from the western desert who had become more mobile because of the advent of the camel in North Africa may have overrun Meroë. In any case, the end of the Meroitic kingdom, and of this phase of civilization in Nubia, was as closely linked to Nubia's role in long-distance commerce as had been its beginning.

THE AEGEAN WORLD

The emergence of the Minoan civilization on the island of Crete and the Mycenaean civilization of Greece is another manifestation of the fertilizing influence of older centers on outlying lands and peoples. The landscape of southern Greece and the Aegean islands is mostly rocky and arid, with small plains lying between the ranges of hills. The limited arable land is suitable for grains, grapevines, and olive trees. Flocks of sheep and goats graze the slopes. Sharply indented coastlines, natural harbors, and small islands lying virtually within sight of one another made sea travel the fastest and least costly mode of travel and transport. This region is resource-poor, having few deposits of metals and little timber. Those vital commodities, as well as surplus food for a large population, had to be imported from abroad. Thus the inhabitants of the Aegean were drawn to the sea and into contact with other peoples.

The Aegean peoples learned from the older, advanced civilizations of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt and joined the diplomatic and economic networks of this "international" age. Indeed, the rise, success, and eventual fall of these societies was closely connected to their commercial and political relations with other peoples in the region.

The Minoan Civilization of Crete

Well before 2000 B.C.E. the island of Crete, which forms the southern boundary of the Aegean Sea, was home to the first civilization in Europe to have complex political and social structures and advanced technologies such as were found in western Asia and northeastern Africa. Archaeologists labeled this civilization "Minoan" after Greek legends about King Minos.

Little is known about the ethnicity of the Cretans of this period, and their writings still cannot be translated. But archaeology has revealed sprawling palace complexes at the sites of Cnossus, Phaistos, and Mallia, and the distribution of Cretan pottery and other artifacts around the Mediterranean and Middle East testifies to widespread trading connections. The layout and architectural forms of the Minoan palaces, the methods of centralized government, and the system of writing all seem to owe much to the influence of the older civilizations of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The absence of identifiable representations of the Cretan ruler, however, contrasts sharply with the grandiose depictions of the king in the Middle East and suggests a different conception of authority.

If small statues of women with elaborate headdresses and serpents trailing around their limbs have been correctly interpreted, we may say that the Cretans apparently worshiped female deities embodying the forces of fertility.

Colorful fresco paintings applied to wet plaster on the walls of Cretan palaces portray groups of women in frilly, layered skirts enjoying themselves in conversation and observation of rituals or entertainments. Scenes of servants briskly carrying jars and fishermen throwing nets and hooks from their boats suggest a joyful attitude toward work, though this portrayal may say more about the sentimental tastes of the elite classes than about the reality of daily toil for the masses. The stylized depictions of flora and fauna on painted vases reflect delight in the beauty and order of the natural world.

Other than Cnossus, all the Cretan palaces, and even houses of the elite and peasant villages in the countryside, were deliberately destroyed around 1450 B.C.E. Because Mycenaean Greeks took over at Cnossus, most historians regard them as the likely culprits.

The Rise of Mycenaean Civilization

The standard view of Greek origins is that speakers of an Indo-European language ancestral to Greek migrated into the Greek peninsula around 2000 B.C.E., although some scholars argue for a much earlier date. A synthesis—through intermarriage, blending of languages, and melding of religious concepts—must have taken place between the indigenous population and the newcomers. Out of this mix emerged the first Greek culture. For centuries this society was simple and static. Farmers and shepherds lived in essentially Stone Age conditions, wringing a bare living from the land. Then, sometime around 1600 B.C.E., life on the Greek mainland changed relatively suddenly.

More than a century ago a German businessman, Heinrich Schliemann, set out to prove the historical veracity of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, two great epics attributed to a poet named Homer, who probably lived shortly before 700 B.C.E. The Greeks that Homer portrayed were led by Agamemnon, the king of Mycenae in southern Greece. In 1876 Schliemann stunned a skeptical scholarly world by his discovery at Mycenae of a circle of graves at the base of deep, rectangular shafts. These shaft graves contained the bodies of men, women, and children and were filled with gold jewelry and ornaments, weapons, and utensils. Clearly, some people in this society had acquired a new level of wealth, authority, and the capacity to mobilize human labor. Subsequent excavation at Mycenae uncovered a large palace complex, massive fortification walls, another circle of shaft graves, and other components of a rich and technologically advanced civilization that lasted from around 1600 to 1150 B.C.E.

How is the sudden rise of Mycenae and other centers in mainland Greece to be explained? Although there is no archaeological evidence for Cretan political control of the Greek mainland, there is much evidence of the powerful cultural influence exerted by Crete. From the Minoans

Gold cup with relief image of a young man capturing a wild bull Produced ca. 1500 B.C.E. by an artist from Crete but found in a tomb in southern Greece, this cup testifies both to the wealth of the ruling classes in the Bronze Age civilizations of the Aegean, who acquired precious and utilitarian metals from other parts of the Mediterranean and western Asia, and to the cultural influence of Minoan Crete on the Mycenaean Greeks. The elite seems to have enjoyed such idealized depictions of peasant life in romantic natural landscapes. (National Archaeological Museum Athens/Archaeological Receipts Fund) the Mycenaeans borrowed the idea of the palace, the centralized economy, the administrative bureaucracy, and their writing system. Also from the Minoans they learned styles and techniques of architecture, pottery making, and fresco and vase painting. This explains where the Mycenaean Greeks got their technology. But how did they suddenly accumulate power and wealth? Most historians look to the profits from trade and piracy and perhaps also to the pay and booty brought back by mercenaries (soldiers who served for pay in foreign lands).

This first advanced civilization in Greece is called "Mycenaean" largely because Mycenae was the first site excavated. Since Schliemann's day other centers have been excavated—including Tiryns, about 10 miles (16 kilometers) from Mycenae; Pylos, in the southwest; Athens and Thebes in central Greece; and Iolcus in northern Greece. Mycenae exemplifies the common pattern of these citadels: a commanding location on a hilltop surrounded by high, thick fortification walls made of stones so large that later Greeks believed the giant, one-eyed Cyclopes lifted them into place. Within the fortified perimeter were the palace and administrative complex. The large central hall with an open hearth and columned porch was surrounded by courtyards, by living quarters for the royal family, courtiers, and servants, and by offices, storerooms, and workshops. Brightly painted frescoes depicting scenes of war, the hunt, and daily life, as well as decorative motifs from nature, covered the palace walls. The fortified perimeter created a place of refuge for the entire community in time of danger.

Nearby lay the tombs of the rulers and other leading families—shaft graves and later, much grander, beehive-shaped tombs made of rings of stone and covered with a mound of earth. Large houses, probably belonging to the aristocracy, lay just outside the walls. The peasants lived on the lower slopes and in the plain below, close to the land they worked.

Limited information about Mycenaean life is provided by over four thousand baked clay tablets. The writing found on the tablets, today known as "Linear B," uses pictorial signs to represent syllables, like the earlier, still undeciphered system employed on Crete, but it is recognizably an early form of Greek. These tablets are essentially lists: of chariot wheels piled up in palace storerooms, of gifts dedicated to a particular deity, of ships stationed along the coasts. They indicate that an extensive palace bureaucracy kept track of people, animals, and objects in exhaustive detail and exercised a high degree of control over the economy of the kingdom. Modern researchers have been able to extract very little other information about Mycenaean society from the archaeological evidence or from the texts of the tablets. We know almost nothing about individual personalities—not even the name of a single Mycenaean king—very little about the political and legal systems, social structures, gender relations, and religious beliefs, and nothing about particular historical events and relations with other Mycenaean centers or peoples overseas.

Overseas Commerce, Settlement, and Aggression

Long-distance contact and trade were made possible by the seafaring skill of Minoans and Mycenaeans. Freighters depended entirely on wind and sail; the crews of warships could remove the mast and sails and use oars when necessary. In general, ancient sailors preferred to keep the land in sight and sail in daylight hours. Their sleek, light, wooden vessels had little decking, so the crew had to go ashore for food and sleep every night. With their low keels the ships could run right up onto the beach.

The wide dispersal of Cretan and Greek pottery and crafted goods indicates that Cretans and Greeks engaged in trade not only within the Aegean but with other parts of the Mediterranean and Middle East. The physical evidence seems to indicate that Cretan merchants opened up commercial routes and established trading posts in the Mediterranean, then admitted Mycenaean traders to these locations, and were supplanted by the Greeks in the fifteenth century B.C.E. What commodities formed the basis of this widespread commercial activity? The numerous Aegean pots found throughout the Mediterranean and Middle East must once have contained products such as wine or oil. Other possible exports include weapons and other crafted goods, as well as slaves and mercenary soldiers, which leave no trace in the archaeological record. Minoan and Mycenaean sailors may also have served as middlemen along long-distance trading networks, making a tidy profit by carrying goods from and to other places.

As for imports, amber (a hard, translucent, yellowish-brown fossil resin used for jewelry) from northern Europe and ivory from Syria have been discovered at Aegean sites, and it seems likely that the large population of southwest Greece and other regions necessitated imports of grain. Above all, the Aegean lands needed metals, both the gold so highly prized by the rulers and the copper and tin needed to make bronze. A number of sunken ships carrying copper ingots recently have been excavated on the floor of the Mediterranean. Scholars believe these ships probably carried metals from the island of Cyprus, in the northeast corner of the Mediterranean, to the Aegean. As in early China, members of the elite classes were virtually the only people who possessed things made of metal, and their near monopoly of metals may have had symbolic significance, working to legitimate their power.

In an unsettled world, the flip side of trade is piracy. Mycenaeans were tough, warlike, and acquisitive. They traded with those who were strong enough to hold their own and took from those who were too weak to resist. There is reason to believe that they became a thorn in the side of the Hittite kings of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E. Homer's tale of the ten-year Greek siege and eventual destruction of Troy, a city located on the fringes of Hittite territory and controlling an important commercial route connecting the Mediterranean and Black Seas, should be seen against this backdrop of Mycenaean belligerence and opportunism. Archaeology has confirmed a destruction at Troy around 1200 B.C.E.

THE FALL OF LATE BRONZE AGE CIVILIZATIONS

Hittite difficulties with the Greeks and the Greek attack on Troy foreshadow the troubles that culminated in the destruction of many of the old centers of the Middle East and Mediterranean around 1200 B.C.E. This was a momentous period in human history when, for reasons that historians do not completely understand, large numbers of people were on the move. As migrants or invaders swarmed into one region, they displaced other peoples, who then became part of the tide of refugees.

Around 1200 B.C.E. invaders from the north destroyed Hattushash, and the Hittite kingdom came crashing down (see Map 2.1). The tide of destruction moved south into Syria, and the great coastal city of Ugarit was swept away. Egypt survived attacks, barely, but gave up its territories in Syria-Palestine and lost contact with the rest of western Asia. The Egyptians also lost their foothold in Nubia, opening the way for the emergence of the native kingdom centered on Napata (see Map 2.2).

In this time of troubles it is easy to imagine opportunistic Mycenaeans taking a prominent role. Whether or not the Mycenaeans participated in the destructions elsewhere, in the first half of the twelfth century B.C.E. their own centers collapsed. A compelling explanation for the Mycenaean fall combines external and internal factors, since it is likely to be more than coincidence that the collapse of Mycenaean civilization in the first half of the twelfth century B.C.E. occurred at roughly the same time as the fall of other great civilizations in the region. If members of the ruling class in the Mycenaean centers depended for their wealth and power on the import of vital commodities and the profits from trade, then the annihilation of major trading partners and disruption of trade routes would have weakened their position. Competition for limited resources may have led to internal unrest and, ultimately, political collapse.

The end of Mycenaean civilization illustrates the degree to which the major centers of the Late Bronze Age were interdependent. It also serves as a case study of the consequences of political and economic collapse. The destruction of Mycenaean palaces meant the end of the political and economic domination of the ruling class. The massive administrative apparatus revealed in the Linear B tablets disappeared, and the technique of writing was forgotten, having no function outside the context of palace administration. People were displaced and on the move. The Greek language, however, persisted, and a thousand years later people were still worshiping certain gods mentioned in the Linear B tablets. There was also continuity in material culture: people continued to make and use the vessels and implements that they were familiar with. But this society was much poorer, and there was a marked decline in artistic and technical skill. Different regions developed local shapes, styles, and techniques. This change from the uniformity of the Mycenaean Age was a consequence of the isolation of different parts of Greece from one another in this period of limited travel and communication.

Thus perished the cosmopolitan world of the Late Bronze Age in the Mediterranean and Middle East. A combination of external violence and internal weaknesses shattered the fragile infrastructure of civilization. Societies that had become interdependent through complex links of trade, diplomacy, and shared technologies, and had long prospered together, now fell together into a "Dark Age"—a period of poverty, isolation, and loss of knowledge—that lasted for four centuries.

CONCLUSION

Just as bronze metallurgy began at different times in different parts of the Eastern Hemisphere (in western Asia around 2500 B.C.E., in East Asia around 2000 B.C.E., in northeastern Africa around 1500 B.C.E.), so too did the Bronze Age end at different times in different societies. The transition to iron as the primary metal came around 1000 B.C.E. in the eastern Mediterranean, northeastern Africa, and western Asia, and about five hundred years later in East Asia.

The acquisition of copper and tin to make bronze was a priority of Bronze Age elite classes. To a significant degree, political, military, and economic strategies reflected the demand for this commodity. In early China the state largely controlled the prospecting, mining, refining, alloying, and manufacturing processes. In western Asia long-distance networks of exchange were built up to facilitate the trade in metals. Cities sprang up and prospered because of their location on trade routes. Commercial crossroads became targets of military and diplomatic activity for the major powers of the time, as, for instance, the Syria-Palestine region was for the Egyptian and Hittite states.

The uses to which bronze was put varied in different societies. Possession of bronze weapons with their hard, sharp edges enabled the warriors of the Mycenaean and Shang ruling classes, as well as the royal armies of Egypt and Mesopotamia, to dominate the peasant masses. In the poems of Homer, Greek aristocrats hoard bronze weapons and utensils in heavy-gated storerooms and give them to one another in rituals of gift exchange that create bonds of friendship and obligation. In Shang China the most important use of bronze was to craft the vessels that played a vital role in the rituals of contact with the spirits of ancestors.

The period from 2200 to 500 B.C.E. saw the rise of complex societies with social stratification, powerful governments, large bureaucracies, strong armies, systems of writing, and impressive technologies of manufacture and monumental building, in China, Iran, Syria-Palestine, Anatolia, Nubia, and the Aegean. Many of these new civilizations learned much from the already ancient centers in Mesopotamia and Egypt. At the same time, the old centers could hardly afford to remain static. So, for instance, Akkadian cuneiform writing was used throughout western Asia, even in correspondence between the Egyptian throne and dependent rulers in Syria-Palestine.

The interdependence of the societies of the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia promoted prosperity, development, and the spread of ideas and technologies in the Late Bronze Age. Ironically, that interdependence became a source of weakness at the end of the era. The disruption of trading networks weakened ruling classes accustomed to easy access to metals and other valuable commodities, and the attacks of invaders and the wanderings of displaced peoples brought down swollen bureaucracies.

There was no "fall" in East Asia at roughly the same time because China was far away and not tightly linked by trade relations to the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia. The Zhou replaced the Shang, but there was much continuity in political, religious, and cultural traditions. In contrast, the destruction was so great in the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia that the old centers did not survive or were severely weakened, and this part of the world entered a Dark Age. Within a few centuries new peoples would come to the fore—in particular the Assyrians, Phoenicians, and Hebrews, whose story unfolds in the next chapter.

SUGGESTED READING

Caroline Blunden and Mark Elvin, *Cultural Atlas of China* (1983), contains general geographic, ethnographic, and historical information about China through the ages, as well as many maps and illustrations. John Hay, *Ancient China* (1973), and Kwang-chih Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, 4th ed. (1986), go into greater depth and emphasize archaeological evidence. Sharon L. Sievers, in *Restoring Women to History* (1988), and Patricia Ebrey, "Women, Marriage, and the Family in Chinese History," in *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*, ed. Paul S. Ropp (1990), address the very limited evidence for women in early China.

Many of the books recommended in the Suggested Reading list for Chapter 1 are useful for Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt in the Late Bronze Age. In addition see Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings, Vol. 2, The New Kingdom* (1973), and Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (1992), which explores the relations of Egypt with the Syria-Palestine region in this period.

After a long period of scholarly neglect—with an occasional exception such as Bruce G. Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs* (1976)—the study of ancient Nubia is beginning to receive considerable attention. David O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa* (1993); Joyce L. Haynes, *Nubia: Ancient Kingdoms of Africa* (1992); and Karl-Heinz Priese, *The Gold of Meroë* (1993) all reflect the new interest of major museums in the art and artifacts of this society.

R. A. Higgins, *The Archaeology of Minoan Crete* (1973); O. Krzysz Kowska and L. Nixon, *Minoan Society* (1983); and N. Marinatos, *Minoan Religion* (1993), examine the archaeological evidence for the Minoan civilization. The brief discussion of M. I. Finley, *Early Greece: The Bronze and Archaic Ages* (1970), and the much fuller accounts of Emily Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (1972), and J. T. Hooker, *Mycenaean Greece* (1976), are still useful treatments of Mycenaean Greece, based primarily on archaeological evidence. For the evidence of the Linear B tablets see John Chadwick, *Linear B and Related Scripts* (1987) and *The Mycenaean World* (1976). J. V. Luce, *Homer and the Heroic Age* (1975), and Carol G. Thomas, *Myth Becomes History: Pre-Classical Greece* (1993), examine the usefulness of the Homeric poems for reconstructing the Greek past. For the disruptions and destructions of the Late Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean see N. K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean* (1978), and Trude Dothan and Moshe Dothan, *People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines* (1992).

PART TWO

The Formation of New Cultural Communities, 1000 B.C.E.–500 C.E.

The fifteen centuries from 1000 B.C.E. to 500 C.E. may be seen as a new chapter in the story of humanity, involving a vast expansion in the scale of human institutions and activities. Six developments were essential to the story.

First, new ethnic groups—Assyrians in northern Mesopotamia and Iranians in the high plateau to the east, Israelites at the crossroads between Asia and Africa, the Phoenicians of Lebanon and their Carthaginian offspring, Greeks and Romans in the Mediterranean, and Aryans in India—challenged the old centers. These peoples occupied lands watered by rainfall rather than by river-water irrigation, where small farms could be worked by independent individuals and families. This change from the strong central authority and mass mobilization of dependent laborers in the river-valley civilizations led to new social structures, political traditions, religious institutions, and conceptions of humanity and of the gods.

The political and social traditions of these peoples discouraged exploitation of members of their own community, so elite groups devised new ways of gaining wealth and power. Thus, a second key phenomenon of the period was the formation of empires in which one ethnic group controlled the territory and taxed the surplus wealth of other groups.

Third, old technologies were significantly enhanced and new ones were developed. In many parts of the world iron replaced bronze as the preferred metal for tools and weapons. Political changes often reflected advances in military technology and tactics. In the Middle East and China soldiers on horseback replaced charioteers. The success of Greek armored infantrymen fighting in tight formations inspired Macedonian (northern Greek) and Roman foot soldiers, who forged empires of unprecedented size. Advances in siege and fortification techniques, ship design, and naval tactics accompanied these developments.

Utilizing new materials and techniques and mobilizing large pools of labor, governments undertook construction projects on unprecedented scales. To move troops, expedite communication, and protect frontier areas, the Roman and Chinese governments built thousands of miles of paved roads, long walls, and chains of forts. The technology of communication also underwent profound change. The development of an alphabetic system by Phoenicians and Greeks removed writing from the control of specialists. New, written literature emerged. Simplified writing systems also made possible the extensive recordkeeping so important to the survival of large empires such as those of the Romans and Chinese, as well as new kinds of propaganda to bolster the position of the ruling classes.

Fourth, this period saw the emergence of cities with populations in the hundreds of thousands or more—Alexandria in Egypt, Rome in Italy, Chang'an in China, Pataliputra in India. Imperial capitals dotted with palaces, temples, monuments, storehouses, market centers, and places for public entertainment advertised the glory and power of the rulers while stretching to the limit the capacities of ancient technology to carry water into crowded urban centers and carry sewage away. These giants were but the most extreme products of a process of urbanization that brought into being many smaller cities and towns. Most people, however, still lived in the countryside and labored on the land. Without the agricultural surplus that the farming population was able to produce, city dwellers would not have been able to engage in specialized tasks of manufacture, trade, and services on such a large scale.

Fifth, trade took on a new character. The land and sea routes that expedited imperial control also became the highways by which long-distance trade expanded. Like writing, commerce was no longer the exclusive preserve of elite groups; emerging middle classes also sought imported goods. The advent of coinage in the first millennium B.C.E. further stimulated local and regional economies, making it easier for people to store wealth and facilitating exchanges.

The routes used for trade also carried ideas. New religious beliefs sprang up. The Zoroastrian religion of the Persians, one of the great ethical creeds of the ancient world, spread during the period of Persian rule and may have exerted considerable influence on Judaism. Jews dispersed far beyond their homeland, paving the way for the spread of Christianity, itself an offshoot of Judaism. Hinduism evolved to become a cultural force unifying many political, social, and ethnic divisions in South Asia. Buddhism spread from

Technology

Iron metallurgy in western Asia/eastern Mediterranean
Cavalry in Middle East and China
Shipbuilding and navigation (Phoenician, Greek, Indian Ocean, Polynesian)
Road networks, aqueducts, and watermills
Astronomy
Alphabetic system of Phoenicians and Greeks
700 B.C.E.—Hoplite infantry in Greece
700 B.C.E.—Coinage in Anatolia
500 C.E.—Mathematics (zero and place-value system) in India
300 B.C.E.—Horse-collar harness in China

Environment

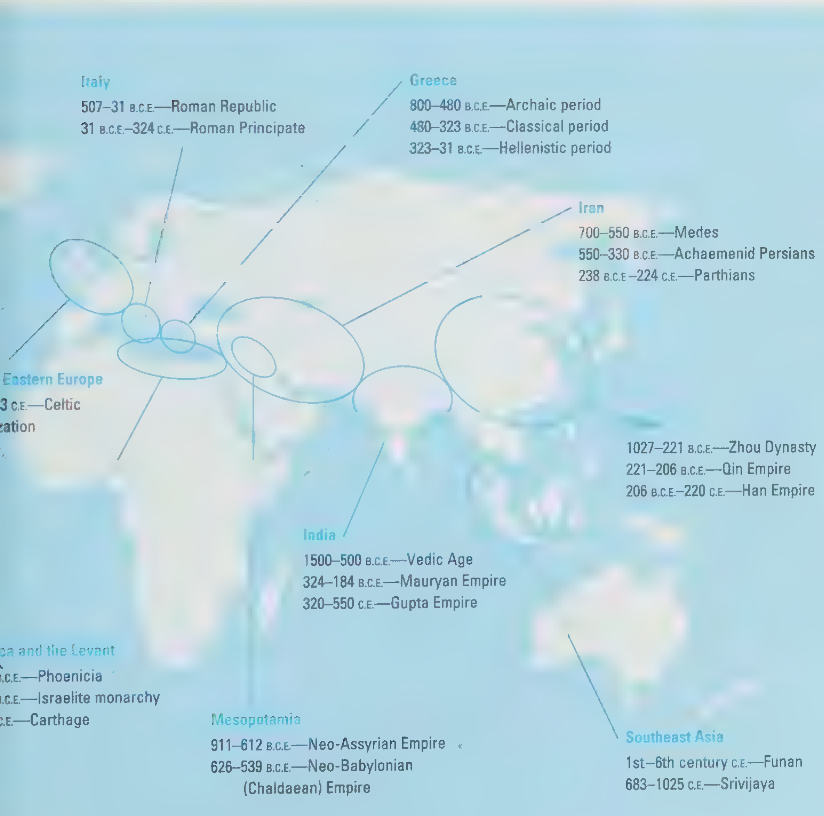
Rainwater agriculture
Slash-and-burn agriculture in Southeast Asia
Polynesian settlement of Pacific islands
500 B.C.E.—Persian "paradise" (ancestor of Western garden)

its point of origin in northern India and began to make its way into Central, Southeast, and East Asia.

Sixth, this era saw dramatic movements of peoples. Members of dominant ethnic groups moved from the core area of empires, carrying with them their language, beliefs, technologies, and customs. The attractions of the Greek, Roman, and Chinese cultures, as well as the opportunities those cultures offered to ambitious members of dominated populations, led to the creation of large cultural zones in which elite groups participated in a luxurious way of life, while most members of the peasant population of the countryside retained their ancestral languages and cultures. Phoenicians, Greeks, and Italians moved to new homes all over the Mediterranean, attracted by the familiar climate, seasonal rhythms, and plants and animals of the region. Celts spread out from eastern Europe to occupy most of Europe north of the Alps. Aryans moved south and east from the Indus Valley to occupy the Ganges Basin and all but the southern portion of the Indian subcontinent.

In an inversion of this phenomenon, the Assyrians and, to a lesser extent, the Persians carried out forcible relocations of entire populations, usually rebellious groups. They were taken to strategic locations in the heart of the empire, where their labor was utilized to promote agriculture or construct imperial showplaces. The huge inflow of enslaved prisoners of war to Italy in the period of Roman expansion similarly altered the ethnic composition of Italy.

The end result of the interaction of these six forces was the creation of large cultural communities, some of them persisting to modern times. Springing up in the later second and first millennium B.C.E. in Israel, Greece, Iran, Rome, China, and India were cultural traditions that directly helped to shape the modern world.


Italy
507–31 B.C.E.—Roman Republic
31 B.C.E.–324 C.E.—Roman Principate
Greece
800–480 B.C.E.—Archaic period
480–323 B.C.E.—Classical period
323–31 B.C.E.—Hellenistic period
Iran
700–550 B.C.E.—Medes
550–330 B.C.E.—Achaemenid Persians
238 B.C.E.–224 C.E.—Parthians
Eastern Europe
3 C.E.—Celtic
zation
1027–221 B.C.E.—Zhou Dynasty
221–206 B.C.E.—Qin Empire
206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.—Han Empire
India
1500–500 B.C.E.—Vedic Age
324–184 B.C.E.—Mauryan Empire
320–550 C.E.—Gupta Empire
ca and the Levant
.C.E.—Phoenicia
.C.E.—Israelite monarchy
C.E.—Carthage
Mesopotamia
911–612 B.C.E.—Neo-Assyrian Empire
626–539 B.C.E.—Neo-Babylonian (Chaldaean) Empire
Southeast Asia
1st–6th century C.E.—Funan
683–1025 C.E.—Srivijaya

Society

Empire formation
Emergence of city-state
Urbanization and expanded trade
Slave-based economies
ca. 450 B.C.E.—Democracy and jury system in Greece

Culture

Astrology and geomancy
Wider literacy
New belief systems (Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism)
New literary forms (epic, drama, lyric poetry)
Libraries founded
Diffusion of imperial cultures (Greek, Roman, Chinese)
Scientific thought (from 600 B.C.E.) and historical writing (from 450 B.C.E.) in Greece

CHAPTER THREE

The Early Iron Age in Western Eurasia, 1000–300 B.C.E.

Celtic Europe • The First Empire: The Rise of Assyria

Israel • Phoenicia and the Mediterranean

The End of an Era: The Fall of Assyria

Ancient peoples were very interested in the origins of their communities. One famous story concerned the great city of Carthage in present-day Tunisia, which for centuries dominated the waters and commerce of the western Mediterranean. Tradition held that Dido, a member of the royal family of the Phoenician city-state of Tyre in southern Lebanon, fled in 814 B.C.E. with her supporters to the western Mediterranean after her husband had been viciously murdered by her brother, the king of Tyre. Setting ashore on the North African coast, these refugees made friendly contact with the local population, who agreed to give them as much land as a cow's hide could cover. By cleverly cutting the hide into narrow strips, they were able to mark out a substantial piece of territory for their new foundation: Kart Chadasht, or "the New City" (*Carthago* on the tongues of their Roman enemies). At a later time, faithful to the memory of her dead husband, Dido committed suicide rather than marry a local chieftain.

This story evokes an important phenomenon of the Early Iron Age in the Mediterranean lands and western Asia: the migration and resettlement of peoples. For a variety of reasons, large numbers of people relocated during the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. Some populations fled when conquerors occupied their territories. Other conquered peoples were forcibly removed from their ancestral homes. Still others chose to settle in distant lands in response to political and military pressures or in the hope of improving their lot in life.

This chapter examines the history of Europe north of the Alps, western Asia, and North Africa in the Early Iron Age but carries the story farther forward when necessary. The focus is on four societies: the Celtic peoples of Europe, the Assyrians of northern Mesopotamia, the Israelites of Israel, and the Phoenicians of Lebanon and Syria and their colonies in the western Mediterranean, mainly Carthage. After the decline or demise of the ancient centers dominant throughout the third and second millennia B.C.E., these four societies evolved into new political, cultural, and commercial centers.

Of primary concern are the causes, means, and consequences of large-scale movements of people. But this chapter also focuses on how these societies developed different forms of political, social, and economic organization. In Celtic western Europe an elite class of warriors and priests, operating out of hilltop fortresses, were the leaders of society. Under the direction of a powerful centralized monarchy, the Assyrians forged the first real empire. The Israelites evolved from being seminomadic herders belonging to a set of loosely federated tribes to become settled agriculturalists in a small monarchic state in which the priests of Yahweh, their god, wielded considerable power and influence. The Phoenicians inhabited a string of autonomous city-states in which the leading merchant families, in concert with the monarch, played a dominant role. The Assyrian Empire eventually ruled nearly all of western Asia, thus bringing together the histories of Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, and Israel.

CELTIC EUROPE

To this point we have taken little note of Europe except for the emergence on its southeast fringe of the Late Bronze Age cultures of Crete and Greece. Humans had been living in

Europe for a very long time, but the lack of any system of writing severely limits our knowledge of the earliest Europeans. Around 500 B.C.E. Celtic peoples spread across a substantial portion of Europe and, by coming into contact with the literate societies of the Mediterranean, entered the historical record.

The archaeological record reveals a lot about the objects the early Celts made and used and the spaces in which they lived. Greek and Roman travelers and conquerors also provide information about Celtic political and social organization, religion, and some historical personalities and events. Another useful source is Celtic literature from Wales and Ireland. Though written down centuries later during the European Middle Ages, and though colored by the Christianity of that era, it probably descends from earlier oral traditions preserved by the *bards*—composers and transmitters of stories of the legendary past.

The Spread of the Celts

The term *Celtic* is a linguistic designation referring to a branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Celtic civilization originated in Central Europe, in parts of present-day Germany, Austria, and the Czech Republic, in the early first millennium B.C.E.. The early Celts lived in or near hill-forts—lofty natural locations made even more defensible by earthwork fortifications. The burial of elite members of Celtic society in wagons filled with extensive grave goods suggests belief in an afterlife. By 500 B.C.E. these elites were trading with the Mediterranean lands, seeking crafted goods and wine.

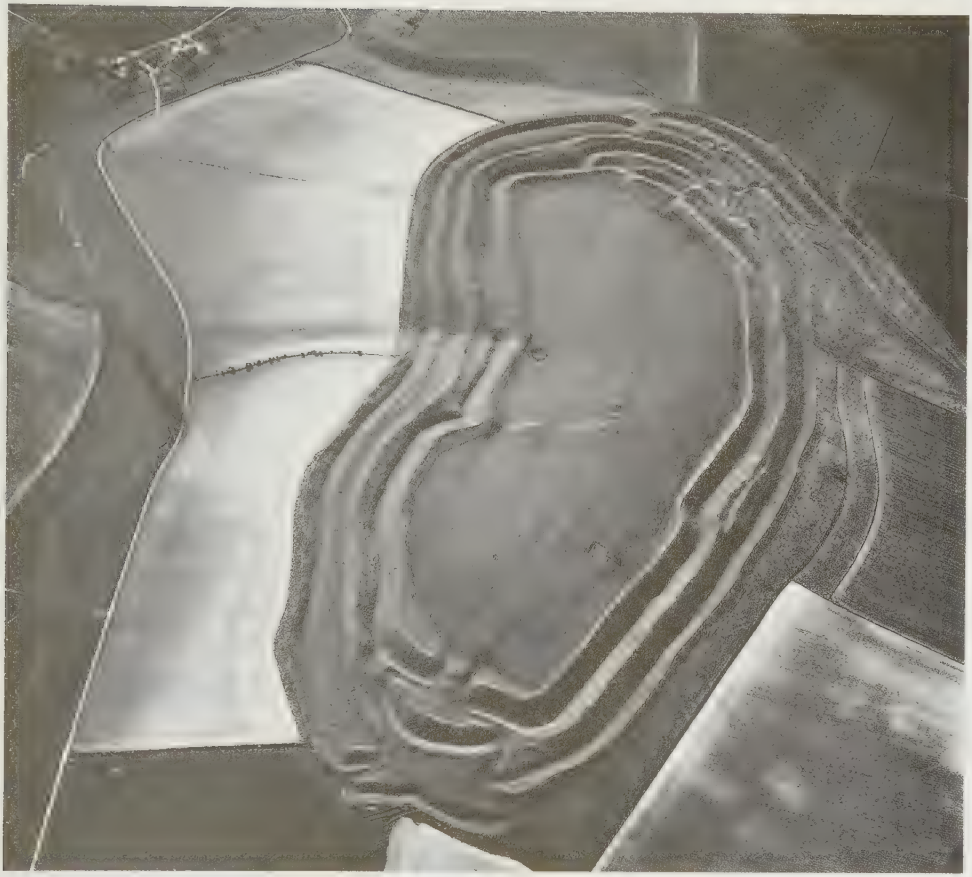
Around 500 B.C.E. Celtic groups began a rapid expansion in several directions. Moving to the west, Celtic groups occupied virtually all of France, much of Britain and Ireland, and merged with indigenous peoples to create the Celtiberian culture of northern Spain. To the east and south, Celts overran northern Italy and made destructive raids into central Greece, and one group settled in central Anatolia (modern Turkey). By 300 B.C.E. Celtic peoples were spread across Europe north of the Alps, from present-day Hungary to Spain and Ireland. Their traces remain in the names of many places: rivers (Danube, Thames, Shannon); countries (Belgium); regions (Bohemia, Aquitaine), and towns (Paris, Leiden). They shared elements of language and culture, but there was no Celtic "state," for they were grouped into hundreds of small, loosely organized kinship groups.

Greeks and Romans were struck by the physical appearance of male Celts—their burly size, long red hair (which they often made stiff and upright by applying a cementlike solution of lime), shaggy mustaches, and loud, deep voices—as well as by their strange apparel—pants (usually an indication of horse-riding peoples) and twisted gold collars around their necks. Particularly terrifying were the warriors who fought naked and eagerly made trophies of the heads of defeated enemies. Their Mediterranean neighbors characterized the Celts as wildly fond of war, courageous, childishly impulsive and emotional, overly fond of boasting and exaggeration, yet quick-witted and eager to learn.

Celtic Society

Celtic society was divided into an elite class of warriors, professional groups of priests and bards, and the common people—the largest group of all. The warriors owned land and herds of cattle and sheep and had a monopoly on both wealth and power. The common people labored on their land. According to Welsh and Irish legend, Celt warriors raided one another's flocks, reveled in drunken feasts, and engaged in impromptu contests of strength and wit. At a banquet the bravest warrior could help himself to the choicest part of the animal, the "hero's portion," and men fought to the death to win this privilege.

The priests, called Druids, were the teachers and judges of Celtic society as well as the religious leaders. Trainees received their knowledge of prayers, rituals, legal precedents, and traditions through a long program of memorization. The priesthood was the one Celtic institution



Celtic hill-fort in England Hundreds of these fortresses have been found across Europe. They served as centers of administration, gathering points for Celtic armies, manufacturing centers, storage depots for food and trade goods, and places of refuge. The natural defense offered by a hill could be improved, as here, by the construction of ditches and earthwork walls. Particularly effective was the so-called Gallic Wall, made of a combination of earth, stone, and timber to create both strength and enough flexibility to absorb the pounding from siege engines. (Royal Commission for Historic Monuments)

that crossed tribal lines. In the first century C.E. the Roman government methodically set about stamping out the Druids, probably because of concern that they might serve as a rallying point for Celtic opposition to Roman rule, rather than because of their alleged involvement in human sacrifices and forms of divination repugnant to Roman sensibilities.

Celtic women engaged primarily in child rearing, food production, and some craftwork. They did not have equality with men, though their situation was superior to that of women in the Middle East and in the Greek and Roman Mediterranean. Marriage was a partnership to which both parties contributed property, and each party had the right to inherit the estate if the other died. Celtic women also had greater freedom in their sexual relations than did their southern counterparts. Greek and Roman sources, as well as Welsh and Irish tales, depict Celtic women as strong and proud: self-confident wives sit at banquets with their husbands, engage in witty conversation, and often provide ingenious solutions to vexing problems.

Some Celtic burial chambers contain clothing, jewelry, and furniture for use in the next world, identifying them as the tombs of elite women. Daughters of the elite were married to leading members of other tribes to create alliances. When the Romans invaded Celtic Britain in the first century C.E., they sometimes were opposed by Celtic tribes headed by queens (some experts see this as an abnormal circumstance created by the Roman invasion itself).

Belief and Knowledge

Historians know the names of more than four hundred Celtic gods and goddesses. Most are associated with particular localities and kinship groups, although certain deities have wider currency. Lug, for example, is the god of light, crafts, and inventions. Some are associated with animals and depicted with animal features, such as the horse-goddess Epona. "The Mothers," three goddesses always depicted together and holding symbols of prosperity, must have played a part in some kind of fertility cult. The traditions of Halloween and May Day preserve the ancient Celtic holidays of Samhain and Beltaine, which occurred at key moments in the growing cycle. The early Celts worshiped at special places where they felt the presence of divinity, such as springs, groves, and hilltops. At the sources of the Seine and Marne Rivers, archaeologists have found huge caches of wooden statues thrown into the water by hopeful devotees.

In Irish and Welsh legends the barriers between the natural and supernatural worlds are far more permeable than they are in the mythology of other cultures. Celtic heroes and divinities pass back and forth from one to the other easily, and magical occurrences are commonplace. Celtic priests believed in reincarnation—the rebirth of the soul in a new body.

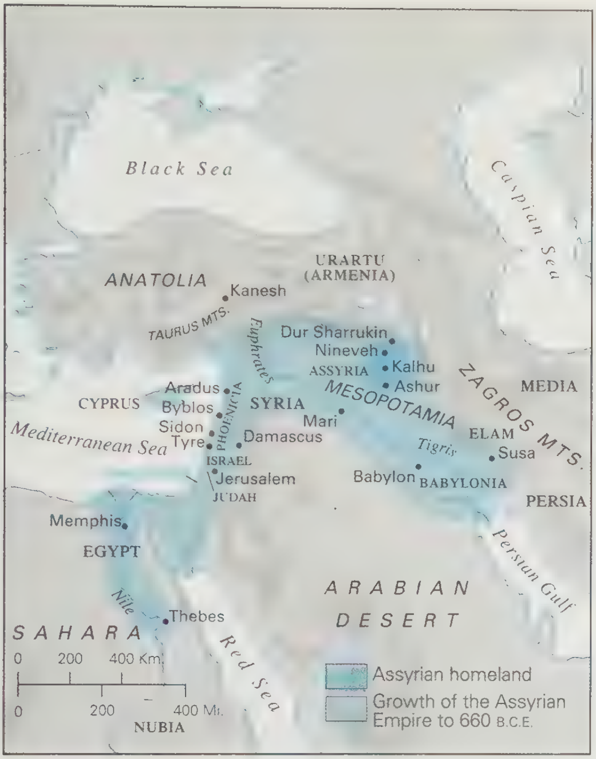
The Celts were successful agriculturalists, able to support large populations on Europe's heavy but fertile soils. Their metallurgical skills probably surpassed those of the Mediterranean peoples. Celts living on the Atlantic shore of France built solid ships that could withstand ocean waves, winds, and currents. They used the large, navigable rivers as thoroughfares for extensive commerce, and by the first century B.C.E. some of the old hill-forts had evolved into urban centers.

The Roman conquest of many of the Celtic lands—Spain, southern Britain, France, and parts of Central Europe—from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. curtailed the evolution of Celtic society, replacing it with an Italian model. Thus modern Spaniards and the French speak languages that are descended from Latin. Germanic invaders from the third century C.E. on all but finished what the Romans began, and present-day inhabitants of Britain speak a language with a Germanic base. Only on the western fringes of the European continent—in Brittany (northwest France), Wales, Scotland, and Ireland—did Celtic peoples maintain their language, art, and culture into modern times.

THE FIRST EMPIRE: THE RISE OF ASSYRIA

Southeast of the Celtic lands, the peoples of western Asia experienced a momentous change in the first millennium B.C.E.: the rise of the powerful and aggressive Neo-Assyrian Empire. Although historians sometimes apply the term *empire* to earlier regional powers—such as the Akkadian state ruled by Sargon and the Babylonian kingdom of Hammurabi—the Assyrians were the first to rule over far-flung lands and diverse peoples (see Map 3.1).

The Assyrian homeland in northern Mesopotamia differs in essential respects from the flat expanse of Sumer and Akkad to the south—hillier, more temperate, having greater rainfall and exposure to raiders. Sturdy peasant farmers, accustomed to defending themselves against marauders, provided the military base for a revival of Assyrian power in the ninth century B.C.E. The



Map 3.1 The Assyrian Empire From the tenth to the seventh century B.C.E. the Assyrians of northern Mesopotamia created an empire extending from the Iranian plateau to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and containing an array of peoples.

rulers of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911–612 B.C.E.) struck out in a series of campaigns: westward across the steppe and desert as far as the Mediterranean, north into mountainous Urartu (modern Armenia), east onto the Iranian plateau, and south along the Tigris River to Babylonia.

These Assyrian campaigns along the most important long-distance trade routes in western Asia provided immediate booty, the prospect of tribute and taxes, and access to vital resources such as iron and silver. The Assyrians defeated all the rival great kingdoms of the day—Elam (southwest Iran), Urartu, Babylon, and Egypt. At its peak their empire stretched from Anatolia, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt in the west, across Armenia and Mesopotamia, as far as western Iran. The Assyrians created a new kind of empire, larger than anything seen before and dedicated to the enrichment of the imperial center at the expense of the subjugated periphery.

God and King

The king was literally and symbolically the center of the Assyrian universe. Technically all the land belonged to him, and all the people—even the highest-ranking officials—were his "servants." Assyrians believed that the gods chose the king to rule as their earthly representative and instrument. Normally the king chose one of his sons to be his successor, and the choice was confirmed both by divine oracles and by the Assyrian elite.

The duties of the king were enormous. He appointed officials, heard complaints, corresponded with subordinates, and received and entertained foreign envoys and high-ranking government figures. As military leader, he planned campaigns and commanded important operations. (Shalmaneser, who reigned from 858 to 824 B.C.E., led his army in battle in thirty-one of the thirty-five years of his reign.) Hunting, the Assyrian kings' passion, whether shooting a bow from a chariot or stalking lions in a private preserve, was both recreation and preparation for the rigors of war.

Among the king's chief responsibilities was to fulfill his role as head of the state religion. He devoted much of his time to elaborate public and private rituals as well as to overseeing the upkeep of the temples. The king made no decisions of state without first consulting and gaining the approval of the gods. All decisions were carried out under the banner of Ashur, the chief god, and were justified as being in accordance with Ashur's wishes. All victories were cited as proof of Ashur's superiority over the gods of the conquered peoples.

A relentless tide of government propaganda secured the acquiescence and participation of the

Assyrian people in military campaigns that mostly benefited and enriched the king and nobility. Royal inscriptions cataloging the accomplishments of recent campaigns and harping on the power of Assyrian arms, the charisma and relentless will of the king, the backing of the all-powerful gods, and the ruthless punishments in store for those who resisted were put on public display throughout the empire—and presumably were read aloud since most people were not literate.

The Assyrian state also used art as political propaganda, an innovative departure in the ancient Middle East from the almost exclusive dedication of art to the worship of the gods. The walls of the royal palaces were covered with relief sculptures depicting hunts, battles, sieges, executions, and deportations. Looming over most scenes was the king, larger than anyone else, muscular and fierce, having the very visage of the gods.

Exploitation and Administration of the Empire

The Assyrians exploited to the maximum the wealth and resources of their subjects. Military and administrative costs were covered by plunder and tribute. The wealth of the periphery was funneled to the center, enriching the king and nobility. As a result, proud kings seeking to display their magnificence to contemporaries and to leave a grand monument to posterity expanded the ancestral capital and religious center at Ashur and built magnificent new royal cities—Dur Sharrukin, Kalhu, and Nineveh (see Map 3.1), which they adorned with walls, palaces, and temples. Dur Sharrukin, "the Fortress of Sargon," was completed in a mere ten years, proof of the enormous human resources dedicated to the task. The labor force for these projects was drawn from prisoners of war transferred to the core zone, as well as from Assyrian citizens who owed service to the state.

What made possible the Assyrians' conquest of their extensive and heterogeneous empire? A fundamental factor was their superior military organization and technology. At its peak the Assyrian state could mobilize a half-million troops, divided into contingents of light-armed bowmen and slingers who launched stone projectiles, spearmen with body armor, cavalry equipped with bow or spear, and four-man chariots. Iron weapons gave Assyrian soldiers an advantage over opponents, and cavalry provided unprecedented speed and mobility. Assyrian engineers developed machinery and tactics for besieging fortified towns. They dug tunnels under the walls, built mobile towers to put their archers above the height of defenders, and used battering rams to break through weak points.

The Assyrian state also used terror tactics—swift retribution, harsh punishments, brutal examples—to discourage resistance. Mass deportation—the forcible uprooting of entire communities from their homes in order to transport and resettle them—accomplished a number of objectives simultaneously. The deployment of deportees was part of a grand economic strategy to shift human resources from the periphery to the center. Deportees were employed as mass labor on elite estates, to put new land under cultivation, and to construct the new palaces and cities. One particularly refined ploy was the exchanging of two troublesome populations—that is, settling each people on the land of the other. The abrupt removal of a community also served as a conspicuous warning to others who might be contemplating resistance. The Assyrians, however, never found a single, enduring solution to the problem of how to govern their vast and diverse empire, and Assyrian kings had to wage many campaigns to reimpose control on territories subdued in a previous campaign or reign.

Towns and villages were headed by a council of elders responsible to a district commander and provincial governor. The primary duties of Assyrian provincial officials were to ensure payment of tribute and taxes, to maintain law and order, to raise troops, and to undertake necessary public works. The central government intervened directly in provincial affairs, and local ruling classes and Assyrian provincial governors were subject to frequent inspections by royal overseers.

A large administrative bureaucracy carried out these multifaceted duties, and an army of courtiers, supervisors, scribes, and servants maintained the palace and the various offices of the central government. High-ranking officials had their own courts and estates worked by peasants tied to the land. This elite class was bound to the monarchy by oaths of obedience, by fear of punishment for misbehavior, and by the expectation of rewards, such as grants of land and a share in booty and taxes, for loyalty and good performance. The support of the class of professionals—priests, diviners, scribes, doctors, artisans—was also vital to the functioning of the state, and they too were bound to the monarchy by oaths and rewards.

Society and Culture

The extant sources shed light primarily on the deeds of kings, victories of armies, and workings of government. Nevertheless, a certain amount is known about the lives and activities of the millions of subjects of the Assyrian Empire. The three classes in the core area resembled those in Hammurabi's Babylon a thousand years before: (1) free, landowning citizens, (2) farmers and artisans attached to the estates of the king or other rich landholders, and (3) slaves. Slaves—drawn from debtors who had failed to make good and from prisoners of war—had legal rights and, if sufficiently talented, could rise to positions of influence. The government normally did not distinguish between native Assyrians and the increasingly large number of subjects and deportees residing in the Assyrian homeland. All were referred to as "human beings," entitled to the same legal protections, and liable for the same obligations of labor and military service.

Agriculture constituted the economic foundation of the Assyrian Empire. The vast majority of subjects worked on the land. The agricultural surpluses they produced allowed many others to engage in specialized activities—including the standing army, government officials, religious experts, merchants, artisans, and all manner of professionals in the towns and cities.

Most trade took place at the local level and involved foodstuffs and simple crafted goods such as pottery, tools, and clothing. The state fostered long-distance trade, for imported luxury goods—such as metals, fine textiles, dyes, gems, and ivory—brought in substantial customs revenues and ultimately found their way into the possession of the royal family and elite classes. Silver was the basic medium of exchange, weighed out for each transaction in a time before the invention of coins.

When archaeologists excavated the palace of Ashurbanipal (r. 668–627 B.C.E.), one of the last Assyrian kings, at Nineveh, they discovered more than twenty-five thousand tablets or fragments of tablets. This "Library" contained official documents and an array of literary and scientific texts. Ashurbanipal was clearly an avid collector of the literary and scientific heritage of Mesopotamia, and the "House of Knowledge" referred to in some of the documents may have been an academy that attracted learned men to the imperial center. Building on the achievements of their Mesopotamian ancestors, the Assyrians made original contributions in mathematics and astronomy and preserved many of the achievements of Mesopotamian art, literature, and science. Their assumption that gods or demons caused disease obstructed the investigation of natural causes, but physicians experimented with medicinal and surgical treatments to relieve symptoms. There is evidence that libraries may have been attached to temples in various Assyrian cities.

ISRAEL

On the western edge of the Assyrian Empire, in a land bordering the Mediterranean, lived a people destined to play an important role in world history. Two grand and interconnected dramas tell the history of ancient Israel from around 2000 to 500 B.C.E.: (1) a loose collection of tribes of nomadic herders and caravan drivers became a sedentary, agricultural people, developed complex political and social institutions, and became integrated into the commercial and diplomatic networks of the Middle East; and (2) the austere cult of a desert god evolved into a unique concept of deity and the exacting way of life of the Jewish people. Both the land and the people at the heart of this story have gone by various names: Canaan, Israel, Palestine; Hebrews, Israelites, Jews. For the sake of consistency, we refer to these people as *Israelites* and to the land they occupied in antiquity as *Israel*.

Israel is a crossroads, linking Anatolia, Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia (see Map 3.1). This accident of geography has given the place an importance in history, both ancient and modern, out of all proportion to its size and economic or political potential. Its natural resources are few. The Negev Desert and the vaster wasteland of the Sinai lie to the south. The Mediterranean coastal plain was usually in the hands of others, particularly the Philistines, throughout much of the biblical period. At the center are the rock-strewn hills of the Shephelah. Galilee to the north, with its sea of the same name, was a relatively fertile land of grassy hills and small plains. The narrow ribbon of the Jordan River runs down the eastern side of the region into the Dead Sea, so named because of its high salt content.

Israelite Origins

Information about the history of ancient Israel comes from several sources, including archaeological excavation and references in documents from other Middle Eastern societies, particularly Egyptian and Assyrian royal annals. However, the Hebrew Bible (called the Old Testament by Christians) is the fundamental source. Its text is like a layer cake, with several collections of material superimposed on one another and choices made at each stage about what to include and exclude. For centuries the history of the Israelites' early days was transmitted orally. Not until the tenth century B.C.E. were the traditions written down, with an alphabet borrowed from the nearby Phoenicians. The canonical text that we have today was compiled in the fifth century B.C.E. and reflects the point of view of the priests who controlled the Temple in Jerusalem. The Hebrew language of the Bible reflects the speech of the Israelites. It is a Semitic language, most closely related to Phoenician and to Aramaic (the language that later supplanted Hebrew in Israel). This linguistic affinity probably parallels the Israelites' ethnic relationship to the neighboring peoples.

The Hebrew Bible preserves vivid traditions about the Patriarchs—the male leaders of the early Israelite groups—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Abraham was born in the city of Ur in southern Mesopotamia, probably in the twentieth century B.C.E. Disgusted by the idol worship that predominated there, he left the city of his birth and moved with his herd animals (sheep, cattle, donkeys) and his extended family through the Syrian desert. Eventually he arrived in the land of Israel, which, according to the biblical account, had been promised to him and his descendants as part of a "covenant," or pact, with the Israelite god, Yahweh. Abraham, his family, and his companions were following the usual pattern in this part of the world. They camped by a permanent water source in the dry season, then drove the herds of domesticated animals to a well-established sequence of grazing areas during the rest of the year. The animals provided for most needs—milk, cheese, meat, and cloth. Abraham's son and grandson, Isaac and Jacob, succeeded him as leaders of this wandering group of herders.

The biblical account of Jacob's son Joseph, who was sold to passing merchants by his brothers, glosses over the centuries (1700–1500 B.C.E.) of the Israelite migration into Egypt. At the time, Egypt was dominated by the Hyksos, Semitic groups that infiltrated the Nile Delta from the northeast (see Chapter 2). The Israelites' migration to Egypt and their later enslavement may have been connected to the rise and fall of the Hyksos. Although extant Egyptian sources do not refer to Israelite slaves, they do complain about *Apiru*, a derogatory term applied to nomads, caravan drivers, bandits, and other marginal and stateless groups. The word seems to designate a class of people rather than a particular ethnic group, but some scholars have suggested an etymological connection between *Apiru* and *Hebrew*. The sophisticated Egyptians, in any case, both feared and looked down on these rough herders and eventually reduced the Israelites to the status of slaves and put them to work on the grand building projects of the pharaoh. This period of Israelite slavery coincided with the Ramesside era of Egyptian history (1400 to 1200 B.C.E.), during which the pharaohs engaged in ambitious building programs.

Exodus and Settlement

According to the Hebrew Bible, Moses, an Israelite with connections to the Egyptian royal family, led the Israelites out of captivity. The narrative of the Exodus—the departure from Egypt—is overlaid with folktale motifs, such as the ten plagues visited upon Egypt before the pharaoh allowed the Israelites to leave and the miraculous parting of the waters of the Red Sea. Still, oral tradition may have preserved memories of an emigration from Egypt and years of wandering in the wilderness of Sinai.

During a forty-year sojourn in the desert the Israelites became devoted to a stern and warlike god. According to the Old Testament, Yahweh, who may have been localized at Mount Sinai, made a covenant with the Israelites: they promised to worship Yahweh exclusively, and he made them his "Chosen People." This pact was confirmed by stone tablets that Moses brought down from the top of Mount Sinai. Written on the tablets were the Ten Commandments, which spelled out the basic tenets of Jewish belief and practice. This document prohibited murder, adultery, theft, lying, and envy, and it demanded that the Israelites respect their parents and refrain from work on the Sabbath, the seventh day of the week.

In the later thirteenth century B.C.E. the Israelites came from the east into the land of Canaan (modern Israel and Palestine). Led by Joshua, Moses' successor, they attacked and destroyed Jericho and other Canaanite cities. Archaeological evidence confirms the destruction of Canaanite towns at this time, followed by the resettlement of lowland sites and the establishment of new sites in the hills—thanks in part to the development of cisterns for holding rainwater. The new settlers were a population with a material culture cruder than that of the Canaanites. This is yet another manifestation of the age-old pattern: nomadic pastoralists settle down and are assimilated into an agrarian economy.

No Israelite "state" as such existed. The "Children of Israel"—that is, descendants of the Patriarch Jacob—were members of twelve tribes that took their names from the sons of Jacob and Joseph. Each tribe installed itself in a different part of the conquered territory, and each tribe looked for guidance to one or more chiefs. Such leaders usually had limited coercive authority and were primarily responsible for mediating disputes and seeing to the welfare and protection of the group. Certain charismatic figures, famed for their daring in war or their genius in arbitration, were called "Judges" and (like the Celtic Druids) had a special standing that transcended tribal boundaries. The tribes were also bound together by their common access to a shrine in the hill country at Shiloh. The shrine housed the holy Ark of the Covenant, a chest containing the stone tablets that Yahweh had given to Moses.

Rise of the Israelite Monarchy

The Israelites were not the only triumphant newcomers in this region. In the early twelfth century B.C.E. the Philistines, who may be connected to the pre-Greek population of the island of Crete, occupied the coastal plain of Israel. Israelites and Philistines fought frequently, and their wars were memorialized in the biblical traditions about the long-haired strongman Samson, who pulled down the walls of a Philistine temple, and the bravery of young David, whose slingshot felled the towering warrior Goliath. An influential religious leader named Samuel recognized the need for a stronger central authority if the Israelites were to contend successfully against the Philistine city-states. He anointed Saul as first king of Israel around 1020 B.C.E. Saul had mixed success, and when he perished in battle, the throne passed to David (r. ca. 1000–960 B.C.E.).

Gifted musician, brave warrior, and adroit politician, David completed the transition from tribal confederacy to unified monarchy. He strengthened royal authority by making the recently captured hill city of Jerusalem, which lay outside tribal boundaries, his new capital. Soon after, the Ark was brought to Jerusalem, making that city the religious as well as political center of

Model of the ancient city of Jerusalem, with the Second Temple at the center Strategically located in the middle of lands occupied by the Israelite tribes and on a high plateau overlooking the central hills and the Judaean desert, Jerusalem was captured around 1000 B.C.E. by King David and became his capital. The next king, Solomon, built the First Temple to serve as the center of worship of the Israelite god, Yahweh. Solomon's Temple was destroyed during the Neo-Babylonian sack of the city in 587 B.C.E. The modest structure soon built to take its place was replaced by the magnificent Second Temple, built by King Herod in the last decades of the first century B.C.E. This model represents the city in Second Temple times. (Private collection)

the kingdom. To curtail the disorder caused by blood feuds, David designated "cities of refuge"—places to which those guilty of certain crimes could flee to escape retribution. A census was taken to facilitate the collection of taxes by the central government, and a standing army, with soldiers paid by and loyal to the king, was instituted. These innovations gave David the resources to win a string of military victories and substantially expand Israel's borders.

The reign of David's son Solomon (r. ca. 960–920 B.C.E.) marked the high point of the Israelite monarchy. Alliances and trade linked Israel with near and distant lands. Solomon and Hiram, the king of Phoenician Tyre, together commissioned a fleet that sailed south into the Red Sea and brought back gold, ivory, jewels, sandalwood, and exotic animals from distant Ophir. The story of the fabulous visit to Solomon by the queen of Sheba, who brought gold, precious stones, and spices, may be mythical, but it reflects the reality of trade with Saba (biblical Sheba) in south Arabia (present-day Yemen) and with the Horn of Africa (present-day Somalia). Considerable wealth flowed into the royal coffers, subsidizing the lavish lifestyle of Solomon's court, the expanding administrative bureaucracy, and a standing chariot army that made Israel into a regional power. Solomon undertook an ambitious building program, employing slaves and the compulsory labor of citizens to build the First Temple in Jerusalem. Henceforth, the Israelites had a central shrine and an impressive set of rituals that could compete with the attractions of pagan cults.

The Temple priesthood, which carried out animal sacrifices to Yahweh on behalf of the community, received a percentage of the annual agricultural yield and evolved into a powerful and wealthy class. The expansion of Jerusalem, new commercial opportunities, and the increasing prestige of the Temple hierarchy began to change the social composition of Israelite society. A gap emerged between urban and rural, rich and poor, polarizing a people that previously had been relatively homogeneous.

Society and Culture

The Israelites lived in extended families—the "house of the father," it was called; several generations lived together under the authority of the eldest male. Marriages, usually arranged between families, were an important economic as well as social institution. The groom gave a substantial gift to the father of the bride. Her entire family participated in the ceremonial weighing out of the silver or gold. Monogamy was the norm. The wife brought into the marriage a dowry that included a slave girl who attended her for life. Male heirs were of paramount importance. Firstborn sons received a double share of the inheritance. If no son was forthcoming from the marriage, the couple could adopt a son, or the husband could have a child by the wife's slave attendant. If a man died childless, his brother was expected to marry the widow and provide an heir.

Women could not inherit and could not initiate divorce. Men could have extramarital relations, but similar behavior by wives was punishable by death. Women of the working classes labored with other family members in agriculture or herding, in addition to maintaining the household and raising the children. As the society became more urbanized, some women worked outside the home as cooks, bakers, perfumers, wet nurses (usually recent mothers, still producing milk, who were hired to provide nourishment to another person's child), prostitutes, and singers of laments at funerals. Occasionally, women reached positions of influence: Deborah the Judge, a prophet and arbitrator of disputes, led troops in battle against the Canaanites. As well, women known collectively as "wise women" appear to have been educated and composed sacred texts in poetry and prose.

Fragmentation and Diaspora

After the death of Solomon around 920 B.C.E., the monarchy split into two kingdoms: Israel in the north, with its capital at Samaria; and Judah in the southern territory around Jerusalem. The two kingdoms were sometimes at war, sometimes in alliance.

Monotheism, the absolute belief in Yahweh as the one and only god, crystallized in this period. Nevertheless, religious leaders contended with the appeal of polytheistic (involving belief in multiple gods) cults. Many Israelites were attracted to the ecstatic rituals of the Canaanite storm-god Baal and the fertility goddess Astarte. Fiery prophets claiming to convey messages from Yahweh rose up to oppose the adoption of foreign ritual and to castigate the monarchs and aristocracy for their corruption, impiety, and neglect of the poor.

In response to the rise of the aggressive and brutal Neo-Assyrian Empire, the small states of Syria and Israel laid aside their rivalries and resisted together, but to no avail. In 721 B.C.E. the Assyrians destroyed the northern kingdom of Israel and deported a substantial portion of its population to the east. New settlers were brought in, altering the ethnic composition, culture, and religious practices of this land and removing it from the mainstream of Jewish history. The southern kingdom of Judah hung on for over a century, at times paying tribute to the Neo-Assyrian Empire and then to the Neo-Babylonian kingdom that succeeded it, at other times breaking into rebellion. When the Neo-Babylonian monarch Nebuchadrezzar captured Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E., he destroyed the Temple and deported to Babylon the leading elements of the society—royal family, aristocracy, and workers with useful skills such as blacksmiths and scribes.

The deportees adapted quickly and prospered in their new home "by the waters of Babylon," and half a century later most of their descendants refused the offer of the Persian monarch Cyrus (see Chapter 4) to return to their homeland. Thus began the Jewish *Diaspora*—a Greek word meaning "dispersal" or "scattering"—which continues today. The communities of the Diaspora began to develop synagogues and other institutions that allowed them to maintain their religion and culture outside the homeland. The *synagogue* (a Greek term meaning "bringing together"), was a communal meeting place that served religious, educational, and social functions.

Several groups of Babylonian Jews—as we may now begin to call these people, since an independent Israel no longer existed—did make the long trek back to Judah, where they met a cold reception from the local population. Nevertheless, the Temple was rebuilt in modest form, and a new set of regulations, the Deuteronomic Code (*deuteronomic* is Greek for "second code of laws"), became the basis of law and conduct for the Jewish community. The fifth century B.C.E. also saw the compilation of the Hebrew Bible in roughly its present form.

The loss of political autonomy and the experience of exile sharpened the Jewish identity and put an unyielding monotheism at the core of that identity. Jews lived by a rigid set of rules. Dietary restrictions forbade the eating of pork and shellfish and insisted that meat and dairy products not be consumed together. Rules of purity required women to take ritual baths to remove the taint of menstruation. The need to venerate the Sabbath meant refraining from work and from fighting, in imitation of their god, who, according to the biblical story of the creation of the world, rested on the seventh day (this is the origin of the concept of the weekend). There also was a ban on marrying non-Jews. These strictures tended to isolate the Jews from other peoples, but they also created a powerful sense of community and belief in the protection of a watchful and beneficent deity.

PHOENICIA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

While the Assyrians recovered from the disorders at the end of the Bronze Age and laid the foundation for future expansion, and the Israelite tribes forged a united kingdom, important transformations also occurred among another people who occupied the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. The ancient Phoenicians (or Canaanites, as they called themselves) inhabited present-day Syria, Lebanon, and Israel (sometimes called the Levant or Syria-Palestine). Around 1200 B.C.E., western Asia and the eastern Mediterranean entered a period of violent upheavals and mass movements of population. Many settlements in Syria-Palestine were destroyed, and Aramaeans migrated into the interior portions of Syria. Israelite tribes wandered into Canaan, destroyed Canaanite cities, and settled down as herders and farmers. At the same time, the Philistines occupied the coast of much of present-day Israel and introduced iron-based metallurgy to this part of the world.

The Phoenician City-States

As a result of those invasions and migrations, by 1100 B.C.E. the Canaanites occupied no more than the narrow strip of land lying between the mountains and the sea in present-day Lebanon. The inhabitants of this densely populated area adopted new political forms and sources of livelihood, particularly in manufacture and seaborne commerce. Rivers and rocky spurs of Mount Lebanon sliced the coastal plain into small city-states. This region was the homeland of the Phoenicians, as the Canaanites came to be called by Greeks who encountered them in the early first millennium B.C.E. The Greek term *Phoinikes* may mean "red men" and have something to do with the color of the Canaanites' skin, or it may refer to the purple pigment that they produced from the murex snail and used to dye expensive garments (see Environment and Technology: Ancient Textiles and Dyes).

Thriving commerce brought in considerable wealth and gave the Phoenician city-states an important role in the international politics of the age. Commercial activity centered on raw materials, foodstuffs, and crafted luxury products: cedar and pine, metals, papyrus, wine, spices, salted fish, incense, textiles, carved ivory, and glass.

The Phoenicians developed the first alphabetic system of writing, wherein each symbol stands for a sound and only about two dozen symbols are needed. This technology was a considerable advance over cuneiform and hieroglyphics, which required hundreds of signs.

Byblos was the most important Phoenician city-state in the second millennium B.C.E. It was a distribution center for cedar wood from Mount Lebanon and for Egyptian papyrus, the precious writing medium of the age (the Greek word *biblion*, meaning "book written on papyrus," comes down as our word *bible*). In the early centuries of the first millennium B.C.E. Tyre, in southern Lebanon, came to play an ever more dominant role. In the ninth century B.C.E. Tyre extended its territorial control over nearby Sidon and monopolized the Mediterranean coastal trade. The city itself was nearly impregnable because of its location on an island directly off-shore. It had two harbors—one facing north, the other south—connected by a canal. It also had a large marketplace, a magnificent palace complex with treasury and archives, temples to the gods Melqart and Astarte, suburbs spilling onto the adjacent mainland, and a population of thirty thousand or more. Its one weakness was its dependence on the mainland for food and fresh water.

Little is known about the internal affairs of Tyre and the other Phoenician cities. The names of a series of kings are preserved, and the scant evidence suggests that leading merchant families dominated political life.

Expansion into the Mediterranean

In the ninth century B.C.E. Tyre began to turn its attention westward into the Mediterranean. The colony of Citium was established on Cyprus, a large island 100 miles (161 kilometers) west of the Syrian coast (see Map 3.2). In the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E. a string of settlements in the western Mediterranean gradually formed a "Phoenician triangle" composed of the stretch of

ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

Ancient Textiles and Dyes

Throughout human history the production of textiles—cloth for clothing, blankets, carpets, and coverings of various sorts—may have required an expenditure of labor second only to the amount of work necessary to provide food. Despite its importance, however, little is known about textile production in antiquity because it leaves so few traces in the archaeological record. Some textile remains have been found in the hot, dry conditions of Egypt and adjacent deserts, and others have been preserved in ice in the tombs of Siberian nomads and in the peat bogs of northern Europe. Most of our knowledge of ancient textiles, however, depends on the discovery of instruments used in textile production—such as spindles, loom weights, and dyeing vats—and on pictorial representations and descriptions in texts.

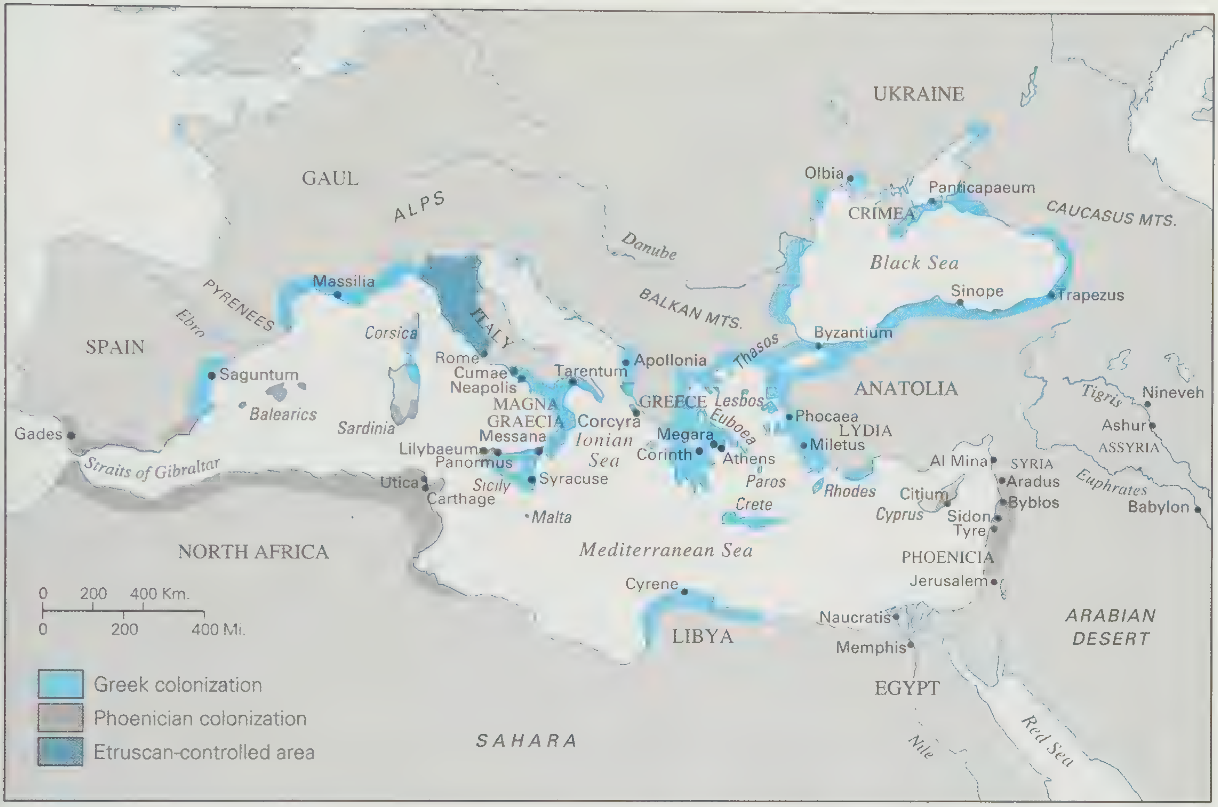
Clothing of the Bog Body (The National Museum, Copenhagen)

For a simple but important reason, the production of cloth has usually been the work of women. Women nearly always have the major responsibility for child rearing because only they can breast-feed the infant, often for several years. This responsibility limits their ability to participate in other activities but does not consume all their time, energy, and productive potential. In many societies textile production has been complementary to child rearing, for it can be done in the home, is relatively safe, does not require great concentration, and can be interrupted and resumed without consequence. For many thousands of years cloth production has been one of the great common experiences of women around the globe.

Fine textiles with bright, permanent colors became a major export product in ancient Phoenicia. The striking colors were produced by dyes derived from several species of snail: a blue-purple from the banded dye-murex and a red-purple from the spiny dye-murex. Most prized of all, the red-purple was known as "Tyrian purple" because Tyre was the major source. Persian and Hellenistic kings wore robes dyed this color, and Roman senators wore white togas with a purple border.

Producing Tyrian purple was an exceedingly laborious process. The spiny dye-murex snail lives on the sandy Mediterranean bottom at depths ranging from 30 to 500 feet (10 to 150 meters). Nine thousand snails were needed to produce 1 gram (0.035 ounce) of dye. A Roman naturalist of the first century C.E., the elder Pliny, described the process of dye production as it existed in his day. The dye was made from a colorless liquid in the snail's hypobranchial gland. The gland sacs were removed, crushed, soaked with salt, and exposed to sunlight and air for some days; then they were subjected to controlled boiling and heating.

Huge mounds of broken shells on the Phoenician coast testify to the ancient industry. The snail was likely rendered extinct at many locations, and some scholars have speculated that Phoenician colonization in the Mediterranean may have been motivated in part by the search for new sources of snails. The production of purple cloth in this region began before 1700 B.C.E. and continued until the seventh century C.E., when it fell victim to the destruction accompanying the Muslim conquest of Syria-Palestine.



Map 3.2 Colonization of the Mediterranean In the ninth century B.C.E. the Phoenicians of Lebanon began to explore and colonize parts of the western Mediterranean, including the coast of North Africa, southern and eastern Spain, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. The Phoenicians were primarily interested in gaining access to valuable raw materials and trading opportunities.

North African coast that today lies in western Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco, the southern and eastern coast of Spain, and the major islands of Sardinia, Sicily, and Malta off the coast of Italy. Many of these new foundations were situated on promontories or offshore islands in imitation of Tyre. The result was a Phoenician trading network that spanned the Mediterranean.

Tyrian expansion westward in the Mediterranean was made possible by a combination of state enterprise and private initiative. It probably was a response both to the frequent and destructive invasions of the Syria-Palestine region by the Neo-Assyrian Empire and to the shortage of arable land to feed Tyre's swelling population. Overseas settlement provided an outlet for excess population, new sources of valuable trade commodities, and new trading partners. For a time Tyre maintained its autonomy by providing the considerable sums of money and goods that the Assyrian kings demanded as tribute. By the early seventh century B.C.E., however, the Assyrians had conquered Tyre and stripped it of much of its territory and population, and the leading place in Phoenicia was taken over by Sidon in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.

The Phoenicians' activities in the western Mediterranean often brought them into conflict with the Greeks, who were also seeking valuable resources in the western Mediterranean and colonizing southern Italy and Sicily. In the end both communities survived, but by the mid-third century B.C.E. the Carthaginians, who led the coalition of Phoenician communities in the western Mediterranean, controlled all of Sicily.

Carthage: A Commercial Empire

However much truth may lie behind the legend of Dido (see chapter opening), archaeological excavation has roughly confirmed the foundation of Carthage in 814 B.C.E. Carthage was established at a strategic location on the north coast of Africa, very near the present-day city of Tunis in Tunisia (see Map 3.2). The new foundation prospered and grew rapidly, soon coming to dominate other Phoenician colonies in the west.

The city of Carthage was located on a narrow promontory jutting into the Mediterranean. The inner harbor could accommodate up to 220 warships. The outer commercial harbor was filled with docks and shipbuilding sheds. In a crisis the mouth of the harbor could be closed off by a huge chain. The inner city was a maze of narrow, winding streets, multistory apartment buildings, and sacred enclosures of the gods. Out from the center was Megara, a sprawling suburban district where fields and vegetable gardens separated the spacious houses of the well-to-do. This entire urban complex was enclosed by a wall 22 miles (35 kilometers) in length. With a population of roughly 400,000, Carthage was one of the largest cities in the world in the mid-first millennium B.C.E. Its ethnically diverse population included people of Phoenician stock, indigenous people likely to have been the ancestors of modern-day Berbers, and immigrants from all over the Mediterranean and sub-Saharan Africa who had come to Carthage to make their fortunes.

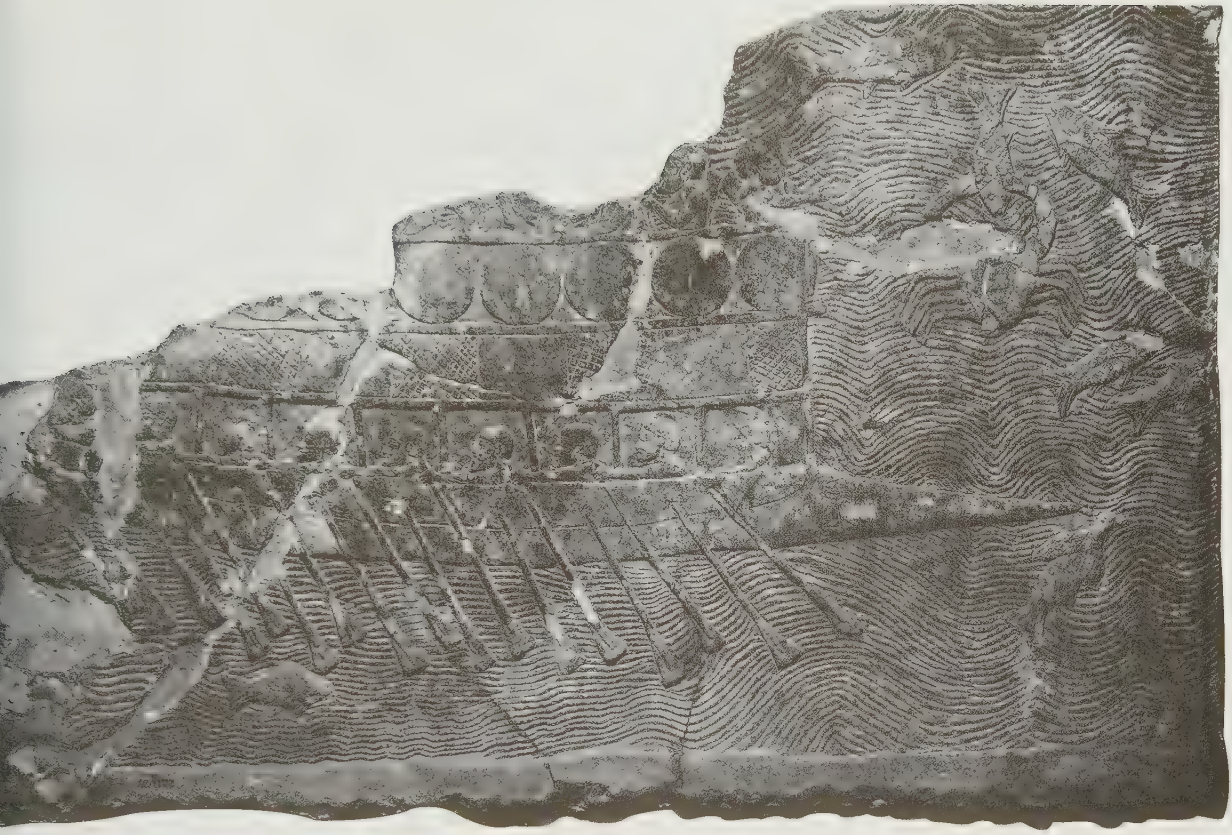
Each year, two members of the upper class were chosen as *suffetes*, or "judges," to serve as heads of state and perform administrative and judicial functions. The real seat of power was the Senate, made up of members of the leading merchant families, who sat for life, formulating policy and directing the affairs of state. Within the Senate, an inner circle of heads of the thirty or so most influential families made the crucial decisions. Occasionally an Assembly of the people was called together to elect public officials and vote on important issues.

The Carthaginian navy ruled the seas of the western Mediterranean for centuries. The citizens of Carthage played an important role as rowers and navigators, and the many Phoenician towns along the shores of the western Mediterranean provided a chain of friendly ports.

Expert in the design and construction of ships and highly proficient as sailors, the Carthaginians had fast and maneuverable warships. A sturdy, pointed ram at the bow of a Carthaginian warship could be driven into an enemy vessel to punch a deadly hole below the water line. A deck allowed soldiers to take their positions and fire weapons at the enemy. Innovations in the placement of benches and oars made room for 30, 50, and eventually as many as 170 rowers to propel a ship at high speed. The Phoenicians of the eastern and western Mediterranean and their rivals the Greeks contributed to these technological advances and used similar vessels.

The foreign policy of the Carthaginian state reflected its economic interests. Protection of the sea lanes, access to raw materials, and fostering of trade opportunities mattered most to the dominant merchant class. Indeed, Carthage claimed the waters of the western Mediterranean as its own. Merchant vessels of other peoples were free to sail to Carthage to market their goods, but they risked being sunk by the Carthaginian navy if they tried to operate on their own. Treaties between Carthage and other states included formal recognition of this maritime commercial monopoly.

Carthaginian merchants bought and sold goods all around the Mediterranean, probably including raw metals (silver, lead, iron, tin), foodstuffs, textiles, and animal skins, as well as slaves. Goods manufactured elsewhere were carried by Carthaginian ships, and products brought to Carthage by foreign traders were re-exported for a profit. There is also some evidence of trade with sub-Saharan Africans.



Wall relief of a Phoenician warship, ca. 700 B.C. This depiction from an Assyrian palace reflects the reliance of the Assyrians, and the Persians after them, on the Phoenicians for the core of their navy. Before battle, the mast and broad square sail that these vessels used when cruising were deposited on shore. During battle, fifty rowers on two levels propelled the ship. A screen of shields protected soldiers positioned on the upper deck. The long, projecting "ram" at right was used to open a hole below the water line in an enemy vessel. (Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum)

It is important to note that Carthage, unlike Assyria, did not seek direct rule of a large amount of territory. A belt of fertile land in northeastern Tunisia, owned by Carthaginians but worked by native peasants and imported slaves, provided a secure food supply. Indigenous groups in this territory were subject to taxation and military service. Beyond this core area, however, Carthaginian domination was usually indirect. Other Phoenician communities in the western Mediterranean looked to Carthage for military protection and direction in foreign policy but were essentially independent.

Carthage had little to fear from the indigenous North African population, but it did need armies for military operations overseas, including fierce and destructive wars against Greeks and Romans. For these conflicts it relied on mercenaries,

The "tophet" of Carthage Here, from the seventh to second centuries B.C.E., the cremated bodies of sacrificed children were buried. Archaeological excavation has confirmed the claim in ancient sources that the Carthaginians sacrificed children to their gods at times of crisis. Stone markers, decorated with magical signs and symbols of divinities as well as family names, were placed over ceramic urns containing the ashes and charred bones of one or more infants or, occasionally, older children. (Martha Cooper/Peter Arnold, Inc.)

soldiers hired from the most warlike peoples in the region, under the command of professional Carthaginian officers.

Carthaginian religion fascinated Greek and Roman writers. The gods of the Carthaginians—chief among them Baal Hammon, a male storm-god, and Tanit, a female fertility figure—were powerful and capricious entities whom worshipers sought to appease at any price. It was reported, for example, that members of the Carthaginian elite sacrificed their own male children at times of crisis, presumably to win the favor of the gods. Excavations at Carthage and other Phoenician towns in the west have turned up *tophets*—walled enclosures in which were buried thousands of small, sealed urns containing the burned bones of children. Some scholars see these compounds as the final resting place of infants born prematurely or taken by childhood illnesses. Most experts, however, maintain that the western Phoenicians practiced child sacrifice on a more or less regular basis. Originally practiced by the upper classes, child sacrifice was later taken over by broader elements of the population and became increasingly common in the fourth and third centuries B.C.E.

We should not take at face value what was said about the Carthaginians by their Greek and Roman enemies, but it is important to recognize that the Carthaginians were perceived as different and that cultural barriers, leading to misunderstanding and prejudice, played a significant role in the encounters of these peoples of the ancient Mediterranean. In Chapter 5 we follow the protracted and bloody struggle between Rome and Carthage for control of the western Mediterranean.

THE END OF AN ERA: THE FALL OF ASSYRIA

The extension of Assyrian power over the entire Middle East had enormous consequences for all the peoples of this region. Assyrian forces conquered and occupied Egypt in the mid-seventh century B.C.E. and damaged Thebes, its ancient capital, beyond recovery. The southern plains of Sumer and Akkad, birthplace of Mesopotamian civilization, were reduced to a protectorate. Assyrian kings alternately razed and rebuilt the venerable old metropolis at Babylon. Urartu and Elam, Assyria's great-power rivals close to home, were ultimately destroyed.

By the mid-seventh century B.C.E. Assyria stood seemingly unchallenged in western Asia, but the cost was high. Its resources were overextended, and Assyrian brutality and exploitation had aroused the hatred of subjects and neighbors. Changes in the ethnic composition of the army and in the population of the homeland had lessened the commitment of both soldiers and civilians to the interests of the Assyrian state.

Two dynamic new political entities spearheaded resistance to Assyria: resurgent Babylonia under the Neo-Babylonian, or Chaldaean, dynasty, and the kingdom of the Medes, an Iranian people who by the seventh century B.C.E. were extending their control eastward across the Iranian plateau. These two powers launched a series of attacks on the Assyrian homeland, and by 612 B.C.E. the chief Assyrian cities had been destroyed. The rapidity of the Assyrian decline and fall is stunning. The destruction systematically carried out by the victorious attackers led to the depopulation of northern Mesopotamia. Two centuries later, when a corps of Greek mercenaries passed by mounds that concealed the ruins of the Assyrian capitals, the Athenian chronicler Xenophon had no inkling of the existence of the Assyrians and their once-mighty empire.

The Medes took over the Assyrian homeland and the northern steppe as far as eastern Anatolia, but most of the immediate benefits went to the Neo-Babylonian kingdom. Babylonia underwent a cultural renaissance, as the city of Babylon was enlarged and adorned, becoming the greatest urban complex in the world in the sixth century B.C.E. Old cults were reactivated, temples rebuilt, festivals resurrected. The related pursuits of mathematics, astronomy, and astrology reached new heights.

CONCLUSION

The history of Europe, North Africa, and western Asia shared two main themes in the first millennium B.C.E. First, this epoch witnessed the rise of peoples who had played a less significant role earlier—in particular the Assyrians of northern Mesopotamia and the Phoenicians (Canaanites) of the eastern Mediterranean coast—or whose way of life had undergone such significant changes as to constitute a new culture—as in Israel and among the Celts of Europe. In each of those cases we can follow the evolution of new, more complex political, social, and economic structures. The Assyrians, using land-based military technologies, created an empire on a scale never before seen, extending over vast distances and encompassing many different ethnic groups. The distances involved and the slowness of communications made it difficult to maintain control. The Assyrian response was to employ and advertise brute force and terror in order to cow opponents into submission and keep reluctant subjects obedient. The Carthaginians, the most successful of the Phoenician colonists in the western Mediterranean, created an "empire" of a different sort, based on naval dominance of the waters of the western Mediterranean and commercial exploitation of the resources of adjacent lands. In both cases great wealth was funneled into the center. Booty, taxes, and labor exacted from conquered peoples enriched the Assyrian royal family and aristocracy. Carthaginian merchant families grew prosperous from trade and manufacture.

The second main theme in the first millennium B.C.E. is population movements and the relocation of large numbers of people. The mass migrations of other historical periods may be better known—the prehistoric diffusion of the human species into all habitable regions of the planet (see Chapter 1), the eruption of Islam across western Asia and North Africa in the seventh century C.E. (see Chapter 8), and migrations in the twentieth century, for example. But the population movements of the first millennium B.C.E., too, brought profound political, social, cultural, and economic changes to Europe, North Africa, and western Asia.

The Assyrians, with their military conquests in western Asia, resorted to forced population movements. They deported large numbers of prisoners of war from outlying subject territories to northern Mesopotamia. The Phoenicians colonized the nearby island of Cyprus, the more distant shores of North Africa and Spain, and the islands off Italy, at least partially in response to Assyrian aggression. However, some Phoenicians voluntarily left their overpopulated homeland to make better lives for themselves in new settlements. As the next chapter discusses, while the Phoenicians were exploring and settling in the western Mediterranean, Greeks from the Aegean Sea region were colonizing and occupying coastal points in southern Italy, Sicily, southern France, western Libya, and the lands bordering the Black Sea.

The story of the Israelite settlement of Canaan and the radiation of Celtic peoples from a Central European point of origin across a wide swath of Europe north of the Alps describes yet another pattern of mass migration. Phoenician colonists largely duplicated in their new homes the forms they had been using in the old country. Celts and Israelites, in contrast, underwent a political, social, and cultural transformation as they adapted to new zones of settlement.

It is no accident that several of the peoples featured in this chapter who settled in large numbers outside their places of origin had long and glorious destinies ahead of them. In the first millennium B.C.E., as in later historical eras, diasporas proved to be both fertile sources of innovation and safety valves for the preservation of culture. The Carthaginian enterprise was eventually cut short by the Romans, but Jews and Celts survive into our own time. Ironically the Assyrians, for a time the most powerful of all these societies, suffered the complete termination of their way of life. Because Assyrians did not settle outside their homeland in significant numbers, when their state was toppled in the late seventh century B.C.E. their culture also fell victim.

The Neo-Babylonian kingdom that arose on the ashes of the Neo-Assyrian Empire would prove to be the last revival of the ancient Sumerian and Semitic cultural legacy in western Asia. The next chapter relates how the destiny of the peoples of the Middle East became enmeshed in the stories of Iran and Greece.

SUGGESTED READING

The best concise introduction to Celtic civilization is Simon James, *The World of the Celts* (1993). On Celtic religion and mythology see Proinsias Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* (1983), and two books by Miranda Green: *The Gods of the Celts* (1986) and *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* (1992).

Fundamental for all periods in the ancient Middle East is Jack M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 4 vols. (1995). This collection, containing nearly two hundred articles with bibliography by contemporary experts, is divided into sections covering environment, population, social institutions, history and culture, economy and trade, technology and artistic production, religion and science, language, writing and literature, and visual and performing arts. Barbara Lesko, ed., *Women's Earliest Records: From Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (1989), is a collection of papers on the experiences of women in the ancient Middle East.

For general history and cultural information about the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Mesopotamia and western Asia in the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. see Michael Roaf, *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East* (1990); H. W. F. Saggs, *Civilization Before Greece and Rome* (1989); and A. Bernard Knapp, *The History and Culture of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt* (1988). Julian Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture* (1983), provides a succinct introduction to the informative relief sculptures from the Assyrian palaces. Andre Parrot, *The Arts of Assyria* (1961), provides full coverage of all artistic media.

For general historical introductions to ancient Israel see Michael Grant, *The History of Israel* (1984); J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (1986); and J. Alberto Soggin, *A History of Israel: From the Beginnings to the Bar Kochba Revolt, A.D. 135* (1984).

Donald Harden, *The Phoenicians* (1962), and Gerhard Herm, *The Phoenicians: The Purple Empire of the Ancient World* (1975), are general introductions to the Phoenicians in their homeland. Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade* (1993), is a sophisticated investigation of the dynamics of Phoenician expansion into the western Mediterranean. Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times*, 2d ed. (1991), 75–79, discusses the design of warships and merchant vessels. For Carthage, David Soren, Aicha Ben Abed Ben Khader, and Hedi Slim, *Carthage: Uncovering the Mysteries and Splendors of Ancient Tunisia* (1990), fills a long-standing void. R. C. C. Law, "North Africa in the Period of Phoenician and Greek Colonization, c. 800 to 323 B.C.," Chapter 2 in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 2 (1978), places the history of Carthage in an African perspective.

Elizabeth Wayland Barber, *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years: Women, Cloth, and Society in Early Times* (1994), is an intriguing account of textile manufacture in antiquity, with emphasis on the social implications and primary role of women. I. Irving Ziderman, "Seashells and Ancient Purple Dyeing," *Biblical Archaeologist* 53 (June 1990): 98–101, is a convenient summary of Phoenician purple-dyeing technology.

CHAPTER FOUR

Greece and Iran, 1000–30 B.C.E.

Ancient Iran • Rise of the Greeks

The Struggle of Persia and Greece • The Hellenistic Synthesis

The Greek historian Herodotus (ca. 485–425 B.C.E.) tells a revealing story about cultural differences. The Persian king Darius I, who ruled an empire stretching from eastern Europe to northwest India, summoned the Greek and Indian wise men who served him at court. He first asked the Greeks whether under any circumstances they would be willing to eat the bodies of their deceased fathers. The Greeks, who cremated their dead, recoiled at the impiety of such an act. Darius then asked the Indians whether they would be prepared to burn the bodies of their dead parents. The Indians were repulsed, because it was their practice to ritually partake of the bodies of the dead. The point, as Herodotus wryly points out, was that different peoples have very different practices but each regards its own way as "natural" and superior. And, nearly fifteen hundred years later, Herodotus's story reminds us that the Persian Empire (and the Hellenistic Greek kingdoms that succeeded it) brought together, in Europe and in Asia, peoples and cultural systems having little direct previous contact, and that this cross-cultural interaction had the potential to be alarming and to stimulate new and exciting cultural syntheses.

By tracing the rise of Persian and Greek civilizations in very different physical landscapes and historical circumstances, and by looking at the characteristic institutions and values of each people, we can see how two centuries of rivalry and warfare affected the development of both peoples. We also can see what impact Persian and Greek domination made on the lands and other peoples of the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia from the sixth to second centuries B.C.E.

ANCIENT IRAN

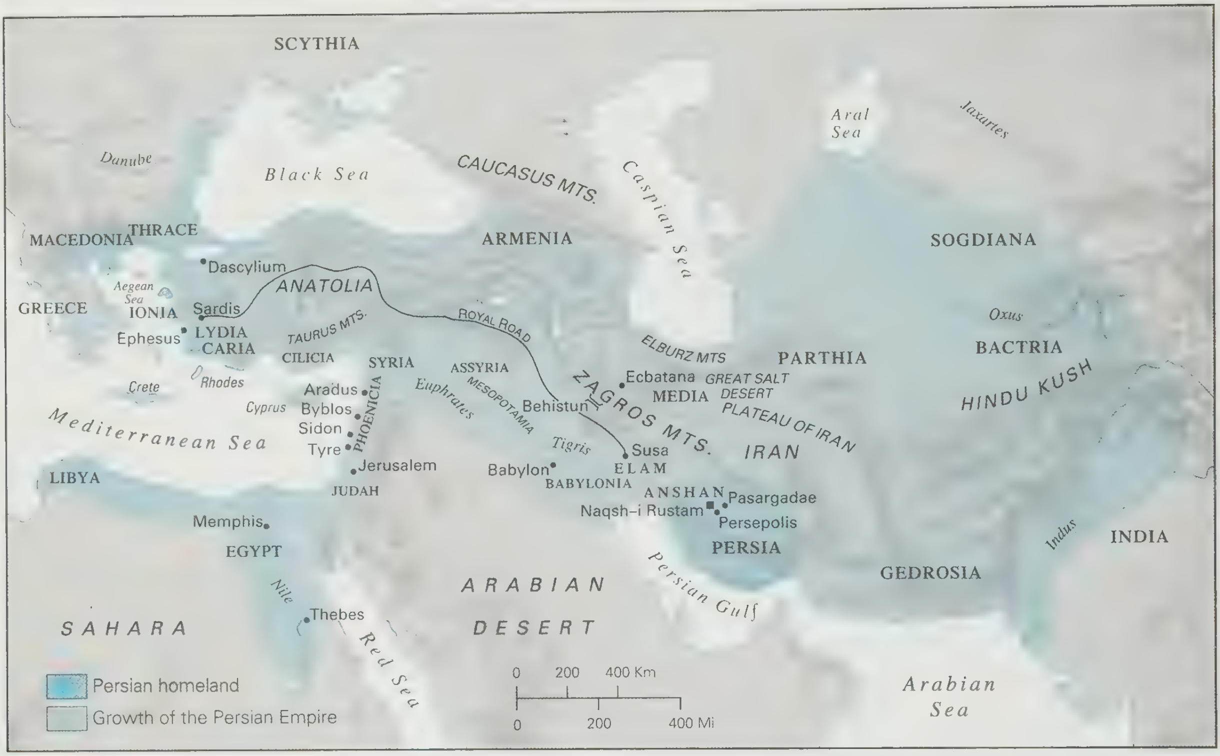
In the sixth century B.C.E. the vigorous Persians of southwest Iran created the largest empire the world had yet seen. Heirs to the long legacy of Mesopotamian history and culture, they infused their empire with distinctly Iranian elements and introduced new forms of political and economic organization in western Asia.

Relatively little written material from within the Persian Empire has survived, so we must view it mostly through the eyes of the ancient Greeks—outsiders who were usually hostile and interested only in events that affected themselves. However, recent archaeological discoveries and close analysis of the limited written material from within the empire can supplement and correct the perspective of the Greek sources.

Geography and Resources

Iran, "Land of the Aryans," is bounded by the Zagros Mountains to the west, the Caucasus Mountains and Caspian Sea to the northwest and north, the Hindu Kush range and the desert of Gedrosia to the east and southeast, and the Persian Gulf to the southwest (see Map 4.1). The northeast is less protected by natural boundaries, and through that corridor Iran was open to attacks by the nomads of Central Asia.

With high mountains at the edges, salt deserts in the interior, and mountain streams traversing a sloping plateau and draining into seas or interior salt lakes and marshes, Iran is a harsh land. To survive, humans had to find ways to exploit limited water resources. Unlike the valleys of the Nile, Tigris-Euphrates, Ganges, and Yellow Rivers, ancient Iran never had a dense population. The best-watered and most populous parts of the country lie to the north and west; aridity



Map 4.1 The Persian Empire Between 550 and 522 B.C.E., the Persians of southwest Iran, under their kings Cyrus and Cambyses, conquered each of the major states of western Asia—Media, Babylonia, Lydia, and Egypt. The third king, Darius I, extended the boundaries as far as the Indus Valley in the east and the European shore of the Black Sea in the west. The first major setback came when the fourth king, Xerxes, failed in his invasion of Greece in 480 B.C.E. For their empire, which was considerably larger than its recent predecessor, the Assyrian Empire, the Persian rulers developed a system of provinces, governors, regular tribute, and communication via royal roads and couriers that allowed for efficient operations for almost two centuries.

increases and population decreases as one moves south and east. On the interior plateau, oasis settlements sprang up beside streams or springs. The Great Salt Desert, which covers most of eastern Iran, and Gedrosia in the southeast corner were extremely inhospitable, and the scattered settlements in the narrow plains beside the Persian Gulf were cut off from the interior plateau by mountain barriers.

In the first millennium B.C.E. irrigation enabled people to move down from the mountain valleys and open up the plains to agriculture. To prevent evaporation of precious water in the hot, dry climate, they devised underground irrigation channels. Constructing and maintaining these subterranean channels and the vertical shafts that provided access to them was labor-intensive work. Normally, local leaders oversaw the expansion of the network in each district. Activity accelerated during periods when a strong central authority was able to organize large numbers of laborers. Even so, human survival depended on a delicate ecological balance, and a buildup of salt in the soil or a falling water table sometimes forced the abandonment of settlements.

Iran's mineral resources—copper, tin, iron, gold, and silver—were exploited on a limited scale in antiquity. Mountain slopes, more heavily wooded than they are now, provided fuel and materials for building and crafts. Because this austere land could not generate much of an agricultural surplus, objects of trade tended to be minerals and crafted goods, such as textiles and carpets.

Rise of the Persian Empire

In antiquity many groups of people, whom historians refer to collectively as "Iranians" because they spoke related languages and shared certain cultural features, spread out across western and Central Asia, an area comprising not only the modern nation of Iran but also Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Several of these groups arrived in western Iran near the end of the second millennium B.C.E. The first to achieve a complex level of political organization was the Medes (Mada in Iranian),* who settled in the northwest and came under the influence of the ancient centers in Mesopotamia and Urartu (modern Armenia). The Medes played a major role in the destruction of the Assyrian Empire in the late seventh century B.C.E. and extended their control westward across Assyria into Anatolia (modern Turkey) and southeast toward the Persian Gulf, into a region occupied by Persian tribes (Parsa).

The Persian rulers of the region of Anshan—now called Achaemenids because they traced their lineage back to an ancestor named Achaemenes (Hachamanish)—cemented their relationship with the Median court through marriage. Cyrus (Kurush), the son of a Persian chieftain and a Median princess, united the various Persian tribes and overthrew the Median monarch Astyages sometime around 550 B.C.E.

Like most Indo-European peoples, the early inhabitants of western Iran had a patriarchal organization: the male head of the household had virtually absolute authority over family members. Society was divided into three social and occupational castes: warriors, priests, and peasants. Warriors were the dominant element. A landowning aristocracy, they took pleasure in hunting, fighting, and gardening, and the king was the most illustrious member of this group. The priests, or Magi (*magush*), were ritual specialists who supervised the proper performance of sacrifices. The common people were primarily village-based farmers and shepherds.

The rise of the Persians was breathtakingly sudden. Cyrus (r. 550–530 B.C.E.), by his conquests, thrust his relatively backward society into the role of an imperial people. Over the course of two decades the energetic Cyrus redrew the map of western Asia, bringing all Anatolia, including the Greek city-states on the western coast, and Mesopotamia under Persian control. After Cyrus lost his life in 530 B.C.E. while campaigning against a coalition of nomadic Iranians in the northeast, his son Cambyses (Kambujiya, r. 530–522 B.C.E.) set his sights on Egypt, the last of the great ancient kingdoms of the Middle East. The Persians prevailed over the Egyptians in a series of bloody battles, after which they sent exploratory expeditions south to Nubia and west to Libya.

Cambyses' eventual successor, Darius I (Darayavaush, r. 522–486 B.C.E.), extended Persian control eastward as far as the Indus Valley and westward into Europe, where he bridged the Danube River and chased the nomadic Scythian peoples north of the Black Sea. The Persians erected a string of forts in Thrace (modern-day northeast Greece and Bulgaria) and by 500 B.C.E. were on the doorstep of Greece. Darius also promoted the development of maritime routes, dispatching the Anatolian mariner Scylax to explore the waters from the Indus Delta to the Red Sea and completing a canal that linked the Red Sea with the Nile.

Imperial Organization and Ideology

Stretching from eastern Europe to Pakistan, from southern Russia to the Sudan, the empire of Darius I (see Map 4.1) encompassed a multitude of ethnic groups and every form of social and political organization, from nomadic tribe to subordinate kingdom to city-state. Darius can rightly be considered the second founder of the Persian Empire, after Cyrus, because he created a new organizational structure that was maintained throughout the remaining two centuries of the empire's existence.

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*Iranian groups and individuals are known in the Western world by Greek approximations of their names; thus these familiar forms are used here. The original Iranian names are given in parentheses.

Darius divided the empire into twenty provinces. Each one was under the supervision of a Persian *satrap*, or governor, likely to be related or connected by marriage to the royal family. In his province the satrap was not just a representative but a replica of "the Great King"; the satrap's court was a miniature version of the royal court. One of the satrap's most important duties was to collect and then send tribute to the king. Darius prescribed how much precious metal each province was to contribute annually, and this amount was forwarded to the central treasury. Some of it was disbursed for necessary expenditures, but most of it was hoarded.

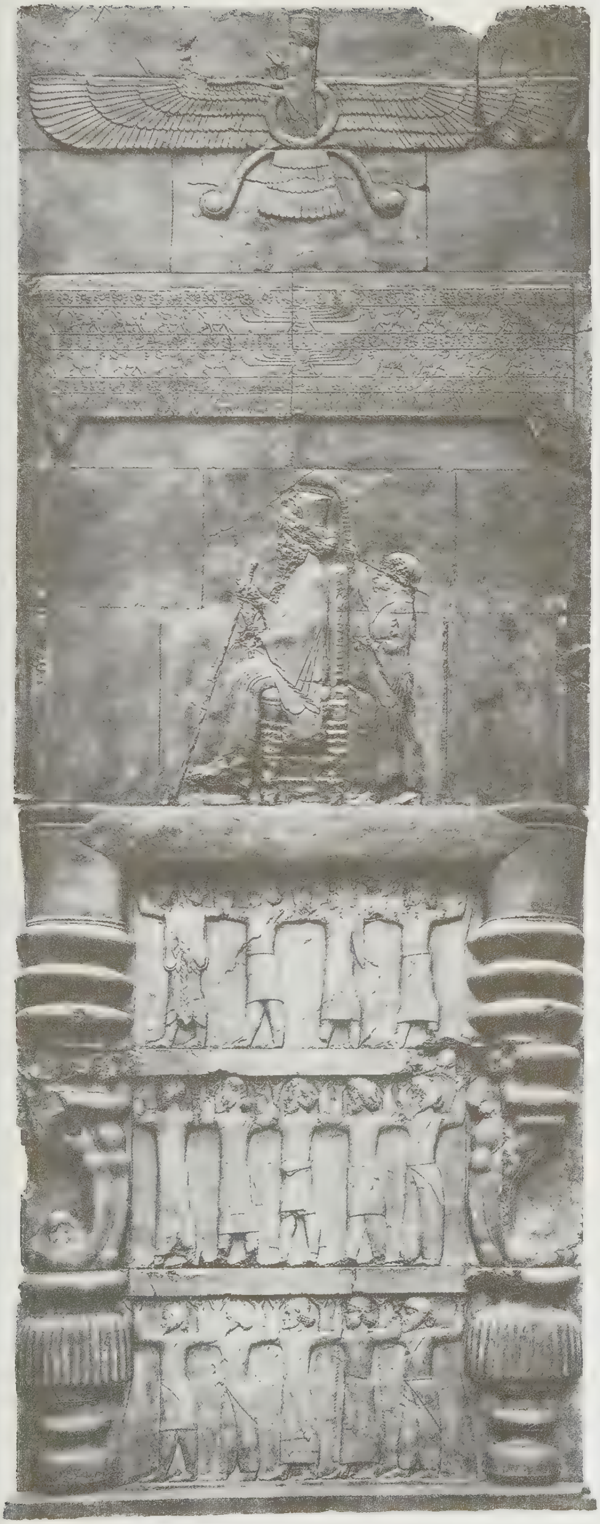
Royal roads connected the outlying provinces to the heart of the empire. Well maintained and patrolled, they had stations at intervals to receive important travelers and couriers carrying official correspondence. Garrisons were installed at strategic points, such as mountain passes, river crossings, and important urban centers. The administrative center was Susa, the ancient capital of Elam, in southwest Iran near the present-day border with Iraq. The farther a province was from the center of the empire, the more autonomy the satrap had, because slow communications made it impractical to refer most matters to the central administration.

Inspired by Mesopotamian conceptions of monarchy, the king of Persia was an aloof figure of majesty and splendor: "The Great King, King of Kings, King in Persia, King of countries." He referred to everyone, even the Persian nobility, as "my slaves," and anyone who approached him had to bow down before him. In sculptured reliefs he appears larger than all the figures around him and hovering overhead is a winged figure that represents *farna*, the charisma, glory, and fortune of kingship. Scattered around the empire were gardens, orchards, and hunting preserves belonging to the king and the high nobility. The *paradayadam* (meaning "walled enclosure"—the term has come into English as *paradise*), a green oasis in an arid landscape, advertised the prosperity that the king and empire could bring to those who loyally served them.

The Persepolis Treasury and Fortification Texts, inscribed in Elamite cuneiform on baked clay tablets, give us a glimpse of how the complex tasks of administration were managed. Government officials distributed food and other essential commodities to large numbers of workers of many different nationalities. Some of these workers may have been prisoners of war brought to the center of the empire to work on construction projects, maintain and expand the irrigation network, and farm on the royal estates. Workers were divided into groups of men, women, and children. Women received less than men of equivalent status, but pregnant women and women with babies received more. Men and women performing skilled jobs received more than their unskilled counterparts.

At Persepolis (Parsa), Darius began construction of a ceremonial capital, which his son Xerxes completed. Here, too, Darius was inspired by Mesopotamian traditions, for each of the great Assyrian kings had created a fortress-city as an advertisement of his wealth and power. Darius's approach can be seen in the luxuriant relief sculpture that covers the foundations, walls, and stairwells of the buildings at Persepolis. Representatives of all the peoples of the empire—recognizable by their distinctive hair, beards, dress, hats, and footwear—are depicted in the act of bringing gifts to the king. Historians used to think that the sculpture was a pictorial representation of a real event that transpired each year at Persepolis, but it is now viewed as an exercise in what today we would call public relations or propaganda: it is Darius's carefully crafted vision of an empire of vast extent and abundant resources in which all the subject peoples willingly cooperate.

What actually took place at Persepolis? This opulent retreat in the homeland probably was the scene of events of special significance for the king



and his people: the New Year's Festival, coronation, marriage, death and burial. The kings, from Darius on, were buried in elaborate tombs cut into the cliffs at nearby Naqsh-i Rustam.

The Persian monarchy claimed that Ahuramazda, the great god of the Zoroastrian religion, made Darius king and gave him a mandate to bring order to a world in turmoil. The origins of the Zoroastrian religion are shrouded in uncertainty. The Gathas, hymns in an archaic Iranian dialect, are said to be the work of Zoroaster (Zarathushtra). The dialect and physical setting of the hymns indicate that Zoroaster lived in eastern Iran, but scholarly guesses about when he lived range from 1700 to 500 B.C.E. He revealed that the world had been created by Ahuramazda, "the wise lord," but was threatened by the malevolent designs of Angra Mainyu, "the hostile spirit," backed by a host of demons. In this dualist universe the struggle between good and evil plays out over a period of twelve thousand years. At the end of this period, good is destined to prevail, and the world will return to the pure state of creation. In the meantime, humanity is a participant in this cosmic struggle, and individuals are rewarded or punished in the afterlife for their actions.

Besides the teachings of Zoroaster, the Persians drew on moral and metaphysical conceptions with deep roots in the Iranian past. They were sensitive to the beauties of nature and venerated beneficent elements, such as water, which

Stone relief in Hall of 100 Columns This sculpture from Persepolis, ca. 500 B.C.E., shows the Persian king on a throne supported by his subjects. Above the king hovers the *farna*, a winged figure representing the glory of kingship. Although Persian art, architecture, documentary language, and administrative methods often show the influence of the Assyrians, the Persians represented themselves as a new kind of master, concerned with the welfare of their subjects and tolerant of local practices. Persian artists have here transformed an Assyrian motif, depicting the subjects upright and happy to support the monarchy. (Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum) was not to be sullied, and fire, which they worshiped at fire altars. They were greatly concerned about the purity of the body. Corpses were exposed to wild beasts and the elements to prevent them from putrifying in the earth or tainting the sanctity of fire. The Persians revered some of the major deities from the pagan past, such as Mithra, associated with the sun and defender of oaths and compacts. They were expected to keep promises and tell the truth. Darius castigated evildoers in his inscriptions at Persepolis as followers of "the Lie."

Zoroastrianism was one of the great religions of the ancient world. It preached a belief in one supreme deity, held humans to a high ethical standard, and promised salvation. It traveled across western Asia with the advance of the Persian Empire, and it may have exerted a major influence on Judaism and thus, indirectly, on Christianity. God and the Devil, Heaven and Hell, reward and punishment, the Messiah and the End of Time, all appear to be legacies of this profound belief system, which, because of the accidents of history, has all but disappeared (except for a relatively small number of Parsees, as Zoroastrians are now called, in Iran and India).

RISE OF THE GREEKS

Because Greece was relatively resource-poor, the cultural features that emerged there in the first millennium B.C.E. came into being only because the Greeks had access to foreign sources of raw materials and to markets abroad. Awareness of the different practices and beliefs of other peoples stimulated the formation of a Greek identity and sparked an interest in geography, ethnography, and history. A two-century-long rivalry with the Persian Empire also played a large part in shaping the destinies of the Greek city-states.

Geography and Resources

Greece is part of a large ecological zone bounded by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the several ranges of the Alps to the north, the Syrian desert to the east, and the Sahara to the south (see Map 3.2). The lands lying within this zone have a roughly uniform climate, experience a similar sequence of seasons, and are home to similar plants and animals. In the summer a weather front stalls near the entrance of the Mediterranean, impeding the passage of storms from the Atlantic and allowing hot, dry air from the Sahara to creep up over the region. In winter the front dissolves, and ocean storms roll in, bringing waves, wind, and cold. Within this ecological zone, it was relatively easy for people to move around, whether driven by the pressures of war, the need for land, or the pursuit of trade.

Greek civilization arose in the lands bordering the Aegean Sea: the Greek mainland, the islands of the Aegean, and the western coast of Anatolia. As we saw in Chapter 2, southern Greece is a dry and rocky land with small plains carved up by low mountain ranges. There are no navigable rivers to ease travel or the transport of commodities. The small islands dotting the Aegean were inhabited from early times. People could cross the water from Greece to Anatolia almost without losing sight of land. From about 1000 B.C.E. Greeks began to settle on the western edge of Anatolia. Rivers that formed broad and fertile plains near the coast made Ionia, as the ancient Greeks called this region, a comfortable place. The interior of Anatolia is rugged plateau, and the Greeks of the coast were in much closer contact with their fellows across the Aegean than with the native peoples of the interior. The sea was always a connector, not a barrier.

Without large rivers, Greek farmers on the mainland depended entirely on rainfall to water their crops. The limited arable land, thin topsoil, and sparse rainfall could not sustain large populations. In the historical period farmers usually planted grain (mostly barley, which was hardier than wheat) in the flat plain, olive trees at the edge of the plain, and grapevines on the terraced lower slopes of the foothills. Sheep and goats grazed in the hills during the growing season. In northern Greece, where the rainfall is greater and the land opens out into broad plains, cattle and horses were more abundant. This land had virtually no metal deposits and little timber, although building stone, including fine marble, and clay for the potter were abundant.

A glance at a map of Greece reveals a deeply pitted coastline with many natural harbors. A combination of circumstances—the difficulty of overland transport, the availability of good anchorages, and the need to import metals, timber, and grain—drew the Greeks to the sea. They could obtain timber from the northern Aegean, gold and iron from Anatolia, copper from Cyprus, tin from the western Mediterranean, and grain from the Black Sea, Egypt, and Sicily. Though never comfortable with "the wine-dark sea," as Homer called it, the Greeks had no choice but to embark upon it in their small, frail ships, hugging the coastline or island-hopping where possible.

Emergence of the Polis

For several centuries after the destruction of the Mycenaean palace-states, from approximately 1150 to 800 B.C.E., Greece lapsed into a "Dark Age"—a period of isolation that left few traces in the archaeological record. The importation of raw materials had been the chief source of Mycenaean prosperity. Lack of access to vital resources created the poverty of the Dark Age.

The isolation of Greece ended around 800 B.C.E. when Phoenician sailors arrived in the Aegean (see Chapter 3). By reestablishing contact between the Aegean and the Middle East, the Phoenicians gave Greek civilization an important push and inaugurated what scholars now term the "Archaic" period of Greek history (ca. 800–480 B.C.E.). Soon Greek ships were also plying the waters of the Mediterranean in search of raw materials, trade opportunities, and fertile farmland.

The most auspicious gift of the Phoenicians was a writing system. The Phoenicians used twenty-two symbols to represent the consonants in their language, leaving the vowel sounds to be inferred by the reader. The Greeks utilized some of the Phoenician symbols for which there was no equivalent sound in the Greek language to represent the vowel sounds, thus producing the first true alphabet. An alphabet fosters the spread of literacy because it consists of only a few dozen letters or symbols and is relatively easy to learn. The Greeks were quick to use the new alphabet to produce literature, law codes, religious dedications, and epitaphs on gravestones. This does not mean, however, that Greek society immediately became literate in the modern sense. For many centuries, Greece remained a primarily oral culture in which people used storytelling, rituals, and dramatic performances to preserve and transmit information.

During the eighth century B.C.E. the Greek population exploded perhaps as much as five- or sevenfold. The reasons for the increase are not fully understood but probably include a more intensive use of land as farming replaced herding, as well as increasing prosperity based on the importation of food and raw materials. Rising population density led to the merging of villages into urban centers. It also created the potential for specialization of labor: freed from agricultural tasks, some members of the society were able to develop skills in other areas, such as crafts, commerce, and religion.

Greece at this time consisted of hundreds of independent political entities. The Greek *polis* (usually translated "city-state") consisted of an urban center and the rural territory that it controlled. City-states came in various sizes, having populations as small as several thousand or as large as several hundred thousand in the case of Athens.

Most urban centers had certain characteristic features. An *acropolis* ("top of the city") offered a place of refuge in an emergency. The town

The Acropolis at Athens This steep, defensible plateau jutting up from the Attic Plain served as a Mycenaean fortress in the second millennium B.C.E., and the site of Athens has been continuously occupied since that time. In the mid-sixth century B.C.E. the tyrant Pisistratus built a temple to Athena, the patron goddess of the community, which was destroyed by the Persians when they invaded Greece in 480 B.C.E. The Acropolis was left in ruins for three decades as a reminder of what the Athenians had sacrificed in defense of Greek freedom, but in the 440s Pericles initiated a building program, using funds from the naval empire that Athens then headed. These construction projects, including a new temple to Athena—the Parthenon—brought glory to the city and popularity to Pericles and to the new democracy that he championed. (Robert Harding Picture Library)

spread out around the base of this fortified high point. An *agora* ("gathering place") was an open area where the citizens came together to ratify the decisions of their leaders or to line up with their weapons before military ventures. Government buildings were located there, but the agora soon developed into a marketplace as well. Fortified walls surrounded the urban center; but as the population expanded, new buildings went up beyond the perimeter. The urban center depended on its agricultural hinterland to provide food, and many of the people living within the walls of the city went out to work nearby farms during the day.

Each polis was fiercely jealous of its independence and suspicious of its neighbors, and this state of mind led to frequent conflict. By the early seventh century B.C.E. the Greeks had developed a new kind of warfare, based on the *hoplite*, a heavily armored infantryman who fought in a close-packed formation called a *phalanx*. Protected by a helmet, a breastplate, and leg guards, each hoplite held a small round shield over his own left side and the right side of the man next to him and brandished a thrusting spear, keeping a sword in reserve. The key to victory in this style of combat was maintaining the cohesion of one's own formation while breaking open the enemy's line. Most of the casualties were suffered by the defeated army in flight.

Recent studies have emphasized the close relationship of hoplite warfare to the agricultural basis of Greek society. When a hoplite army marched into the fields of another community, the enraged farmers of that community, who had expended a lot of hard labor on their land and buildings, could not fail to meet the challenge. And, though brutal and terrifying, the clash of two hoplite lines did offer a quick decision. Battles rarely lasted more than a few hours, and the survivors could promptly return home to tend their farms.

The expanding population soon surpassed what the small plains could support, and many communities sent excess population abroad to establish independent "colonies" in distant lands. Not every colonist left willingly. Sources tell of people being chosen by lot and forbidden to return on pain of death. In the eighth through sixth centuries B.C.E. a wave of colonization spread Greek culture far beyond the land of its origins.

New settlements sprang up in the northern Aegean area, around the Black Sea, and on the Libyan coast of North Africa. In southern Italy and on the island of Sicily (see Map 3.2) a second Greek world was established. The colonies become trading partners for their mother-cities, and new developments on the colonial frontier—urban planning, new forms of political organization, new intellectual currents—traveled back to the Greek homeland. (See Voices and Visions: Conceptions of Identity in Greece and Persia for the impact of the frontier experience on Greek cultural identity.)

By reducing surplus population, colonization helped to relieve pressures within the Archaic Greek world. Nevertheless, it was an era of political instability. Kings ruled the Dark Age societies depicted in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but at some point councils composed of the heads of noble families superseded the kings. This aristocracy derived its wealth and power from ownership of large tracts of land. Peasant families worked this land. They were allowed to occupy a plot and keep a portion of what they grew. Debt-slaves, too, worked the land. They were men who had borrowed money or seed from the lord and lost their freedom when they were unable to repay the debt. Also living in a typical community were free peasants, who owned small farms, and urban-based craftsmen and merchants, who began to constitute a "middle class."

In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. in one city-state after another, an individual "tyrant"—by which the Greeks meant someone who held power contrary to the established traditions of the community—gained control. The tyrants—often disgruntled members of the aristocracy—were backed by the emerging middle class, which was playing an important role as hoplite soldiers and thus could put force at the disposal of their leader. Weary of the corruption and arrogance of the aristocrats who monopolized political power, this class must have demanded some political prerogatives as the price of their cooperation.

Ultimately, the tyrants of this age were unwitting catalysts in an evolving political process. Some were able to pass their position on to their sons, but eventually the tyrant-family was ejected and authority in the community developed along one of two lines: toward *oligarchy*, the exercise of political privilege by only the wealthiest members of society; or toward *democracy*, the exercise of political power by all free, adult males.

Greek religion encompassed a wide range of cults and beliefs. The ancestors of the Greeks brought a pantheon of sky-gods with them when they entered the Greek peninsula at the end of the third millennium B.C.E. Male gods predominated, but some female deities had important roles. Some of the gods represented forces in nature—for example, Zeus sent storms and lightning, and Poseidon was master of the sea and earthquakes. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which Greek schoolboys memorized and professional performers recited, put a distinctive stamp on the deities' personalities and characters. The gods that Homer portrayed were anthropomorphic—humanlike in appearance and emotion. Indeed, the chief thing that separated them from humans was humans' mortality.

The worship of these gods at state-sponsored festivals was as much an expression of civic identity as of personal piety. Sacrifice, carried out at altars in front of temples that were the gods' places of residence in the town, was the central ritual of Greek religion. In exchange for gifts as humble as a small cake deposited on the altar or a cup of wine poured out on the ground, the gods were expected to favor and protect the donor. Spectacular forms of ritual called for killing one or more animals, spraying the altar

Conceptions of Identity in Greece and Persia

Most people in the ancient world were under the authority of a particular political entity, but their sense of relationship and obligation was far different from modern notions of citizenship or nationality. What were the components of Greek and Persian identity, and what was the significance of being inside or outside these groups?

During the early Archaic period Greeks began to use the term Hellenes (Graeci *is what the Romans later called them) to distinguish themselves from* barbaroi, *the other peoples they were encountering on the frontiers. Increasing interaction with new peoples made the Greeks aware of the factors that bound them together: their language, religion, and lifestyle. At first* barbaroi *was a descriptive, nonjudgmental term meaning "non-Greeks." Then the struggle with Persia in the early fifth century b.c.e. strengthened the Greeks' sense of identity and caused a change in attitude, and the contrast between* Hellenes *and* barbaroi *began to have the negative overtones of our word* barbarian.

Herodotus, in his narrative of Xerxes' invasion in 480 b.c.e., explicitly contrasts Greek and Persian characters. He reports a dialogue (whose historical accuracy is impossible to determine) between Xerxes and Demaratus, an exiled Spartan king, over whether the Spartans and other Greeks will stand their ground in the face of the Persians' overwhelming numerical advantage. Demaratus, the Spartan, says:

Poverty has always been native in Greece, but the courage they have comes imported, and it is achieved by a compound of wisdom and the strength of their laws. By virtue of this Greece fights off poverty and despotism. . . . Fighting singly, they [the Spartans] are no worse than any other people; together, they are the most gallant men on earth. For they are free—but not altogether so. They have as despot over them Law, and they fear him much more than your men fear you.

The Athenians make similar claims when an envoy from the Persians offers them terms of peace if they will abandon the Greek alliance:

We know of ourselves that the power of the Mede is many times greater than our own. . . . Yet we have such a hunger for freedom that we will fight as long as we are able. . . . There is not enough gold in the world anywhere, nor territory beautiful and fertile enough, that we should take it in return for turning to the Persian interest and enslaving Greece. . . . We are one in blood and one in language; those shrines of the gods belong to us all in common, and the sacrifices in common, and there are our habits, bred of a common upbringing.

What qualities do the Greeks particularly value? In what ways do they claim to be fundamentally different from barbarians? What might be the causes of these differences?

The lack of sources makes it difficult to gauge the Persian sense of identity. Our best glimpse of the qualities that Persians valued comes from the inscriptions of Darius I:

I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of countries containing all kinds of men, King in this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage.

What is right, that is my desire. I am not a friend to the man who is a Lie-follower. I am not hot-tempered. What things develop in my anger, I hold firmly under control by my thinking power. I am firmly ruling over my own impulses. . . . Trained am I both with hands and with feet. As a horseman I am a good horseman. As a bowman I am a good bowman both afoot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman both afoot and on horseback.

What claims is Darius making here for a Persian character? Which qualities are especially valued?

Sources: The first and second quotations are from Herodotus, *The History*, trans. David Grene (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 502–504, 610–611 (Herodotus 7.102–104, 8.143–144). The third translation is from Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 2d ed. (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1953), 138, 140.

with the victim's blood, and burning parts of its body so that the aroma would ascend to the gods. Out of shared participation in this taking of life, the Greeks created a sense of community.

Greek individuals and *poleis* (the plural of *polis*) sought information and advice about the future from *oracles*, sacred sites where the gods communicated with humans. Especially prestigious was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi in central Greece. The god responded at Delphi through his priestess, the Pythia, whose obscure poetic utterances were interpreted by the male priests who administered the sanctuary. Because most Greeks were farmers, fertility cults, whose members worshiped and sought to enhance the productive forces in nature, were popular.

New Intellectual Currents

New technologies, increased prosperity, and social and political development led to innovations in intellectual and artistic life. One distinctive feature of the Archaic period was a growing emphasis on the individual. In early Greek communities, the family enveloped the individual and land belonged collectively to the family, including ancestors and descendants. Ripped out of this communal network and forced to establish a new life on a distant frontier, the colonist became a model of rugged individualism, as did the tyrant who seized power for himself alone. These new patterns led toward the concept of *humanism*, a valuing of the uniqueness, potentialities, and prerogatives of the individual, which remains a central tenet of Western civilization.

We see clear signs of individualism in the new *lyric poetry*, short verses in which the subject matter is intensely personal, drawn from the experience of the poet and expressing his or her loves, hates, and views.

Sappho, a Greek woman whose work has partially survived, composed exquisite poetry reflecting the lives and loves of the circle of young women whom she mentored on the Aegean island of Lesbos around 600 B.C.E. For example:

> She was like the sweetest apple
> That ripened highest on the tree,
> That the harvesters couldn't reach,
> And pretended they forgot.
> Like the mountain hyacinth trod underfoot
> By shepherd men, its flower purple on the ground.[1]

There were challenges to traditional religion. Certain thinkers now known as *pre-Socratic* philosophers sought rational explanations for things. They were primarily concerned with questions of natural science: How was the world created? What is it made of? Why does change occur? (The term *pre-Socratic* refers to philosophers before Socrates, who in the later fifth century B.C.E. shifted the focus of philosophy to ethical questions.)

Pre-Socratic thinkers postulated various combinations of earth, air, fire, and water as the primal elements of the numerous substances found in nature. One advanced the theory that the world is composed of microscopic atoms (from a Greek word meaning "indivisible") moving through the void of space, colliding randomly, and combining in various ways to form the many substances of the natural world. In some respects startlingly similar to modern atomic theory, this model was merely a lucky intuition, but it is a testament to the sophistication of these thinkers.

Another important intellectual development took place in Ionia in the sixth century B.C.E. A group of men later referred to as *logographers* ("writers of prose accounts") set about gathering information on a wide range of topics, including the ethnography (description of a people's physical characteristics and cultural practices) and geography of Mediterranean lands and peoples, the foundation of important cities, and the origins of famous Greek families. *Historia*, "investigation/research," was what they called the method they used to collect, sort, and select information. In the mid-fifth century B.C.E. Herodotus (ca. 485–425 B.C.E.), from Halicarnassus in southwest Anatolia, published his *Histories*. Early parts of the work are filled with the geographic and ethnographic reports, legends, folktales, and marvels dear to the logographers, but in later sections Herodotus focuses on the great event of the previous generation: the wars between the Greeks and the Persian Empire.

When Herodotus declares in the first lines of his book that he wants to find out *why* Greeks and Persians came to blows, he is a historian who is seeking the causes behind historical events. Herodotus directed the all-purpose techniques of *historia* to the service of *history* in the modern sense of the term, thereby narrowing the meaning of the word. For this achievement he is known as "the father of history."

Athens and Sparta

The two preeminent Greek city-states of the later Archaic and Classical periods were Athens and Sparta. The remarkably different character of these two communities underscores the immense potential for diversity in the evolution of human societies.

The ancestors of the Spartans had migrated into the Peloponnese, the southernmost part of the Greek mainland, around 1000 B.C.E. For a time Sparta followed a typical path of development, participating in trade and fostering the arts. Then in the seventh century B.C.E. something happened to alter its destiny.

Like many other parts of Greece, the Spartan community was feeling the effects of rising population and a shortage of arable land. However, instead of sending out colonies, the Spartans crossed their mountainous western frontier and invaded the fertile plain of Messenia. Hoplite tactics may have given the Spartans the edge they needed to prevail over fierce Messenian resistance. The result was the takeover of Messenia and the enslavement of the native population, who descended to the status of *helots*, the most abused and exploited population on the Greek mainland.

Fear of a helot uprising led to the evolution of the unique Spartan way of life. The Spartan state became a military camp in a permanent state of preparedness. Territory in Messenia and Laconia (the Spartan homeland) was divided into several thousand lots and assigned to Spartan citizens. Helots worked the land and turned over a portion of what they grew to their Spartan masters, who were thereby freed from food production and able to spend their lives in military training and service.

The professional Spartan soldier was the best in Greece, and the Spartan army was superior to all others; the other Greek states relied on citizen militias called out in time of crisis. The Spartans, however, paid a huge personal price for their military readiness. At age seven, boys were taken from their families and put into barracks, where they were toughened by a severe regimen of discipline, beatings, and deprivation. A Spartan male's whole life was subordinated to the demands of the state.

Sparta essentially stopped the clock, declining to participate in the economic, political, and cultural revival taking place in the Archaic Greek world. There were no longer any poets or artists at Sparta. In an attempt to maintain equality among citizens, precious metals and coinage were banned, and Spartans were forbidden to engage in commerce. The fifth-century B.C.E. historian Thucydides, a native of Athens, remarked that in his day Sparta appeared to be little more than a large village and that no future observer of the ruins of the site would be able to guess its power.

Other Greeks admired the Spartans for their courage and commitment but were put off by their arrogance, ignorance, and cruelty. The Spartans cultivated a mystique by rarely putting their reputation to the test. Sparta practiced a foreign policy that was cautious and isolationist. Reluctant to march far from home for fear of a helot uprising, the Spartans sought to maintain peace in the Peloponnese through the Peloponnesian League, a system of alliances between Sparta and its neighbors.

Athens followed a strikingly different path. By the standards of Greek city-states it possessed an unusually large and populous territory: the entire region of Attica. By the fifth century B.C.E. it had a population of approximately 300,000 people. Attica contained a number of moderately fertile plains and was ideally suited for the cultivation of olive trees. In addition to the urban center of Athens, located some 5 miles (8 kilometers) from the sea where the sheer-sided Acropolis towered above the Attic Plain, the peninsula was dotted with villages and a few larger towns.

Attica's large land area provided a buffer against the initial stresses of the Archaic period, but by the early sixth century B.C.E. things had reached a critical point. In 594 B.C.E. Solon, a member of the aristocracy with ties to the merchant community, was appointed lawgiver with extraordinary powers to avert a looming crisis. He divided Athenian citizens into four classes based on the annual yield of their farms. Those in the top three classes could hold state offices. Members of the lowest class, who had little or no property, could not hold office but were allowed to participate in meetings of the Assembly. This arrangement, which made rights and privileges a function of wealth, was a far cry from democracy, but it broke the absolute monopoly on power of a small circle of aristocratic families, and it allowed for social and political mobility. And by abolishing the practice of enslaving individuals for failure to repay their debts, Solon guaranteed the freedom of Athenian citizens.

Despite Solon's efforts, political turmoil continued until 546 B.C.E., when an aristocrat named Pisistratus seized power. To strengthen his position and weaken the aristocracy, Pisistratus tried to shift the allegiance of the rural population to the urban center of Athens, where he was the dominant figure. He undertook a number of monumental building projects, including a Temple of Athena on the Acropolis. He also instituted or expanded several major festivals: the City Dionysia, which was to become the setting for dramatic performances, and the Panathenaea, which drew people to Athens for a religious procession and athletic and poetic competitions.

Pisistratus passed the tyranny on to his sons, but with Spartan assistance the tyrant family was turned out in the last decade of the sixth century B.C.E. In the 460s and 450s B.C.E. Ephialtes and Pericles took the last steps in the evolution of democracy, transferring all power to popular organs of government: the Assembly, Council of 500, and People's Courts. Henceforth it was possible in Athens for men of moderate or little means to hold office and engage in the political process. In sensitive areas, such as managing public money and commanding military forces, offices were filled by election, but men were selected by lot to fill even the highest offices in the state, and they were paid for public service so they could afford to take time off from their work. Henceforth, the focal point of Athenian political life was the Assembly of all citizens. Several times a month proposals were debated there, decisions were openly made, and anyone could speak to the issues of the day.

THE STRUGGLE OF PERSIA AND GREECE

For the Greeks of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., Persia was the great enemy of their civilization and the wars with Persia were the decisive historical event of the era. No doubt Persians viewed these events differently, but in the end, the struggles between Greece and Persia were of profound importance for the history of the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia.

Early Encounters

Cyrus's conquest of Lydia in 546 B.C.E. led to the subjugation of the Greek cities on the Anatolian coast. In the years that followed, local individuals or factions willing to collaborate with the Persian government ruled these cities so as to maintain themselves in power and allow their city to operate with minimal Persian interference. All this changed when the Ionian Revolt, a great uprising of Greeks and other subject peoples on the western frontier, broke out in 499 B.C.E. The Persians needed five years and a massive infusion of troops and resources to stamp out the insurrection.

This failed revolt led to the Persian Wars, two Persian attacks on Greece in the early fifth century B.C.E. that drove the frequently quarreling states of southern Greece to unite against the Persian invaders. A decade after the defeat of a Persian expeditionary force by the Athenians at Marathon, in 480 B.C.E. the new Persian ruler, Xerxes (r. 486–465 B.C.E.), gathered a huge army for the conquest of Greece. The Greek alliance failed to halt a Persian advance at the pass of Thermopylae in central Greece, where three hundred Spartans and their king gave their lives to buy time for their fellows to escape. However, after seizing and sacking Athens in 480 B.C.E., the Persians allowed their navy to be lured into the narrow straits of nearby Salamis, where they lost their advantage in numbers and maneuverability and suffered a devastating defeat. The following spring (479 B.C.E.), the Persian land army was routed at Plataea and the immediate threat to Greece receded. A number of factors account for this outcome: the Persians' difficulty in provisioning a very large army in a distant land; the Persian high command's tactical error in allowing naval forces to be drawn into the narrow waters off Salamis; and the superiority of heavily armed and well-drilled Greek hoplite soldiers over lighter-armed Asiatic infantry.

The collapse of the threat to the Greek mainland did not mean the end of the war, however. The Greeks now went on the offensive. Athens's stubborn refusal to submit to the Persian king, even after the city had been sacked twice in two successive years, and the vital role played by the Athenian navy, which made up fully half of the allied Greek fleet, had earned the city a large measure of respect. The next phase of the war—the aim of which was to drive the Persians away from the Aegean and liberate Greek states still under Persian control—was naval. Thus Athens replaced isolationist and land-based Sparta as leader of the campaign against Persia. In 449 B.C.E. the Delian League, an alliance of Greek states led by Athenian generals, had swept the Persians from the waters of the eastern Mediterranean and freed all Greek communities except those in distant Cyprus.

The Height of Athenian Power

By scholarly convention, the Classical period (480–323 B.C.E.) of Greek history begins with the successful defense of the Greek homeland against the forces of the Persian Empire. Ironically the Athenians, who had played such a crucial role, exploited these events to become an imperial power. Success and the passage of time led many of their Greek allies to assume an increasingly passive role and to contribute money instead of ships and men. The Athenians used the money to build up and man their navy. Eventually they saw the other members of the Delian League as their empire and demanded annual contributions and other signs of submission. States that tried to leave the League were brought back by force, stripped of their defenses, and rendered subordinate to Athens.

Athens's mastery of naval technology transformed Greek warfare and politics and brought power and wealth to Athens itself. By the late sixth century B.C.E. experimentation had begun with the *trireme*, a sleek, fast vessel powered by 170 rowers. The Greek trireme measured approximately 115 by 15 feet (35 by 6 meters) and was fragile. Rowers using oars of different lengths and carefully positioned on three levels so as not to run afoul of one another were able to achieve short bursts of speed of up to 7 knots. Athenian crews, by constant practice, became the best in the eastern Mediterranean. They could disable enemy vessels by sheering off their oars, smashing in their sides below the water line with an iron-tipped ram, or forcing them to collide with one another by running around them in ever-tighter circles.

The effectiveness of the new Athenian navy had significant consequences both at home and abroad. The emergence at Athens of a democratic system in which each male citizen had, at least in principle, an equal voice is connected to the new primacy of the fleet. Hoplites were members of the middle and upper classes (they had to provide their own protective gear and weapons). Rowers, in contrast, came from the lower classes, but because they were providing the chief protection for the community and were the source of its power, they could insist on full rights.

Possession of a navy allowed Athens to project its power farther than it could have done with a citizen militia (which could be kept in arms for only short periods of time). In previous Greek wars, the victorious state had little capability to occupy a defeated neighbor permanently (with the exception, as we have seen, of Sparta's takeover of Messenia). Usually the victor satisfied itself with booty and, perhaps, minor adjustments to boundary lines. Athens was able to continually dominate and exploit other, weaker communities in an unprecedented way.

Athens did not hesitate to use political power to promote its commercial interests. Athens's port, the Piraeus, grew into the most important commercial center in the eastern Mediterranean. Money collected each year from the subject states helped to subsidize the increasingly expensive Athenian democracy as well as underwrite the construction costs of the beautiful buildings on the Acropolis, including the majestic new temple of Athena, the Parthenon.

In other ways as well Athens's cultural achievements were dependent on the profits of empire. The economic advantages that empire brought to Athens subsidized indirectly the festivals at which the great dramatic tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and the comedies of Aristophanes, were performed. Money and power are a prerequisite for support of the arts and sciences, and the brightest and most creative artists and thinkers in the Greek world were drawn to Athens. Traveling teachers, called *Sophists* ("wise men"), provided instruction in logic and public speaking to pupils who could afford their fees. The new discipline of *rhetoric*—the construction of attractive and persuasive arguments—gave those with training and quick wits a great advantage in politics and the courts. The Greek masses became connoisseurs of oratory, eagerly listening for each innovation yet so aware of the power of words that *sophist* came to mean one who uses cleverness to distort and manipulate reality.

These new intellectual currents came together in 399 B.C.E. when the philosopher Socrates (ca. 470–399 B.C.E.) was brought to trial on charges of corrupting the youth of Athens and not believing in the gods of the city. A sculptor by trade, Socrates spent most of his time in the company of young men who enjoyed conversing with him and observing him deflate the pretensions of those who thought themselves wise. He wryly commented that he knew one more thing than everyone else: that he knew nothing. The vote that found him guilty was fairly close. But his lack of contrition in the penalty phase—he proposed that he be rewarded for his services to the state—led the jury to condemn him to death by drinking hemlock.

The trial of Socrates reveals a number of fault lines in Athens: between democrats and oligarchs, between members of the upper classes and commoners, and between the conservative majority and new-style intellectuals. Socrates' disciples regarded his execution as a martyrdom. In response to it, smart young men such as Plato, who normally would have devoted their energies to political careers, withdrew from public life and dedicated themselves to the philosophical pursuit of knowledge and truth.

Plato (ca. 428–347 B.C.E.) may represent the first generation to be truly literate. On the outskirts of Athens, he founded a school where young men could pursue a course of higher education. Yet even Plato retained vestiges of the orality of the world in which he had grown up. He wrote dialogues—an oral form—in which his protagonist, Socrates, uses the "Socratic method" of question and answer to reach a deeper understanding of the meaning of values such as justice, excellence, and wisdom.

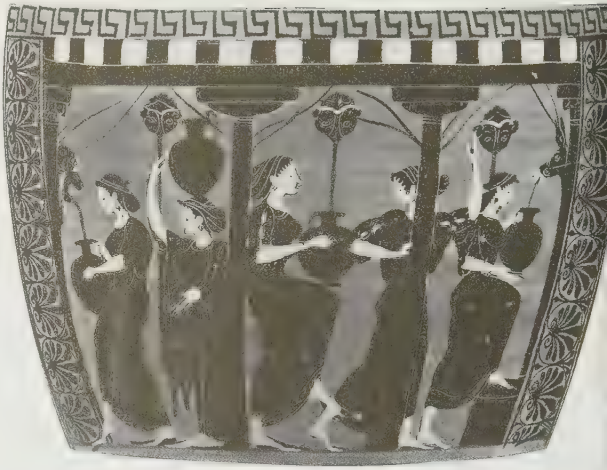
Inequality in Classical Greece

Athenian democracy, the inspiration for the concept of democracy in the Western tradition, was a democracy only for the relatively small percentage of the inhabitants of Attica who were truly citizens—free, adult males of pure Athenian ancestry. Excluding women, children, slaves, and foreigners, the percentage was only 10 or 15 percent—30,000 or 40,000 people out of a total population of 300,000. Other democratic Greek poleis, less well known to us than Athens, probably were equally exclusive.

Slaves, mostly of foreign origin, constituted perhaps a third of the population of Attica in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., and the average Athenian family owned one or more. Slaves were needed to run the shop or work on the farm while the master was attending meetings of the Assembly or serving on one of the countless boards that oversaw the day-to-day activities of the state. The slave was a "living piece of property," required to do any work, submit to any sexual acts, and receive any punishments that the owner ordained. Some communities prohibited the arbitrary killing of a slave, and for the most part, slaves in Classical Greece were not subjected to the extremes of cruelty and abuse suffered by slaves in other places and times.

The position of women varied across Greek communities. The women of Sparta, because they were expected to bear and raise strong children, exercised and enjoyed a level of public visibility and outspokenness that shocked other Greeks. Athens—the case historians know best because of the abundance of written sources and vase paintings—may have been at the opposite extreme as regards the confinement and oppression of women. The situation in Athens, ironically, is linked to the high degree of freedom enjoyed by men in a democratic state.

Athenian marriages were patently unequal affairs. The man might be thirty, reasonably well educated, a veteran of war, experienced in business and politics. Under law he had virtually absolute authority over the members of his household. He arranged his marriage with the parents of his prospective wife, who was likely to be a teenager who had been brought up in the women's quarters of her parents' house and had no formal education and only minimal training in weaving, cooking, and household management. Coming into the home of a husband she hardly knew, she had no political rights and limited legal protection. Given the differences in age, social experience, and authority, the relationship between husband and wife was in many ways similar to that of father and daughter.



Vase painting depicting women at an Athenian fountain house, ca. 520 B.C.E. Paintings on Greek vases provide the most vivid pictorial record of ancient Greek life. The subject matter usually reflects the interests of the aristocratic males who purchased the vases—warfare, athletics, mythology, drinking parties—but sometimes we are given glimpses into the lives of women and the working classes. These women are presumably domestic servants sent to fetch water for the household from a public fountain. The large water jars they are filling are like the one on which this scene is depicted. (William Francis Warden Fund. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

The primary function of marriage was to produce children, preferably male. It is impossible to prove the extent of *infanticide*—the killing through exposure of unwanted children—because the ancients were sufficiently ashamed to say little about it. But it is likely that more girls than boys were abandoned.

Husbands and wives had limited daily contact. The man spent the day outdoors attending to work or political responsibilities; he dined with male friends at night; and usually he slept alone in the men's quarters. The closest relationship in the family was likely to be between the wife and her slave attendant—women of roughly the same age who spent enormous amounts of time together. Wives stayed in the house, except to attend funerals and certain festivals and to make discreet visits to the houses of female relatives. Greek men justified the confinement of women by claiming that they were naturally promiscuous and likely to introduce other men's children into the household—an action that would threaten the family property and violate the strict regulation of citizenship rights. Athenian law allowed a husband to kill an adulterer caught in the act with his wife.

Women's festivals, such as the Thesmophoria, provided a rare opportunity for women to get out. During this three-day festival the women of Athens lived together in a great encampment, carrying out mysterious rituals meant to enhance the fertility of the land. The appearance of bold and self-assertive women on the Athenian stage is also suggestive: the defiant Antigone of Sophocles' play, who buried her brother despite the injunction of the king; and the wives of Aristophanes' comedy *Lysistrata*, who refused to have sex with their husbands until the men ended a war.

The inequality of men and women posed obstacles to creating a meaningful relationship between the sexes. To find his intellectual and emotional "equal," a man often looked to other men. Bisexuality was common in ancient Greece, as much a product of the social structure as of biological inclinations. A common pattern was that of an older man serving as admirer, pursuer, and mentor of a youth. Bisexuality became part of a system by which young men were educated and initiated into the community of adult males. At least this was true of the elite, intellectual groups that loom large in the written sources. It is hard to say how prevalent bisexuality and the confinement of women were among the Athenian masses.

Failure of the City-State and Triumph of the Macedonians

The emergence of Athens as an imperial power in the half-century after the Persian invasion aroused the suspicions of other Greek states and led 431 B.C.E. to the Peloponnesian War. This nightmarish struggle for survival between the Athenian and Spartan alliance systems encompassed most of the Greek world. It was a war unlike any previous Greek war because the Athenians had used their naval power to insulate themselves from the dangers of an attack by land. In midcentury they had built three long walls connecting the city with the port of Piraeus and the adjacent shoreline. As long as Athens controlled the sea lanes and was able to provision itself, it could not be starved into submission by a land-based siege.

At the start of the war, Pericles formulated an unprecedented strategy, refusing to engage the Spartan-led armies that invaded Attica each year. Pericles (ca. 495–429 B.C.E.) knew that the enemy hoplites must soon return to their farms. Thus instead of being a short, sharp battle like most Greek hoplite conflicts, the Peloponnesian War dragged on for nearly three decades with great loss of life and squandering of resources. It sapped the morale of all of Greece and ended only with the defeat of Athens in a naval battle in 404 B.C.E. The Persian Empire had bankrolled construction of ships by the Spartan alliance and were able to take the conflict into Athens's own element, the sea.

The victorious Spartans, who had entered the war championing "the freedom of the Greeks," took over Athens's overseas empire until their own increasingly high-handed behavior aroused the opposition of other city-states. Indeed, the fourth century B.C.E. was a time of continuous skirmishing among Greek states. The tragedy of Greek history is that this people, despite its creativity and brilliance of intellect, failed to solve the problem of how to achieve peace.

Internal conflict in the Greek world allowed the Persians to recoup old losses. By the terms of the King's Peace of 387 B.C.E., to which most of the states of war-weary Greece subscribed, all of western Asia, including the Greek communities of the Anatolian coast, were conceded to Persia, whose king became guarantor of a status quo that kept the Greeks divided and weak.

Meanwhile, in northern Greece, Philip II (r. 359–336 B.C.E.) was transforming his previously backward kingdom of Macedonia into the premier military power in the Greek world. In 338 B.C.E. Philip defeated a coalition of southern states and established the Confederacy of Corinth as an instrument for controlling the Greek city-states. Philip was elected military commander for a planned all-Greek campaign against Persia, and his generals established a bridgehead on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. We will never know how far Philip's ambitions extended, for an assassin killed him in 336 B.C.E.

When Alexander (356–323 B.C.E.), Philip's son and heir, crossed over into Asia in 334 B.C.E., his purpose was to exact revenge for Xerxes' invasion a century and half before, and he defeated the Persian forces in three pitched battles.

Alexander the Great, as he came to be called, maintained the framework of Persian administration in the lands he conquered, recognizing that it was well adapted to local circumstances and reassuringly familiar to the subject peoples. But he replaced Persian officials with his own Macedonian and Greek comrades. To control strategic points in his expanding empire, he established a series of Greek-style cities, beginning with Alexandria in Egypt, and he settled wounded and aged ex-soldiers in them.

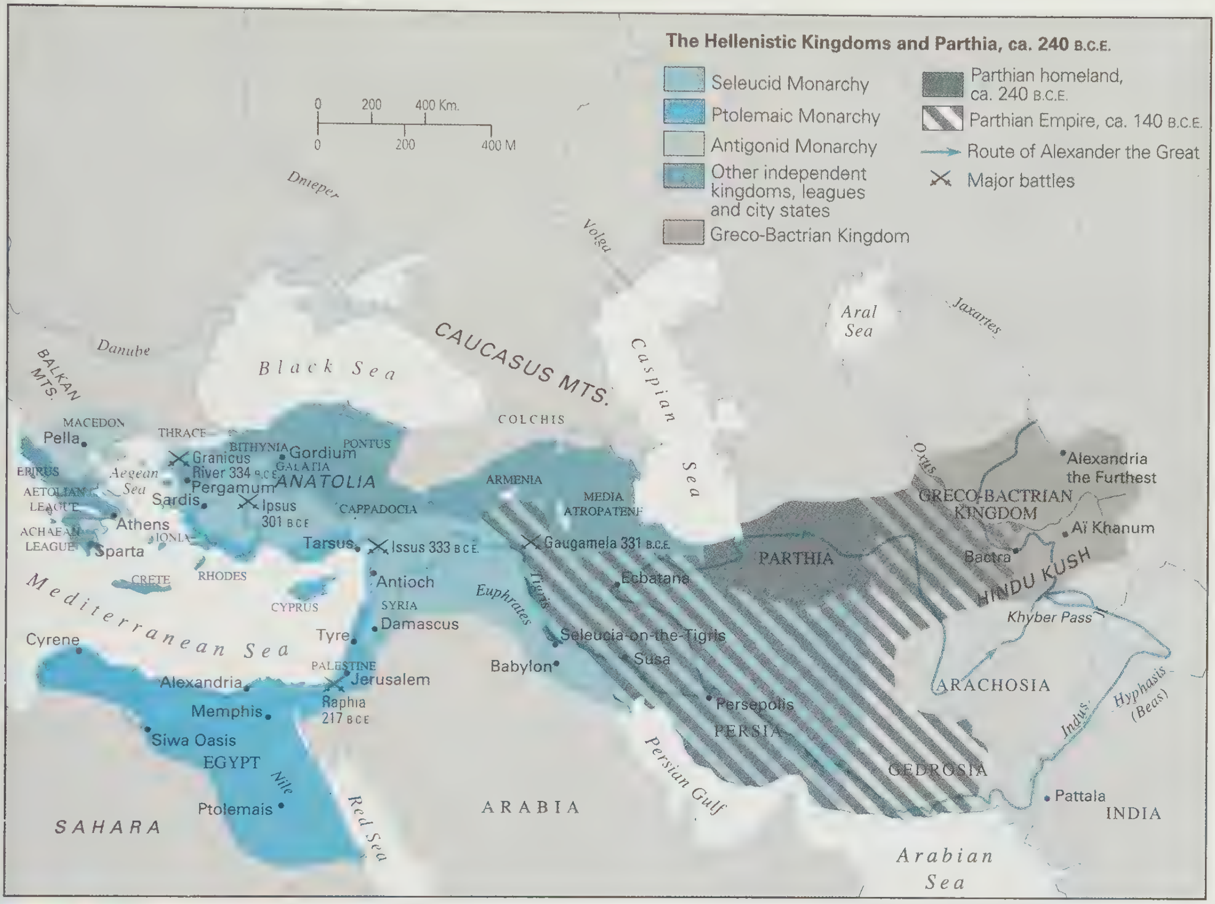
After his final victory against the Persians in 331 B.C.E., Alexander began to experiment with leaving cooperative Persian officials in place. He also admitted some Persians and other Iranians into his army and into the circle of his courtiers, and he adopted elements of Persian dress and court ceremonial. Finally, he married several Iranian women who had useful royal or aristocratic connections, and he pressed his leading subordinates to do the same. Alexander may have recognized that he had responsibilities to all the diverse peoples who fell under his control. He also may have realized the difficulty of holding down so vast an empire by brute force and without the cooperation of important elements among the conquered peoples. In this, he was following the example of the Achaemenids.

THE HELLENISTIC SYNTHESIS

At the time of his sudden death in 323 B.C.E. at the age of thirty-two, Alexander apparently had made no plans for the succession. Thus his death ushered in a half-century of chaos as the most ambitious and ruthless of his officers struggled for control of the vast empire. When the dust cleared, the empire had been broken up into three major kingdoms, each ruled by a Macedonian dynasty—the Seleucid, Ptolemaic, and Antigonid kingdoms (see Map 4.2).

Historians call the epoch ushered in by the conquests of Alexander the "Hellenistic Age" (323–30 B.C.E.), because of the tendency for the lands in northeastern Africa and western Asia that came under Greek rule to be *Hellenized*—that is, powerfully influenced by Greek culture. This was an age of large kingdoms with heterogeneous populations, great cities, powerful rulers, pervasive bureaucracies, and vast disparities in wealth between rich and poor—a far cry from the small, homogeneous, independent city-states of Archaic and Classical Greece.

Of all the successor states, the kingdom of the Seleucids, who took over the bulk of Alexander's conquests, faced the greatest challenges. The Indus Valley and Afghanistan soon split off, and over the course of the third century B.C.E. Iran was lost to the Parthians. What remained for the Seleucids was a core in Mesopotamia, Syria, and parts of Anatolia, which the Seleucid monarchs ruled from their capital at Syrian Antioch. Their sprawling territories were open to attack from many directions, and, like the Persians before them, they had to administer lands inhabited by many different ethnic groups organized under various political and social forms. In the countryside, where most of the native peoples resided, they maintained an administrative structure modeled on the Persian system. The Seleucids also continued Alexander's policy of founding Greek-style cities throughout their domains.



Map 4.2 Hellenistic Civilization After the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.E., his vast empire soon split apart into a number of large and small political entities. A Macedonian dynasty was established on each continent: the Antigonids ruled the Macedonian homeland and endeavored, with varying success, to extend their control over southern Greece; the Ptolemies ruled Egypt; and the Seleucids inherited the majority of Alexander's conquests in Asia, though they lost control of the eastern portions due to the rise of the Parthians of Iran in the second century B.C.E. This period saw Greeks migrating in large numbers from their overcrowded homeland to serve as a privileged class of soldiers and administrators on the new frontiers, where they replicated the lifestyle of the city-state.

The dynasty of the Ptolemies ruled Egypt and sometimes laid claim to adjacent Palestine. The Ptolemies faced a straightforward task. Natural boundaries of sea, mountains, and desert protected their kingdom. The people of Egypt belonged to only one ethnic group and were fairly easily controlled because the vast majority of them were farmers living in villages alongside the Nile. The Ptolemies ruled from Alexandria, the first of the new cities laid out by Alexander himself. They were able to take over much of the administrative structure of the pharaohs, a system efficient in extracting the surplus wealth of this populous and productive land. The Egyptian economy was centrally planned and highly controlled. Vast revenues poured into the royal treasury from rents (the king owned most of the land), taxes of all sorts, and royal monopolies on olive oil, salt, papyrus, and other key commodities.

Copy of a Hellenistic sculpture, ca. 300 B.C.E., depicting the head of the god Serapis. Ptolemy I, founder of the Macedonian dynasty in Egypt, created the cult of Serapis to legitimize his rule. Meant to be accessible to both his Greek and Egyptian subjects, the cult brought together Greek religious conceptions and the mythology and ritual of Osiris, the Egyptian god of the dead. A great sanctuary was built to the new deity in Alexandria. In the art of the Hellenistic period, the naturalism of the Classical period was preserved but the style became more ornate, as seen here in the folds of the robe and the treatment of the hair. (Alinari/Art Resources, NY)

The Ptolemies, like the Seleucids, actively encouraged the immigration of Greeks from the homeland and, in return for their skills and collaboration in the military or civil administration, gave them land and a privileged position in the new society. But the Ptolemies did not seek to scatter Greek-style cities throughout the Egyptian countryside, and they made no effort to encourage the adoption of Greek language or ways by the native population.

The Antigonid dynasty ruled the Macedonian homeland and adjacent parts of northern Greece. This was a compact and ethnically homogeneous kingdom, so there was little of the hostility and occasional resistance that the Seleucid and Ptolemaic ruling classes faced. Macedonian garrisons at strongpoints gave the Antigonids a toehold in central and southern Greece, and the shadow of Macedonian intervention always hung over the south. The southern states met the threat by banding together into confederations, such as the Achaean League in the Peloponnese, in which the member-states maintained local autonomy but pooled resources and military power.

Athens and Sparta, the two leading cities of the Classical period, stood out from these confederations. The Spartans never quite abandoned the myth of their own invincibility and made a number of heroic but futile stands against Macedonian armies. Athens, which held a special place in the hearts of all Greeks because of the artistic and literary accomplishments of the fifth century B.C.E., pursued a foreign policy of neutrality. The city became a large museum, filled with the relics and memories of a glorious past, as well as a university town that attracted the children of the well-to-do from all over the Mediterranean and western Asia.

In an age of cities, the greatest city of all was Alexandria, with a population of nearly half a million. Alexandria gained luster from its Library, which had several hundred thousand volumes, and from its Museum, or "House of the Muses" (divinities who presided over the arts and sciences), a research institution that supported the work of the greatest poets, philosophers, doctors, and scientists of the day. Two harbors served the needs of the many trading ventures that linked the commerce of the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. A great lighthouse—the first of its kind, a multistory tower with a fiery beacon visible at a distance of 30 miles (48 kilometers)—was one of the wonders of the ancient world. A *gymnasium* offered facilities for exercise and fitness and was the place where young men of the privileged classes were schooled in athletics, music, and literature. Jews had their own civic corporation, officials, and courts and predominated in two of the five main residential districts. Other quarters were filled with the sights, sounds, and smells of ethnic groups from Syria, Anatolia, and the Egyptian countryside.

In all the Hellenistic states, ambitious members of the indigenous populations learned the Greek language and adopted elements of the Greek way of life, because doing so put them in a position to become part of the privileged and wealthy ruling class. For the ancient Greeks, to be Greek was primarily a matter of language and lifestyle rather than physical traits. In the Hellenistic Age there was a spontaneous synthesis of Greek and indigenous ways. Egyptians migrated to Alexandria, and Greeks and Egyptians intermarried in the villages of the countryside, where their children were likely to grow up speaking and acting more Egyptian than Greek. Greeks living amid the monuments and descendants of the ancient civilizations of Egypt and western Asia were exposed to the mathematical and astronomical wisdom of Mesopotamia, the elaborate mortuary rituals of Egypt, and the many attractions of foreign religious cults. With little official planning or blessing, stemming for the most part from the day-to-day experiences and actions of ordinary people, a great multicultural experiment unfolded as Greek and Middle Eastern cultural traits clashed and merged.

CONCLUSION

The enormous empire of the Achaemenid Persians was a new kind of empire because it encompassed such a wide variety of landscapes, peoples, and social, political, and economic systems. How did the Persians manage to hold together this diverse collection of lands for more than two centuries? The answer did not lie entirely in brute force. The Persians managed to co-opt leading elements of the subject peoples, who were willing to collaborate in return for being allowed to retain their power and influence. The Persian government demonstrated flexibility and tolerance in its handling of the laws, customs, and beliefs of subject peoples. The Persian administration, superimposed on local structures, left a considerable role for local institutions. The Persians also displayed a flair for public relations. In their art and inscriptions, the Persian kings broadcast an image of a benevolent empire in which the dependent peoples contributed to the welfare of the realm.

Western Asia underwent significant changes in the period of Persian supremacy. First, the early Persian kings put an end to the ancient centers of power in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Egypt. Then, by imposing a uniform system of law and administration, providing security and stability, constructing an expanded water distribution network, and working the extensive estates of the Persian royal family and nobility, the Persian government fostered commerce and prosperity, at least for some.

Assessing the cultural impact of Persian rule is difficult. The long-dominant culture of Mesopotamia fused with Iranian elements. The resulting new synthesis is most visible in the art, architecture, and inscriptions of the Persian monarchs. It does not appear that Zoroastrianism had broad, popular appeal. The Persian administration relied heavily on the scribes and written languages of its Mesopotamian, Syrian, and

Egyptian subjects, and literacy remained the preserve of a small, professional class. Thus the Persian language does not seem to have been widely adopted by inhabitants of the empire. And even if there was a greater degree of Persianization in the provinces than is suggested by the extant evidence, it was so swamped by Hellenism in the succeeding era that few traces are left.

Nearly two centuries of trouble with the Greeks on their western frontier were a vexation for the Persians but probably not their first priority. It appears that Persian kings always were more concerned about the security of their eastern and northeastern frontiers, where they were vulnerable to attack by the nomads of Central Asia. The claim is sometimes made that the Persian Empire was weak and crumbling by the time Alexander invaded, but no one could have anticipated the charismatic leadership and boundless ambition of Alexander of Macedonia.

The shadow of Persia loomed large over the affairs of the Greek city-states, although they continued to evolve politically and culturally. Athens, in particular, evolved into a new kind of Greek state, threatening the autonomy of other city-states and changing the rules of war.

Alexander's conquests brought radical changes to the Greek world. Greeks spilled out into the sprawling new frontiers in northeastern Africa and western Asia, and the independent city-state became inconsequential in a world of large kingdoms. The centuries of Greek domination had a far more pervasive cultural impact on the Middle East than did the Persian period. Alexander had been inclined to preserve the Persian administrative apparatus, leaving native institutions and personnel in place. His successors relied almost exclusively on a privileged class of Greek soldiers, officers, and administrators.

New Greek-style cities exerted a powerful cultural influence on important elements of the native populations, and a system of easily learned alphabetic Greek writing, accompanied by frequent and diverse uses of the written medium, led to more widespread literacy and far more effective dissemination of information. In sum, the Greeks had a profound impact on the peoples and lands of the Middle East, and Hellenism persisted as a cultural force for a thousand years. As we shall see in the next chapter, when the Romans arrived in the eastern Mediterranean in the second century B.C.E., they were greatly influenced by the cultural and political practices of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

SUGGESTED READING

The most accessible treatment of the Persian Empire is J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (1983).

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Valuable treatments of particular topics include Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times,* 2d ed. (1991); N. G. L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State: The Origins, Institutions and History* (1989); Joseph Roisman, ed., *Alexander the Great: Ancient and Modern Perspectives* (1995); and William R. Biers, *The Archaeology of Greece: An Introduction* (1990).

For the Hellenistic world see Michael Grant, *From Alexander to Cleopatra: The Hellenistic World* (1982).

NOTE

1. Guy Davenport, *Sappho: Poems and Fragments* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), fragment 40.

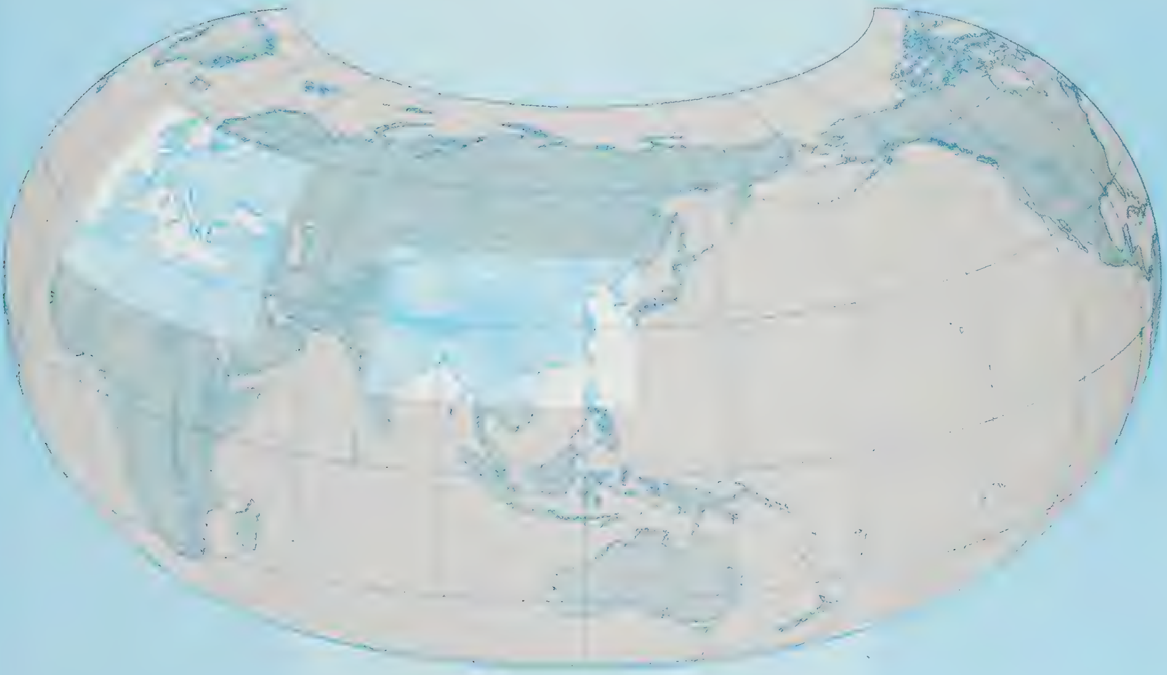
CHAPTER FIVE

An Age of Empires: Rome and Han China, 753 B.C.E.–330 C.E.

Imperial Parallels

Rome's Creation of a Mediterranean Empire, 753 B.C.E.–330 C.E.

Origins of Imperial China, 221 B.C.E.–220 C.E.



According to Chinese sources, in the year 166 C.E. a group of travelers identifying themselves as delegates from An-tun, the king of distant Da Qin, arrived at the court of the Chinese emperor Huan, who belonged to the Han dynasty. An-tun was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the emperor of Rome.

As far as we know, these travelers were the first "Romans" to reach China, although they probably were not natives of the Italian peninsula but residents of one of the eastern provinces, perhaps Egypt or Syria. They may have stretched the truth in claiming to be official representatives of the Roman emperor. More likely they were merchants hoping to set up a profitable trading arrangement at the source of the silk so highly prized in the West. Chinese officials, however, were in no position to disprove their claim, since there was no direct contact between the Roman and Chinese Empires.

We do not know what became of these travelers, and their mission apparently did not lead to any more direct or regular contact between the emperors at opposite ends of the vast Eurasian landmass. Even so, the episode raises some interesting points. First, it is clear that in the early centuries C.E. Rome and China were linked by far-flung international trading networks encompassing the entire Eastern Hemisphere, and that they were dimly aware of each other's existence. Second, the period of the last centuries B.C.E. and the first centuries C.E. saw the emergence of two manifestations of a new kind of empire.

The Roman and Han Chinese Empires were both quantitatively and qualitatively different from earlier empires. The Roman Empire encompassed all the lands surrounding the Mediterranean Sea as well as substantial portions of continental Europe and the Middle East. The Han Empire stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the oases of Central Asia. They extended over a greater diversity of lands and peoples than the Assyrian and Persian Empires in the Middle East and the Mauryan Empire in India. Yet they were able to centralize control to a greater degree than the earlier empires, their cultural impact on the lands and peoples they dominated was more pervasive, and they were remarkably stable and lasted for many centuries.

Thousands of miles separated the empires of Rome and Han China; neither one influenced the other. Why did two such unprecedented political entities flourish at the same time? In this chapter, we examine the Roman and Han Empires, the sources of their stability, and the benefits and liabilities that these empires brought to the dominant and the dominated parties.

IMPERIAL PARALLELS

The similarities between ancient Rome and China begin at the level of the family. In both cultures the family comprised the living generations and was headed by an all-powerful patriarch. The family inculcated obedience, respect for superiors, piety, and a strong sense of duty and honor—values that individuals carried with them into the wider social and political world, creating a pervasive social cohesion.

For each civilization, agriculture was the fundamental economic activity and source of wealth. Each empire depended on a free peasantry—sturdy farmers who could be pressed into military service or other forms of compulsory labor. Conflicts over who owned the land and how the land was to be used were at the heart of the political and social evolution that occurred in both places.

Both empires spread out from an ethnically homogeneous core to encompass widespread territories having diverse ecosystems, populations, and ways of life. Both brought to those regions a cultural unity that has persisted, at least in part, to the present day.

Both empires found similar solutions to the problems of administering far-flung territories and large populations in an age in which travel and communications were slow. Roads built to expedite the movement of troops became the highways of commerce and the thoroughfares by which imperial culture spread. A network of cities and towns served as the nerve center of each empire, providing local administrative bases, further promoting commerce, and radiating imperial culture out into the surrounding countryside.

In an age when a message could not be transmitted faster than a man on horseback or on foot could carry it, the central government had to delegate considerable autonomy to officials at the local level. In both empires a kind of civil service developed, staffed by a prosperous middle class.

The empires of Rome and Han China faced similar problems of defense: long borders located far from the administrative center and aggressive neighbors who coveted the empire's prosperity. Both empires had to build walls and maintain a chain of forts and garrisons to protect against incursions. The cost of frontier defense was staggering and eventually eroded their economic prosperity.

ROME'S CREATION OF A MEDITERRANEAN EMPIRE, 753 B.C.E.–330 C.E.

Rome's central location contributed to its success in unifying first Italy and then all the lands ringing the Mediterranean Sea (see Map 5.1). Italy was a crossroads in the Mediterranean, and the site of Rome was a crossroads within Italy.

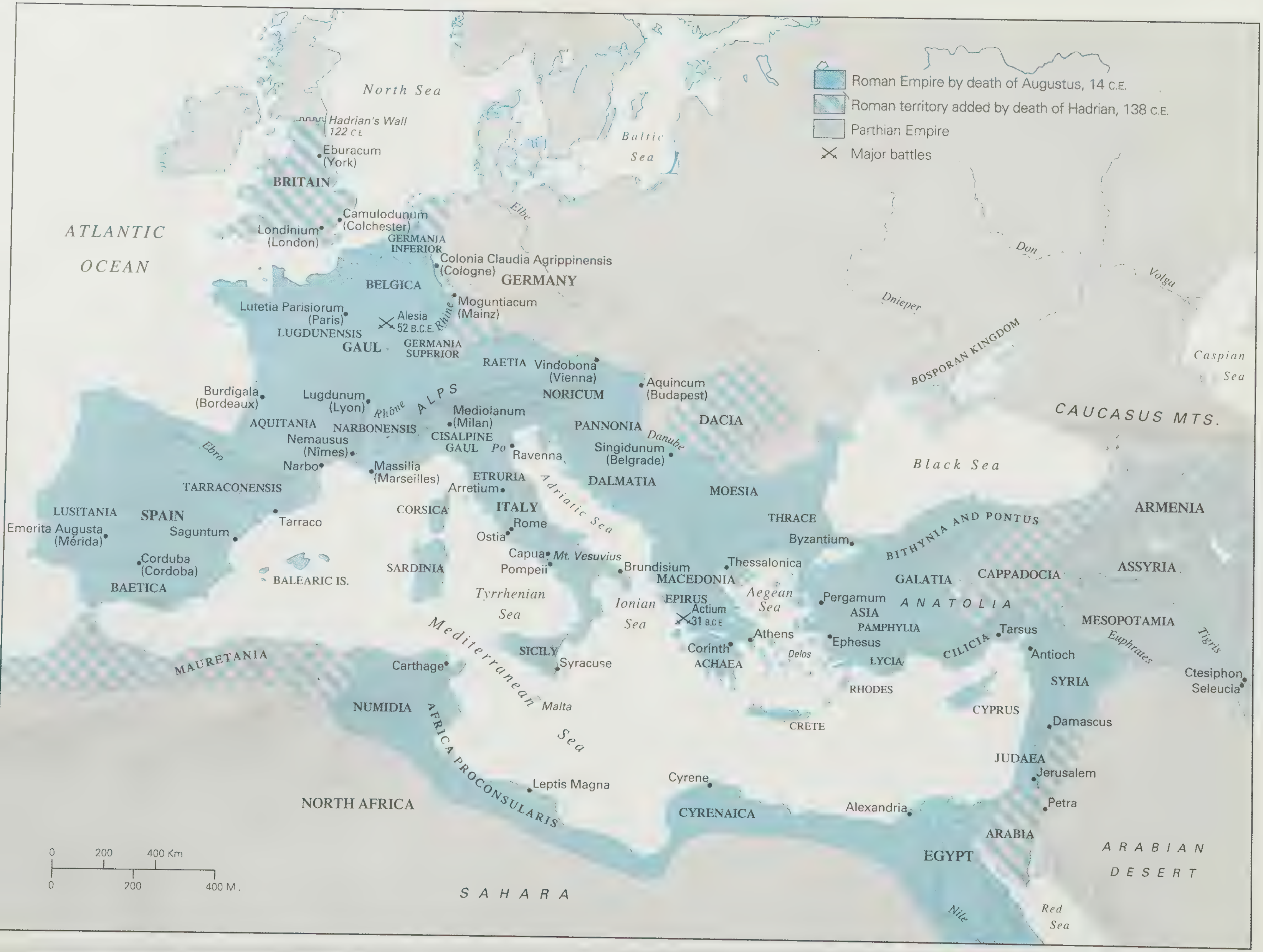
The burgeoning Roman state drew on the considerable natural resources of the Italian peninsula. Italy is a land of hills and mountains. The Apennine range runs along its length like a spine, separating the eastern and western coastal plains. The arc of the Alps serves as a shield to the north. Many of the rivers of Italy are navigable, and passes through the central range and even through the snow-capped Alps allowed merchants and armies to travel overland. The mild Mediterranean climate affords a long growing season and conditions suitable for a wide variety of crops. The hillsides, largely denuded of cover today, were well forested in ancient times, providing timber for construction and fuel. The region of Etruria in the northwest was rich in iron and other metals.

Even though as much as 75 percent of the total area of the Italian peninsula is hilly, there is still ample arable land in the coastal plains and river valleys. Much of this land has extremely fertile volcanic soil and sustained a much larger population than was possible in Greece. While expanding within Italy, the Roman state created effective mechanisms for tapping the human resources of the countryside.

According to popular legend, the city of Rome was founded in 753 B.C.E. by Romulus, who, as a baby, had been cast adrift on the Tiber River and nursed by a she-wolf. Archaeological research, however, shows that the earliest occupation of the Palatine Hill—one of the seven hills on the site of Rome—took place as early as 1000 B.C.E. The merging of several hilltop communities to form an urban nucleus, made possible by the draining of a swamp on the site of the future Roman Forum (civic center), took place shortly before 600 B.C.E.

A Republic of Farmers

Agriculture was the essential economic activity and land was the basis of wealth in the early


Roman Empire by death of Augustus, 14 C.E.
Roman territory added by death of Hadrian, 138 C.E.
Parthian Empire
Major battles
North Sea
Hadrian's Wall 122 C.E.
Eburacum (York)
BRITAIN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Camulodunum (Colchester)
Londinium (London)
GERMANIA INFERIOR
Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis (Cologne)
GERMANY
BELGICA
Elbe
Baltic Sea
Lutetia Parisiorum (Paris)
LUGDUNENSIS
Alesia 52 B.C.E.
Rhine
Moguntiacum (Mainz)
GAUL
GERMANIA SUPERIOR
RAETIA
Vindobona (Vienna)
Aquincum (Budapest)
NORICUM
Burdigala (Bordeaux)
Lugdunum (Lyon)
Rhône
ALPS
Mediolanum (Milan)
AQUITANIA
NARBONENSIS
Nemausus (Nîmes)
CISALPINE GAUL
Po
Ravenna
PANNONIA
Danube
Singidunum (Belgrade)
DACIA
Ebro
Narbo
Massilia (Marseilles)
ETRURIA
Arretium
Adriatic Sea
DALMATIA
MOESIA
TARRACONENSIS
LUSITANIA
SPAIN
Tarraco
CORSICA
ITALY
Rome
Ostia
Emerita Augusta (Mérida)
Saguntum
Corduba (Cordoba)
BAETICA
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
Capua
Mt. Vesuvius
Pompeii
Brundisium
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ionian Sea
THRACE
Byzantium
Thessalonica
MACEDONIA
EPIRUS
Actium 31 B.C.E.
Aegean Sea
Athens
Corinth
ACHAEA
Delos
MAURETANIA
Carthage
SICILY
Syracuse
Mediterranean Sea
Malta
NUMIDIA
AFRICA PROCONSULARIS
Leptis Magna
NORTH AFRICA
Cyrene
CYRENAICA
CRETE
RHODES
Pergamum
ASIA
Ephesus
PAMPHYLIA
LYCIA
ANATOLIA
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
BITHYNIA AND PONTUS
CILICIA
Tarsus
Antioch
CYPRUS
SYRIA
Damascus
JUDAEA
Jerusalem
Petra
Alexandria
EGYPT
ARABIA
Nile
Red Sea
ARABIAN DESERT
SAHARA
Dnieper
Don
Volga
BOSPORAN KINGDOM
Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Caspian Sea
ARMENIA
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Tigris
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
0
200
400 Km
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Roman state. The vast majority of early Romans were self-sufficient independent farmers owning small plots of land; a relatively small number of families managed to acquire large tracts of land.

According to tradition, between 753 and 507 B.C.E. there were seven kings of Rome. The first was Romulus; the last was the tyrannical Tarquinius Superbus. In 507 B.C.E. members of the senatorial class, led by Brutus "the Liberator," deposed Tarquinius Superbus and instituted a *res publica*, a "public possession," or republic.

The Roman Republic, which lasted from 507 to 31 B.C.E., was hardly a democracy. In principle sovereign power resided in several assemblies that male citizens were eligible to attend, but the system of voting was rigged so that the votes of the wealthiest classes counted for more than the votes of poorer citizens. A slate of civic officials was elected each year, and a hierarchy of state offices evolved. Each year two men were tapped to serve as consuls, or chief magistrates. When at home, the consuls presided over meetings of the Senate and assemblies. Often they were away from the city, commanding the army on military campaigns.

The real center of power was the *Senatus*, or Senate, the one permanent body in the Roman state (members sat for life). The elders of the wealthiest families constituted the senatorial class. This self-selected body was the repository of wealth, influence, and political and military experience and had both the competence and the will to rule.

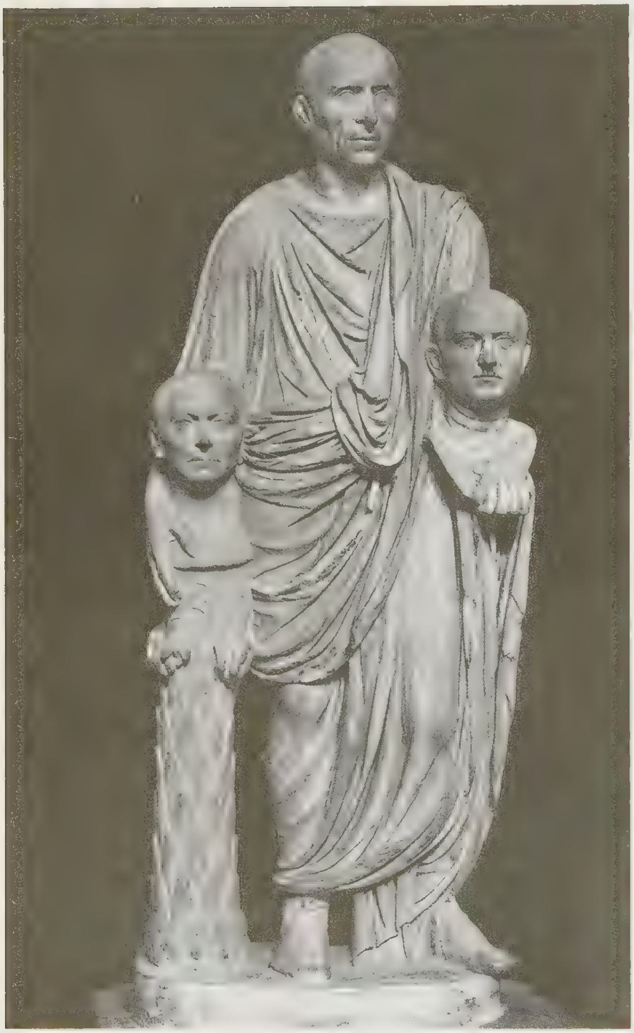
Map 5.1 The Roman Empire The Roman Empire eventually encompassed all the lands surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, as well as parts of continental Europe. When Augustus died in 14 C.E., he left behind instructions to his successors not to expand beyond the limits he had set, but Claudius invaded southern Britain in the mid-first century and the soldier-emperor Trajan added Romania early in the second century. Deserts and seas provided solid natural boundaries, but the long and vulnerable river border in Central and eastern Europe eventually proved expensive to defend and vulnerable to invasion by Germanic and Central Asian peoples.

The basic unit of Roman society was the family, consisting of several generations as well as the family slaves. Every member of the family was under the absolute authority of the oldest living male, the *paterfamilias*. The head of the family and the most important members of society as a whole—all men—were invested with *auctoritas*, the quality that enabled a man to inspire and demand obedience from his inferiors.

Roman society was unashamedly hierarchical. When a Roman man went for a walk, virtually everyone he met was of either inferior or superior social status to him and expected to be treated accordingly. In this stratified society individuals and families were connected by complex ties of obligation. A senator might be the patron of dozens or even hundreds of men. He could provide his clients with legal advice and representation, physical protection, and loans of money in tough times. In turn, the client was expected to follow his patron out to battle, to support him in the political arena, to work on his land, and even to contribute toward the dowry of his daughter. In sum, at Rome inequality was accepted, institutionalized, and turned into a system of mutual benefits and obligations.

Virtually all our information about Roman women pertains to those in the upper classes. In a legal sense, a woman never ceased to be a child. She started out under the absolute authority of her paterfamilias. When she married, she came under the jurisdiction of the paterfamilias of her husband's family. Unable to own property or represent herself in legal proceedings, she had to depend on a male guardian to advocate her interests.

However, despite the limitations put on them, Roman women seem less constrained than their counterparts in the Greek world (see Chapter 4). New forms of marriage allowed them greater personal protection and economic independence. There are many stories of strong women who exercised great influence on their husbands or sons and thereby helped to shape Roman history. Roman poets confess their love for women who appear to us to be educated and outspoken, and the accounts of the careers of the early emperors



Statue of a Roman carrying busts of his ancestors, first century B.C.E. Roman society was extremely conscious of status, and an elite Roman family's status was determined, in large part, by the public achievements of ancestors and living members. A visitor to a Roman home would find portraits of distinguished ancestors in the entry hall, along with labels listing the offices they held. Portrait heads were carried in funeral processions. (Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

are filled with tales of self-assured and assertive queen-mothers and consorts.

Like other Italian peoples, the Romans believed the world was filled with *numina*—invisible, shapeless forces. Vesta, the living, pulsating energy of fire, dwelled in the hearth. Janus guarded the door. The Penates watched over food stored in the cupboard. Other deities resided in nearby hills, caves, grottoes, and springs. Small offerings of cakes and liquids were made to win the favor of these spirits. Certain gods had a larger sphere of operation—for example, Jupiter, god of the sky, and Mars, initially a god of agriculture as well as war.

The Romans were especially concerned to maintain the *pax deorum* ("peace of the gods"), a covenant between the gods and the Roman state. Boards of priests drawn from the aristocracy performed sacrifices and other rituals to win the gods' favor. In return, the gods were expected to bring success to Roman undertakings.

Expansion in Italy and the Mediterranean

At the dawn of the Roman Republic, around 500 B.C.E., Rome was a relatively insignificant city-state among many in the region of central Italy called Latium. Three-and-a-half centuries later Rome was the center of an empire encompassing virtually all the lands surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. Expansion began slowly but picked up momentum, reaching a peak in the third and second centuries B.C.E. A strong case can be made that fear drove the Romans to expand the territory under their control in order to provide a buffer against attack: each new conquest became vulnerable, and a sense of insecurity led to further expansion. In any event, the Romans were quick to seize opportunities as they presented themselves.

Rome's conquest of Italy was sparked by ongoing friction between the pastoral hill tribes of central Italy and the agriculturalists of the coastal plains. In the fifth century B.C.E. Rome rose to a position of leadership within a league of central Italian cities organized for defense against the nearby hill tribes. By 290 B.C.E. the Romans had extended their "protection" over nearly the entire peninsula.

One key to the Romans' success in consolidating their hold over Italy was their willingness to extend Roman citizenship—with its attendant political, legal, and economic privileges—to conquered populations. In this they contrasted sharply with the Greeks, who were reluctant to share the privileges of citizenship with outsiders (see Chapter 4). In essence, the Romans co-opted the most influential elements within the conquered communities and made Rome's interests their interests. Rome demanded of its Italian subjects that they provide soldiers for the Roman military. A seemingly inexhaustible reservoir of manpower was another key to Rome's military success. In a number of crucial wars Rome was able to endure higher casualties than the enemy and to prevail by sheer numbers.

In the mid- and late third century B.C.E. Rome fought two protracted and bloody wars against the Carthaginians, emerging as the unchallenged master of the western Mediterranean and acquiring its first overseas colonies in Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. Between 200 and 146 B.C.E. a series of wars pitted the Roman state against the major Greek kingdoms in the eastern Mediterranean. When the settlements that the Romans imposed failed to hold up, the Roman government took over direct administration of these turbulent lands. Initially the Romans did not find it feasible to extend to the overseas provinces the system of governance and the extension of citizenship rights that they had employed in Italy. Every year a member of the Senate, usually someone who recently had held a high public post, was dispatched to each province to serve as governor.

Failure of the Republic

As a result of the frequent wars and territorial expansion of the third and second centuries B.C.E., profound changes took place in the Italian landscape. Because the soldier-farmers were away for long periods of time, it was relatively easy for investors to get possession of their farms by purchase, deception, or intimidation. As a result, the small, self-sufficient peasant farms of the Italian countryside, from which had come the soldiers who were the backbone of the Roman legions (units of 6,000 soldiers), were replaced by *latifundia*, literally "broad estates" or ranches.

The owners of these estates found it more lucrative to graze herds of cattle or to grow crops, such as grapes for wine, that brought in a big profit than to grow wheat, the staple food of ancient Italy. Thus large segments of the population of Italy, especially in the burgeoning cities, became dependent on expensive imported grain. Meanwhile, peasants who had lost their farms, and could not find work in the countryside because of the cheapness of slave labor, moved to the cities. But there was no work for them in the cities, and they found themselves living in poverty.

One consequence of the decline of peasant farmers in Italy was a shortage of men who owned the minimum amount of property required for eligibility to serve in the legions. Gaius Marius, a "new man" not from the traditional ruling class, reached a position of unprecedented political prominence by accepting into the Roman legions poor, propertyless men and promising to give them farms when they retired from military service. These troops became devoted to the man who guaranteed their future. In the decades that followed, a series of ambitious individuals—Sulla, Pompey, Julius Caesar, and Mark Antony—commanded armies of men whose primary loyalties were to their generals rather than to the state.

Julius Caesar's grandnephew and heir, Octavian (63 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), eliminated all rivals by 31 B.C.E. and painstakingly set about refashioning the Roman system of government. He fundamentally altered the realities of power but was careful to maintain the forms of the Republic—the offices, the honors, and the social prerogatives of the senatorial class. A military dictator in fact, he never called himself king or emperor, claiming merely to be *princeps*, "first among equals" in a restored Republic. For this reason it is conventional to refer to the period following the Republic as the Principate.

Augustus, one of the many honorific titles that the Roman Senate gave Octavian, combines connotations of reverence, prosperity, and piety and became the name by which he is best known to posterity. During his reign Egypt, parts of the Middle East, and Central Europe were added to the empire (the only significant later additions were the southern half of Britain and modern Romania).

Augustus had allied himself with the *equites*, the class of well-to-do Italian merchants and landowners second in wealth and social status only to the senatorial class. This body of competent and self-assured individuals became the core of a new civil service that helped to run the Roman Empire. At last Rome had an administrative bureaucracy up to the task of managing a large empire with considerable honesty, consistency, and efficiency.

An Urban Empire

The Roman Empire of the first three centuries C.E. was administered through a network of towns and cities and brought the greatest benefits to the urban populace, and for that reason we characterize it as "urban." However, perhaps 80 percent of the 50 million or 60 million people living within the borders of the empire were engaged in agriculture and lived in villages or on isolated farms in the countryside.

At Rome the upper classes lived in elegant townhouses on one or another of the seven hills. The house was centered around an *atrium*, a rectangular courtyard. In the ceiling of the atrium an open skylight let in light and rainwater, which fell into a basin for later use. Surrounding the atrium were a large dining room, for the dinner and drinking parties that were an important part of the social life of the aristocracy, an interior garden, a kitchen, and, perhaps, a private bath. Bedrooms were on the upper level. Floors were decorated with pebble mosaics. Walls and ceilings were covered with frescoes (paintings done directly on wet plaster) representing mythological scenes or outdoor vistas, which gave a sense of openness in the absence of windows. The typical aristocrat also owned a number of villas in the Italian countryside, a retreat from the pressures of city life.

The poor of Rome lived in crowded slums in the low-lying parts of the city. Their wooden tenements were subject to frequent fires and must have been damp, dark, and smelly, with few furnishings. Fortunately, for much of the year Romans could spend the day outdoors.

The cities, towns, and even the ramshackle settlements that sprang up on the edge of frontier forts were miniature replicas of the capital city in political organization, physical layout, and appearance. A town council and two annually elected officials drawn from men of property were responsible for maintaining law and order and for collecting taxes. Members of this municipal aristocracy made lavish gifts to their communities. They endowed cities and towns, which had very little revenue of their own, with the attractive elements of Roman urban life—a forum (an open plaza that served as a civic center), public office buildings, temples, gardens, baths, theaters, amphitheaters, and games and public entertainments of all sorts.

Life in the countryside was much as it always had been. Hard work and drudgery were relieved by an occasional holiday or village festival and by the everyday pleasures of sex, family, and social exchange. Most of the time the rural population had to fend for itself in dealing with bandits, wild animals, and other hazards of country life; rural people had little direct contact with the Roman government.

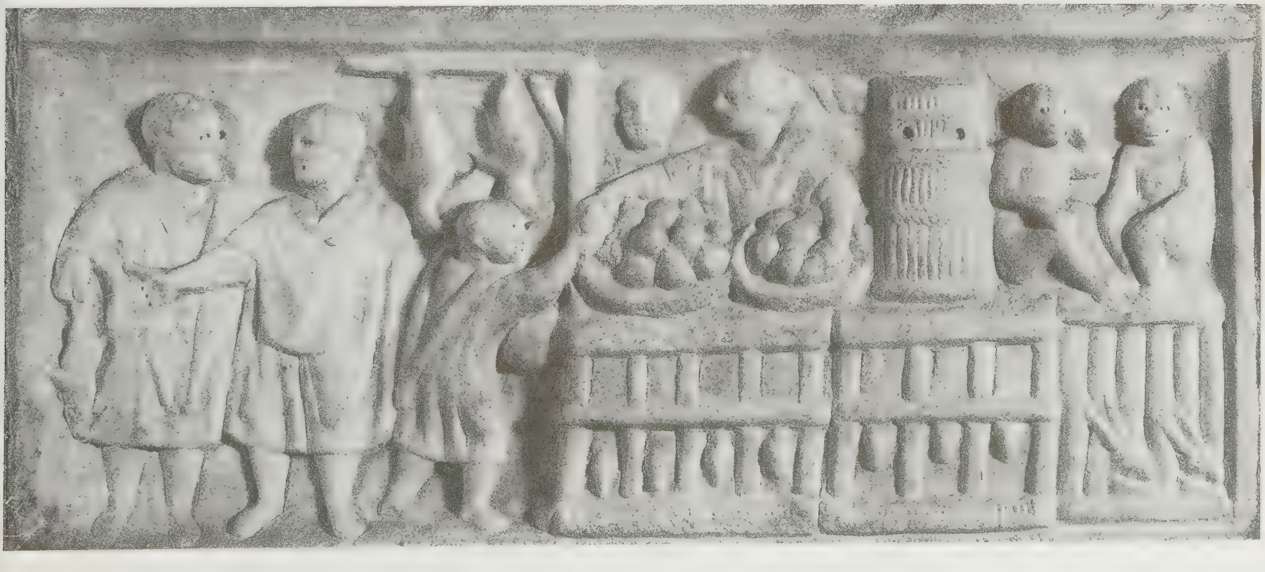
After the era of conquest ended in the early second century C.E., slaves were no longer plentiful or inexpensive, and landowners had to find a new source of labor. Over time the numbers of the independent farmers decreased, and they were replaced by *coloni*—tenant farmers—who had to give a portion of their crop to the landlord, who lived in the city. Thus wealth was concentrated in the cities but was based on the productivity of rural agricultural laborers.

Another source of prosperity for some urban dwellers was manufacture and trade. Commerce was greatly enhanced by the *pax romana* ("Roman peace"), the safety and stability guaranteed by Roman might. Grain, meat, vegetables, and other bulk foodstuffs usually could be exchanged only locally, because transporting them very far was not economical and many products spoiled quickly without refrigeration.

Fine manufactured products, such as glass, metalwork, and delicate pottery, were exported throughout the empire. Over time the centers of production, which once had been located in Italy, tended to move outward into the provinces as knowledge of the necessary skills spread. Armies stationed on the frontiers were a large market of consumers, and their presence promoted the prosperity of the border provinces. There also was trade in luxury items coming from far beyond the boundaries of empire, especially silk from China and spices from India and Arabia. Trade was of vital importance to the imperial system. The surplus revenues of rich interior provinces like Gaul (France) and Egypt were transferred in two directions: to Rome to support the emperor and the central government and to the frontier provinces to subsidize the armies.

There is little evidence that the Roman government pursued a policy of forcibly Romanizing the provinces. The switch to Latin and adoption of the cultural habits that went with it were choices that the inhabitants of the provinces made for themselves. However, those who made this choice were responding to the very significant advantages available to individuals who spoke Latin and wore a *toga* (the traditional cloak that Roman male citizens wore in public). The use of Latin facilitated dealings with the Roman administration, and a merchant who spoke Latin could get contracts to supply the military and be

Sign for a Roman shop The woman behind the counter is selling fruit to one customer while two men are taking game hanging from a rack. The snail and two monkeys to the right of the shopkeeper may represent the name of the establishment. Towns served as markets where farmers exchanged their surplus products for crafted goods made by urban artisans. Local commerce in agricultural products must have been a major component of the economy of the Roman Empire, but it is hard to trace in the archaeological record. (Archivo Fotografico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia)



understood anywhere he went in the empire. Many must also have been drawn to the aura of success surrounding the language and culture of a people who had created so vast an empire. The art, literature, and sophisticated lifestyle of the Romans had their own attractions.

As towns sprang up and acquired the characteristic features of Roman urban life, they served as magnets for ambitious members of the indigenous populations. Gradually, Roman citizenship was extended to people living outside Italy. Men who completed a twenty-six-year term of service in the native military units that backed up the Roman legions were granted citizenship and passed this coveted status on to their posterity. Emperors made grants of citizenship to individuals or entire communities as rewards for good service.

In 212 C.E. the emperor Caracalla granted citizenship to all free, adult, male inhabitants of the empire. This gradual diffusion of citizenship epitomizes the process by which the empire was transformed from an Italian dominion over the Mediterranean lands into a commonwealth of peoples. As early as the first century C.E. some of the leading literary and intellectual figures came from the provinces, and by the second century even the emperors hailed from Spain, Gaul, and North Africa.

Rise of Christianity

The Jewish homeland of Judaea (see Chapter 3), roughly equivalent to present-day Israel, was put under direct Roman rule in 6 C.E. Over the next half-century a series of Roman governors insensitive to the Jewish belief in one god managed to increase tensions. Among the Jews various kinds of opposition to Roman rule sprang up. Many waited for the arrival of the Messiah, the "Anointed One," who they thought would be a military leader who would liberate the Jewish people and drive the Romans out of the land.

It is in this context that we must see the career of Jesus, a young carpenter from the Galilee region in northern Israel. Offended by the materialism and lack of spirituality in the mainstream Jewish religion of his time, he prescribed a return to the fundamental spiritual tenets of an earlier age. Jesus eventually attracted the attention of the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem. They turned him over to the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate. Jesus was imprisoned, condemned, and executed by crucifixion, a punishment usually reserved for common criminals. His followers, the Apostles, carried on after his death and sought to spread the word of his mission and his resurrection (return from death to life) among their fellow Jews.

In the 40s C.E. Paul, a Jew from the Greek city of Tarsus in southeast Anatolia, became converted to the new creed and threw his enormous talent and energy into spreading the word. Traveling throughout Syria-Palestine, Anatolia, and Greece, he became increasingly frustrated with the refusal of most Jews to accept the revelation that he taught. Discovering a spiritual hunger among many non-Jews, he redirected his efforts toward this population (sometimes called "gentiles") and set up a string of Christian (from the Greek *Christ*, a title meaning "anointed one," given to Jesus by his followers) communities in the eastern Mediterranean.

The career of Paul exemplifies the cosmopolitan nature of the Roman Empire in this era. Speaking both Greek and Aramaic, he moved comfortably between the Greco-Roman and Jewish worlds. He used Roman roads, depended on the peace guaranteed by Roman arms, called on his Roman citizenship to protect him from the arbitrary action of local authorities, and moved from city to city in his quest for converts.

For more than two centuries, the sect grew slowly but steadily. Many of the first converts were from disenfranchised groups—women, slaves, the urban poor—who hoped that with membership would come respect and positions of responsibility not accorded to them in the larger society. Early Christians were vulnerable to persecution because Roman officials regarded their refusal to worship the emperor (as monotheists they were forbidden to worship other gods) as a sign of disloyalty. Nevertheless, by the late third century C.E. adherents to Christianity were a sizable minority within the Roman Empire, and membership in the sect had spread up the social ranks to include many educated and prosperous people who held posts in local and imperial government.

Technology and Transformation

Remnants of roads, walls, aqueducts, and buildings still visible today testify to the engineering expertise of the ancient Romans. Some of the best engineers served with the army, building bridges, siege works, and ballistic weapons that hurled stones and shafts. In peacetime the soldiers were often put to work on construction projects. Aqueducts—long, elevated or underground conduits—carried water from its source to urban centers, using only the force of gravity. The Romans were pioneers in the use of the arch, which distributes great weight evenly without thick supporting walls. The invention of concrete allowed the Romans to create vast vaulted and domed interior spaces and to move away from the strictly rectilinear forms of the pillar-and-post construction employed by the Greeks.

One of the greatest challenges for the Roman administration was the defense of borders that stretched for thousands of miles. The empire was protected at most points by natural features—mountains, deserts, seas. The long Rhine/Danube river frontier in Germany and Central Europe, however, was a vulnerable point; it was guarded by a string of forts. On particularly desolate frontiers, such as in Britain and North Africa, long walls were built to keep out the peoples who lived beyond.

The Roman state prospered for two-and-a-half centuries after Augustus stabilized the internal political situation and addressed the needs of the empire with an ambitious program of reforms. In the third century C.E. cracks in the edifice became visible. Historians use the expression "third-century crisis" to refer to the period from 235 to 284 C.E., when political, military, and economic problems beset and nearly destroyed the Roman Empire. The most visible symptom of the crisis was the frequent change of rulers. Most of the twenty or more men who claimed the office of emperor during this period reigned for a very short time before being overthrown by a rival or killed by their own troops. Germanic tribesmen on the Rhine/Danube frontier took advantage of the frequent civil wars and periods of anarchy to raid deep into the empire. For the first time in centuries, cities began to erect walls for protection. Several regions, feeling that the central government was not adequately protecting them, turned power over to a man on the spot who promised to put their interests first.

These political and military emergencies had a devastating impact on the empire's economy. The cost of rewarding troops and defending the increasingly permeable frontiers drained the imperial treasury, and the incessant demands of the central government for more tax revenues, as well as the interruption of commerce by fighting, eroded the towns' prosperity. Shortsighted emperors, desperate for cash, secretly cut back the amount of precious metal in Roman coins and pocketed the excess. But the public quickly caught on, and the devalued coins became less and less acceptable as a medium for exchange. Indeed, the empire reverted to a barter economy, a far less efficient system that further curtailed large-scale and long-distance commerce.

The municipal aristocracy, once the most vital and public-spirited class in the empire, was slowly crushed out of existence. As town councilors, its members were personally liable to make up any shortfall in the tax revenues owed to the state. But the decline in trade eroded their wealth, which usually was based on manufacture and commerce. Just when things looked bleakest, a man arose who pulled the empire back from the brink of self-destruction.

Diocletian gained power in 284 and implemented a series of radical solutions that saved the Roman state by transforming it. To halt inflation, he issued an edict that specified the maximum prices that could be charged for various commodities and services. To ensure an adequate supply of workers in vital services, many people were frozen into their professions and were required to train their sons to succeed them. When Diocletian resigned in 305, the old divisiveness reemerged as various claimants battled for the throne. The eventual winner was Constantine. By 324 he was able to reunite the entire empire under his sole rule.

In 312 Constantine had won a key battle at the Milvian Bridge over the Tiber River near Rome. He later claimed that before this battle he had seen a cross (the sign of the Christian God) superimposed on the sun. Believing that the Christian God helped him achieve victory, the new emperor converted to Christianity. Historians disagree about whether he was motivated by purely spiritual motives or was seeking to unify the peoples of the empire under a single religion. In either case his conversion was of tremendous historical significance. Large numbers of people began to convert because they saw that Christians seeking political office or favors from the government had clear advantages over non-Christians. Another decisive step taken by Constantine was the transfer of the imperial capital from Rome to Byzantium, an ancient Greek city on the Bosporus strait leading into the Black Sea. The city was renamed Constantinople, "City of Constantine."

The conversion of Constantine and the transfer of the imperial capital away from Rome often have been considered events marking the end of Roman history. However, many of the important changes that culminated during Constantine's reign had their roots in events of the previous two centuries. As well, the Roman Empire as a whole survived for at least another century, though it was fundamentally different from what had existed before, and the eastern, or Byzantine, portion of it (discussed in Chapter 8) survived Constantine by more than a thousand years.

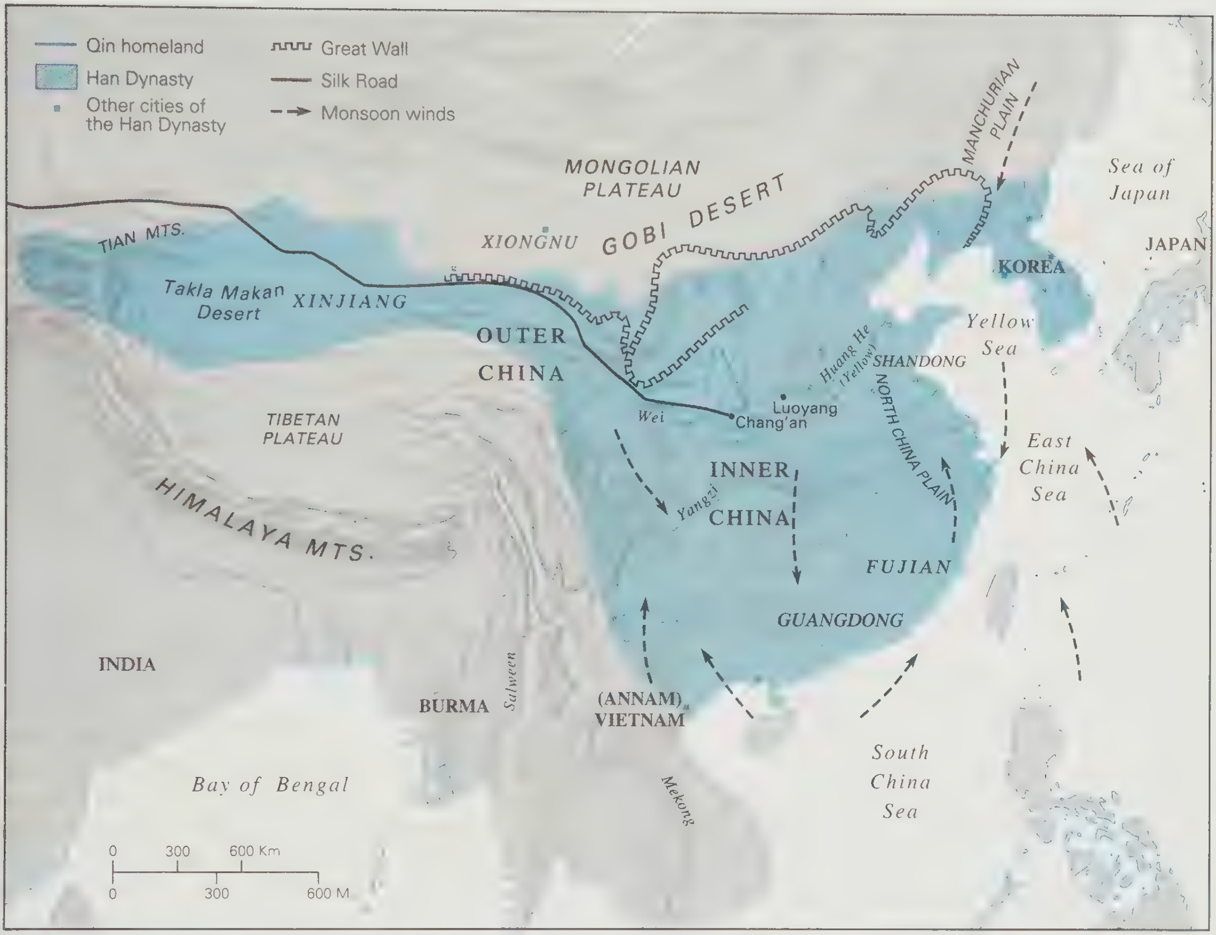
ORIGINS OF IMPERIAL CHINA, 221 B.C.E.–220 C.E.

The early history of China (described in Chapter 2) was marked by the fragmentation that geography seemed to dictate. In the second half of the third century B.C.E. the Qin state of the Wei Valley rapidly conquered its rivals and created China's first empire (221–206 B.C.E.). But the Qin Empire itself, built at a great cost in human lives and labor, barely survived the death of its founder, and power soon passed to a new dynasty, the Han, which ruled for the next four centuries (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) (see Map 5.2). Thus began the long history of imperial China—a tradition of political and cultural unity and continuity that lasted into the early twentieth century C.E. and still resonates in the very different China of our own time.

Resources and Population

This achievement is especially remarkable for a region not only vast in extent but also marked by extreme diversity in its topography, climate, plant and animal life, and human population. An imperial state controlling these lands faced greater obstacles to long-distance communications and to a uniform way of life than did the Roman Empire. The Roman state encompassed lands whose climates and agricultural potentials were similar. The Roman Empire also had the benefit of an internal sea—the Mediterranean—which facilitated relatively rapid and inexpensive travel and transport of commodities.

Agricultural production was the primary source of the wealth and taxes that supported the institutions of imperial China. The main tax, a percentage of the annual yield of the fields, supported the government in its many manifestations, from the luxurious lifestyle enjoyed by



Map 5.2 Han China The Qin and Han rulers of northeast China extended their control over Inner China and much of Outer China. Walls in the north and northwest, built to check the incursions of nomadic peoples from the steppes, were joined to form the ancestor of the present-day Great Wall of China. An extensive network of roads connecting towns, cities, and frontier forts promoted communication and facilitated trade. The Silk Road carried China's most treasured product to Central, southern, and western Asia and the Mediterranean lands.

members of the royal court to the many levels of officials and the military units stationed throughout the country and on the frontiers. China's capital cities had large populations that had to be fed. As intensive agriculture spread in the Yangzi River Valley, transporting southern crops to the north became important, and the first steps were taken toward construction of canals to connect the two great river systems, the Yangzi and the Yellow. The government also exercised foresight in collecting and storing in prosperous times surplus grain that could be distributed at reasonable prices in times of shortage.

Human labor was a fundamental commodity. A government census for the year 2 C.E. indicates approximately 12 million households and 60 million people; for 140 C.E. the census shows not quite 10 million households and 49 million people. Thus the average household contained 5 persons. Then, as now, the vast majority of the population lived in the eastern portion of the country, the river-valley regions where intensive agriculture could support a dense population.

We see strong parallels between the Roman and Chinese governments in their dependence on a large population of free peasants who contributed both taxes and services to the state. In the intervals between seasonal agricultural tasks, every able-bodied male was expected to donate one month of labor a year to public works projects; he was also obliged to give two years of military service. Annually updated registers of land and households enabled imperial officials to keep track of money and services due (see Environment and Technology: Writing as an Imperial Technology).

Throughout the Han period the Han Chinese gradually but persistently expanded at the expense of other ethnic groups. Han people tended to move into regions suitable for the kind of agriculture they had practiced in the eastern river valleys. They took over land on the northern frontier, pushing back nomadic populations. They also expanded into the tropical forests of southern China and settled in the western oases. In places not suitable for their preferred kind of agriculture, particularly the steppe and the desert, Han Chinese were not able to displace other groups.

Hierarchy, Obedience, and Belief

As the Han Chinese expanded into new regions, they brought their culture with them. The basic unit of Chinese society was the family, which included not only the living generations but also all the previous generations—the ancestors. The Chinese believed their ancestors maintained an ongoing interest in the fortunes of living family members. Thus people were careful to consult, appease, and venerate their ancestors in order to maintain their favor. The family was viewed as a living, self-renewing organism, and each generation needed sons to perpetuate the family and ensure the immortality offered by the ancestor cult.

Within the family absolute authority rested with the father. He served as an intermediary between living members and the ancestors, presiding over the rituals of ancestor worship. Every member of the family had a place and responsibilities within the domestic hierarchy, based on his or her gender, age, and relationship to other family members. The family inculcated the basic values of Chinese society: loyalty, obedience to authority, respect for elders and ancestors, and concern for honor and appropriate conduct. Because the hierarchy in the state mirrored the hierarchy in the family, these attitudes carried over into the relationship between individuals and the state.

Another fundamental source of values was the ideas of the philosopher Kong Zi (551–479 B.C.E.)—known in the West by the Latin form of his name: Confucius. Confucius started with two assumptions: (1) hierarchy was innate in the order of the universe, and (2) the patterns of human society should echo and harmonize with the cycles of the natural world. From these assumptions, Confucius said, certain things followed: Each person had a particular role to play, following prescribed rules of conduct and observing proper ceremonial behavior, in order to maintain the social order. People could be guided to the right path through education, imitation of proper role models, and self-improvement. Government existed to serve the people, and the administrator or ruler gained respect and authority by displaying fairness and integrity. Confucian teachings emphasized benevolence, avoidance of violence, justice, rationalism, loyalty, and decorum. They aimed to affirm and maintain the political and social order by improving it.

Confucian ethics, deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the intellectual and administrative classes, stressed the impropriety of women participating in public life. According to an account of the life of one upper-class woman:

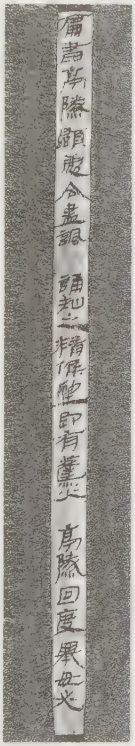
ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

Writing as an Imperial Technology

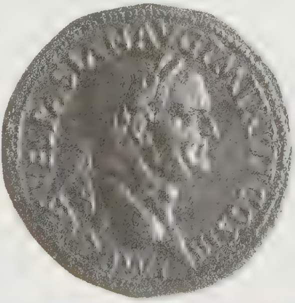
Writing was one of the most important technologies in both China and Rome. The Chinese word for "writing"—*wen*—is also the term for "civilization." The origins of Chinese writing may go back as far as the fifth millennium B.C.E., even before the development of cuneiform in Mesopotamia. The earliest *surviving* Chinese writing, however, dates from the late third or early second millennium B.C.E. Originally developed as a medium for communication with ancestors and gods, writing was essential for the maintenance of the official records on which the imperial system of government depended.

The Chinese use of characters, originally pictures, to represent a concept or word is different from the principles underlying the Roman alphabet. Each letter of the alphabet stands for a sound. The Chinese system requires a person to learn thousands of characters but permits people who speak different languages to read the same text. As part of its program of political and cultural unification, the Qin government imposed a standard system of writing and introduced new characters to represent novel concepts. The Chinese invented paper in the first century C.E.

The Roman alphabet is still used for English and many other languages in the modern world. Its ultimate source is the system of writing developed in Phoenicia in the late second millennium B.C.E. and refined by the Greeks after 800 B.C.E. As in China, the effective functioning of the imperial administration in Rome depended on detailed records. In recent years scholars have tried to discover how common literacy was among the peoples of the Roman Empire. Roman emperors put slogans on coins to communicate news and propaganda throughout the empire. Surviving coins indicate that they changed the slogans frequently and suggest the power of the written word even in those times.



Wooden slip with Chinese writing, first century B.C.E. or first century C.E. It gives instructions for soldiers using fire signals to send messages along a chain of forts on the northwest frontier. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



Coin of the emperor Vespasian, 71 C.E. On the obverse side (shown here) are the ruler's portrait, titles, and offices. The reverse side shows a Roman soldier and a weeping female figure under a palm tree representing the province of Judaea after suppression of a revolt. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

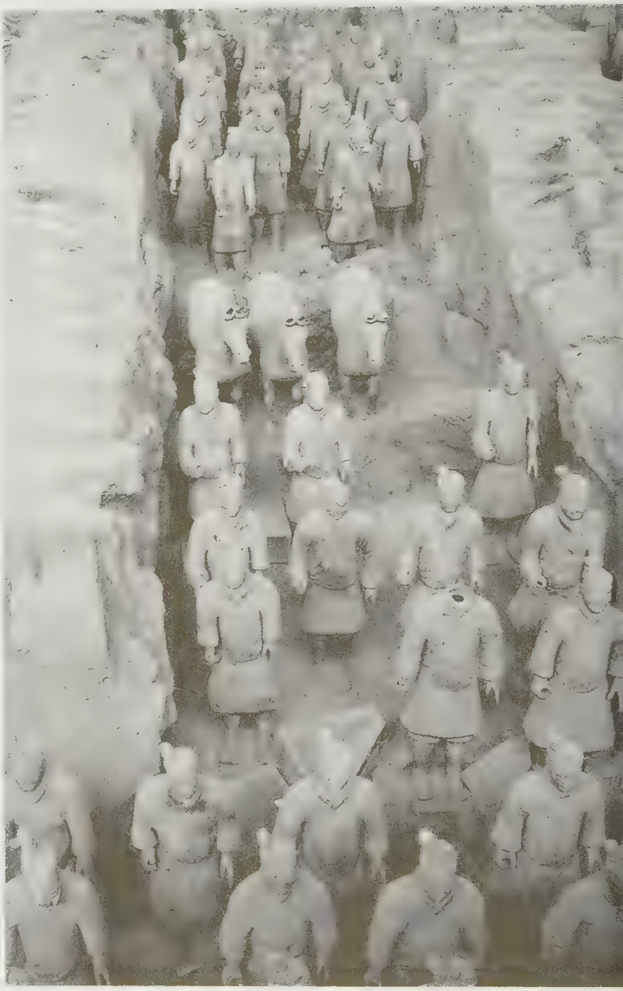
> A woman's duties are to cook the five grains, heat the wine, look after her parents-in-law, make clothes, and that is all! . . . [She] has no ambition to manage affairs outside the house. . . . She must follow the "three submissions." When she is young, she must submit to her parents. After her marriage, she must submit to her husband. When she is widowed, she must submit to her son.[1]

Marriages were arranged by parents. A young bride left home to reside with her husband's family, to whom she had to prove herself. In such circumstances ability and force of personality (as well as the capacity to produce sons) could make a difference. Dissension between the wife and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law was frequent as they competed for influence with husbands, sons, and brothers and a larger share of the economic resources held in common by the family.

Like the early Romans, the ancient Chinese believed that divinity resided within nature, and they worshiped and tried to appease the forces of nature. The state erected and maintained shrines to the lords of rain and winds as well as to certain great rivers and high mountains. Gathering at mounds or altars where the local spirit of the soil was felt to reside, people sacrificed sheep and pigs and beat drums loudly to promote the fertility of the earth.

The ancient Chinese saw the natural world as a balance of forces: *yin*, embodying the female principle, dark and cold, and *yang*, representing the male, light and heat. Within this broad dichotomy lay a series of fives: five elements (fire, water, metal, wood, and earth), five directions (north, south, east, west, and center), five colors, five senses, and so forth. Because it was believed that supernatural forces, bringing good and evil fortune, flowed through the landscape, experts in geomancy ("earth divination") were consulted to determine the most favorable location and orientation for buildings and graves. The faithful learned to adapt their lives to the complex rhythms they perceived in nature.

There was widespread interest in ways of cheating death, whether by making the body immortal with life-enhancing drugs or providing for a blessed afterlife. The rich built ostentatious tombs, flanked by towers or covered by mounds of earth, and filled them with the equipment they believed they would need to maintain the quality of life they had enjoyed on earth.



Terracotta (baked clay) soldiers from the tomb of the First Emperor of China, third century B.C.E. First discovered in 1974 in the tomb of the Qin emperor Shi Huangdi, thousands of these life-size figures of soldiers and horses continue to be unearthed by archaeologists. The ground plan of the tomb represents an imperial city, and the figures were arranged in military formation. The individual figures differ from one another in hair and facial features, garments, and weaponry and originally were brightly painted. Their presence in the tomb may represent an adaptation of the Shang practice of sacrificing members of the royal retinue and burying them with the deceased ruler. (China Pictorial Service)

The First Chinese Empire

For centuries eastern China was divided among rival states whose frequent hostilities gave rise to the label "Warring States Period." In the second half of the third century B.C.E. the state of the Qin took over the other states one by one. The Qin ruler, who took the title *Shi Huangdi* ("First Emperor"), and his adviser and prime minister Li Si, created a totalitarian structure that subordinated the individual to the needs of the state. They cracked down on Confucianism, and a new school of political thought—Legalism—emerged to justify the actions of the Qin government. According to this philosophy, whose major exponent was Li Si himself, the will of the ruler was supreme, and his subjects were to be trained in discipline and obedience through the rigid application of rewards and punishments.

The new regime was determined to eliminate any rival centers of authority. The Qin government abolished *primogeniture*—the right of the eldest son to inherit all the landed property—because primogeniture allowed a small number of individuals to accumulate vast tracts of land. The Qin abolished slavery and took steps to bring into being a free peasantry: small landholders who would pay taxes, serve in the army, and devote a portion of their labor each year to state projects.

The Qin imposed standard weights, measures, and coinage, a uniform law code, a common system of writing, and even regulations governing the axle length of carts so as to leave just one set of ruts on the roads. Thousands of miles of roads were built—comparable in scale to the roads of the Roman Empire—to connect the parts of the empire and to facilitate the movement of Qin armies. The various frontier walls of the old kingdoms began to be linked into a continuous barricade, the precursor of the Great Wall. To build these walls and roads, large numbers of citizens were forced to donate their labor and often their lives. So oppressive were the financial exploitation and the demands for forced labor that when Shi Huangdi died in 210 B.C.E., a series of rebellions broke out and brought down the Qin dynasty.

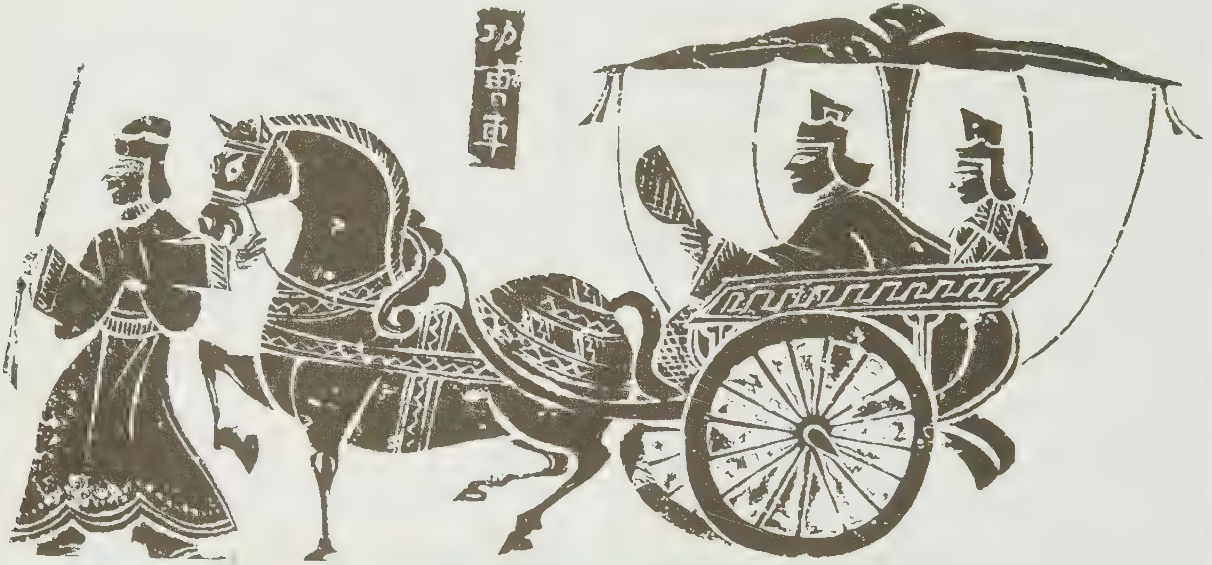
The Long Reign of the Han

When the dust cleared, Liu Bang had outlasted his rivals and established a new dynasty, the Han (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). The new emperor claimed to reject the excesses and mistakes of the Qin and to restore the institutions of a venerable past. In reality, the Han system of administration maintained much of the structure and Legalist ideology of the Qin, though with less fanatical zeal. The Han system became the standard for later ages, and the Chinese people refer to themselves ethnically as "Han."

In the later second century B.C.E., Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 B.C.E.) launched a period of military expansion south into Fujian, Guangdong, and present-day north Vietnam and north into Manchuria and present-day North Korea. Armies also were sent west, to inner Mongolia and Xinjiang, to secure the lucrative Silk Road (see Chapter 8). The Han Empire endured with a brief interruption between 9 and 23 C.E. for more than four hundred years. From 202 B.C.E. to 8 C.E.—the period of the Early, or Western, Han—the capital was at Chang'an, in the Wei Valley, an ancient seat of power. From 23 to 220 C.E. the Later, or Eastern, Han established its base farther east, in the more centrally located Luoyang.

Chang'an, well protected by a ring of hills but having ready access to the fertile plain, was surrounded by a wall of pounded earth and brick 15 miles (24 kilometers) in circumference. It was a bustling place, filled with courtiers, officials, soldiers, merchants, craftsmen, and foreign visitors. A population of 246,000 is recorded for 2 C.E. Broad thoroughfares running north and south intersected with those running east and west. High walls protected the palaces, administrative offices, barracks, and storehouses of the imperial compound, and access was restricted. Temples and marketplaces were scattered about the civic center. Chang'an became a model of urban planning, its main features imitated in the cities and towns that sprang up throughout the Han Empire.

The complaints of moralists provide glimpses of the private lives of well-to-do officials and merchants in the capital. Living in multistory houses, dressed in fine silks, traveling about the city in ornate horse-drawn carriages, they devoted their leisure to art and literature, occult religious practices, elegant banquets, and diverse entertainments—music and dance, juggling and acrobatics, dog and horse races, cock and tiger fights. Far different were the lives of the common



Han-era (first century B.C.E.) stone rubbing of a horse-drawn carriage The "trace harness," a strap running across the horse's chest, was a Chinese invention that allowed horses to pull far heavier loads than were possible with the constricting throat harness used in Europe. In the Han period officials, professionals, and soldiers who served the regime enjoyed a lifestyle made pleasant by fine clothing, comfortable transportation, servants, and delightful pastimes, but at the same time they were guided by a Confucian emphasis on duty, honesty, and appropriate behavior. (From Wu family shrine, Jiaxiang, Shantung. From *Chin-shih-so* [Jinshisuo]. Photographer: Eileen Tweedy)

people of the capital. They inhabited a sprawling warren of alleys, living in dwellings packed "as closely as the teeth of a comb," as one poet put it.

As in the Zhou monarchy (see Chapter 2), the emperor was the "Son of Heaven," and he had the "Mandate of Heaven" to rule. The emperor stood at the center of government and society. As the father held authority in the family and was a link between the living generations and the ancestors, so the emperor was supreme in the state. He brought the support of powerful imperial ancestors and guaranteed the harmonious interaction of heaven and earth. If he failed to govern well, Heaven's mandate could be withdrawn.

Like the imperial Roman government, the Han government depended on local officials to carry out the day-to-day business of administering the empire. Local people were responsible for collecting taxes and dispatching revenues to the central government, for regulating the system of conscription for the army and for labor projects, for protection of the realm, and for settling disputes. The central government was a remote entity that rarely impinged on the lives of most citizens; their only experience of government was their contact with local officials.

A significant development during the Han period was the rise of a class that scholars refer to as the "gentry." As part of their strategy to weaken the rural aristocrats and to exclude them from political posts, the Qin and Han emperors allied themselves with the class next in wealth below the aristocrats. The members of this class were moderately prosperous landowners and professionals. Like the Roman equites favored by Augustus and his successors, the gentry class was the source of the local officials that the central government required. These officials, a privileged and respected group within Chinese society, made the government more efficient and responsive than it had been in the past.

The Han period saw a revival of the code of ethics and conduct that Confucius had advanced in the fifth century B.C.E. The new gentry adopted a revised version of Confucianism, which provided a system of education for training generations of officials and embodied a code of conduct. An imperial university, located outside Chang'an and said to have as many as thirty thousand students, and provincial centers of learning were established. From these centers, students were chosen to enter various levels of government service.

In the Han period Daoism took root. Based on the teachings of Lao Zi (his life dates are unknown) and Zhuang Zi (369–286 B.C.E.), it soon attached to itself a mixture of popular beliefs, magic, and mysticism. Daoism was popular with the common people. Its religious and philosophical world-view in many respects was at odds with the Confucianism of the elite and provides a glimpse of the tensions within Chinese society.

Daoism emphasized the search for the *dao*, or "path," of nature and the value of harmonizing with the cycles and patterns of the natural world. Daoists believed that the successful conclusion of the search was to be achieved not by education but by solitary contemplation, physical and mental discipline, and striving to reach that instant in which one suddenly, intuitively, grasps the nature of things. Daoism was skeptical, calling into question age-old beliefs and values and rejecting the hierarchy, rules, and rituals of Confucianism. It urged passive acceptance of the disorder of the world, denial of ambition, contentment with simple pleasures, and following one's instincts about what was right.

Technology and Trade

China was the home of many important inventions, and what the Chinese did not invent, they improved.

The advent of bronze tools around 1500 B.C.E. had given a powerful push to the effort to clear the forests of the North China Plain and open up more land for agriculture. Almost a thousand years later, iron arrived, and the Qin were among the first to take full advantage of the new iron technology. In later centuries, the crossbow and use of cavalry helped the Chinese military to beat off the attacks of nomads from the steppe regions. The watermill, which harnessed the power of running water to turn a grinding stone, was in use in China long before it appeared in Europe. The development of a horse collar that did not constrict the animal's breathing allowed horses in China to pull loads much heavier than the loads pulled by horses in Europe at the same time.

The Han rulers continued to build roads that connected an expanding network of urban centers. Local market centers developed as population grew and trading increased. Estimates of the population living in towns and cities range from 10 to 30 percent.

China's most important long-distance export commodity was silk. Silk cocoons are secreted onto the leaves of mulberry trees by silkworms. For a long time this simple fact was a closely guarded secret that gave the Chinese a monopoly on the manufacture of silk. Carried on a perilous journey westward through the Central Asian oases to the Middle East, India, and the Mediterranean, and passing through the hands of many middlemen, each of whom raised the price, this beautiful textile may have increased in value a hundredfold by the time it reached its destination.

Decline of the Han Empire

In general, the Han Empire was able to consolidate its hold over lands occupied by sedentary farming peoples, but nearby were nomadic tribes whose livelihood depended on their horses and herds. The very different ways of life of farmers and herders gave rise to suspicions and insulting stereotypes on both sides. The settled Chinese tended to think of nomads as "barbarians"—rough, uncivilized peoples—much as the inhabitants of the Roman Empire looked down on the

German tribes living beyond their frontier. The major external threat to Chinese civilization in this period came from the Xiongnu, a great confederacy of Turkic peoples. For centuries Chinese policy had succeeded in containing the Xiongnu. One successful strategy was a tributary system in which nomad rulers accepted Chinese supremacy and sent in payments of tribute for which they were rewarded with marriages to Chinese princesses, dazzling receptions at court, and gifts from the Han emperor that exceeded the value of the tribute. Then, in the first century C.E., the Chinese defeated the Xiongnu and pushed them west. Several centuries later the Xiongnu, or "Huns," as the Romans called them, arrived on the northern frontier of the Roman Empire and helped to bring about its downfall.

In the end, the cost of continuous military vigilance along the frontier imposed a crushing burden on Han finances and worsened the economic troubles of later Han times. And, despite the earnest efforts of Qin and Early Han emperors to reduce their power and wealth, by the end of the first century B.C.E. nobles and successful merchants again were beginning to acquire control of huge tracts of land, and many peasants were seeking protection against the exactions of the imperial government. Strongmen independent of state control emerged, and the central government was deprived of tax revenues and manpower. The system of military conscription broke down, forcing the government to hire more and more foreign soldiers and officers, whose loyalty to the Han state was weak.

Several factors combined to weaken and eventually bring down the Han dynasty in 220 C.E.: factional intrigues within the ruling Han clan, official corruption and inefficiency, uprisings of desperate and hungry peasants, the spread of banditry, unsuccessful reform movements, attacks by nomadic groups on the northwest frontier, and the ambitions of rural warlords. After 220, China entered a period of political fragmentation and economic and cultural regression that lasted until the rise of the Sui and Tang dynasties in the late sixth and early seventh centuries C.E., a story that we take up in Chapter 9.

CONCLUSION

The parallels between the Roman Empire and the Han Empire are quite striking. Both employed similar means to control vast territories and large populations over a long period of time. In both, subject peoples adopted the language and culture of the rulers. A marked rise in prosperity and in the general standard of living, the growth of cities, increased long-distance trade, more widespread education and literacy, and significant technological developments occurred against a backdrop of peace and stability. Even in the manner of their demise the similarities are strong.

However, there also are significant differences between Rome and Han China. First, these cultures had different attitudes toward the importance of the individual and the obligations of individuals to the state. In China respect for authority was deep-seated, the individual was deeply embedded in the larger social group, and the emperor's word was considered law. The Roman family had its own hierarchy and traditions of obedience, but the cult of ancestors was not as strong among the Romans as it was among the Chinese, and the family did not serve as the model for the organization of Roman society and the Roman state.

Second, in ancient China opportunities for individuals to improve their economic status were more limited than in the Roman Empire. The merchant class in China was frequently disparaged and constrained by the imperial government. The more important role played by commerce in the Roman Empire, and the resulting economic mobility, heightened Roman awareness of the uniqueness and prerogatives of individuals. To a much greater extent than the Chinese emperor, the Roman emperor had to resort to persuasion, threats, and promises in order to forge a consensus for his initiatives.

Third, although Roman emperors tried to create an ideology to bolster their position, they were hampered by Republican traditions and ambiguities, deliberately cultivated by Augustus, about the position of emperor. As a result, Roman rulers were likely to be chosen by either the army or the Senate, the dynastic principle never took deep root, and the cult of the emperor had little spiritual content. Thus, in the West in later ages, there was no compelling basis for reviving the position of emperor and the territorial claims of empire. This stands in sharp contrast to the ironclad Chinese ideology of the Mandate of Heaven, the belief in the emperor as the Son of Heaven, and the imperial monopoly of access to the beneficent power of the royal ancestors.

Finally, Christianity undermined the Roman emperor's claim to divinity and was unwilling to compromise with pagan beliefs. The triumphant spread of Christianity through the provinces of the late Roman Empire, and the decline of the western half of the empire in the fifth century C.E. (see Chapter 7), constituted an irreversible break with the past. However, Buddhism, which came to China in the early centuries C.E. and flourished in the post-Han era (see Chapter 9), was easily reconciled with traditional Chinese values and beliefs. In the next chapter we turn to the homeland of Buddhism and Hinduism in South Asia and trace the development of Indian civilization.

SUGGESTED READING

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NOTE

1. Patricia Buckley Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization and Society: A Sourcebook* (New York: Free Press, 1981), 33–34.

CHAPTER SIX

India and Southeast Asia, 1500 B.C.E.–1100 C.E.

Foundations of Indian Civilization • Imperial Expansion and Collapse

Southeast Asia

In the Bhagavad-Gita, the most renowned of all Indian sacred texts, Arjuna, the greatest warrior of Indian legend, rides out in his chariot between two armies preparing for battle. Torn between his social duty to fight for his family's claim to the throne and his conscience, which balks at the prospect of killing the relatives, friends, and former teachers who are in the enemy camp, Arjuna slumps down in his chariot and refuses to fight. But the chariot driver, the god Krishna in disguise, persuades him, in a carefully structured dialogue, both of the necessity to fulfill his duty as a warrior and of the proper frame of mind for performing these acts. In the climactic moment of the dialogue Krishna endows Arjuna with a "divine eye" and permits him to see the true appearance of god:

> It was a multiform, wondrous vision,
> with countless mouths and eyes
> and celestial ornaments,
> Everywhere was boundless divinity
> containing all astonishing things,
> wearing divine garlands and garments,
> anointed with divine perfume.
> If the light of a thousand suns
> were to rise in the sky at once,
> it would be like the light
> of that great spirit.
> Arjuna saw all the universe
> in its many ways and parts,
> standing as one in the body
> of the god of gods.[1]

In all of world literature, this is one of the most compelling attempts to depict the nature of deity. Graphic images emphasize the enormity, diversity, and multiplicity of the god, but in the end we learn that Krishna is the organizing principle behind all creation, that behind diversity and multiplicity lies a higher unity.

This is an apt metaphor for Indian civilization. If there is one word that might be used to characterize India in both ancient and modern times, it is *diversity*. The enormous variety of the Indian landscape is mirrored in the patchwork of ethnic and linguistic groups that occupy it, the political fragmentation that has marked most of Indian history, the elaborate hierarchy of social groups into which the Indian population is divided, and the thousands of deities who are worshiped at the innumerable holy places that dot the subcontinent. Yet, in the end, one can speak of an Indian civilization that is united by a set of shared views and values.

In this chapter we survey the history of South and Southeast Asia from approximately 1500 B.C.E. to 1100 C.E., focusing on the evolution of defining features of Indian civilization: economic activities, technologies, social divisions, and a religious tradition whose distinctive conceptions of space, time, gods, and the life cycle have shaped virtually every aspect of South Asian culture. Considerable attention is given to Indian religious conceptions. This is due, in part, to religion's profound role in shaping Indian society. It is also a consequence of the sources of information available to historians. Indian civilization held a conception of vast expanses of time during which creatures are repeatedly reincarnated and live many lives. This belief may account for why ancient Indians did not develop a historical consciousness like that of their Israelite and Greek contemporaries but instead took little interest in recording specific historical events: such events seemed relatively insignificant when set against the long cycles of time and lives.

Despite the limited evidence, the political history of early India is also our subject. In the face of powerful forces that tended to keep India politically fragmented, two great empires emerged: the Mauryan Empire, which lasted from the fourth to the second century B.C.E., and the Gupta Empire, from the fourth to the sixth century C.E. The chapter concludes by looking at how a number of states in Southeast Asia became wealthy and powerful by exploiting their advantageous position on the international trade routes between India and China and by adapting Indian ideas and technologies to their own needs.

FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION

India is often called a *subcontinent* because it is a large—roughly 2,000 miles (3,200 kilometers) in both length and breadth—and physically isolated landmass within the continent of Asia. It is set off from the rest of Asia by the Himalayas, the highest mountains on the planet, to the north, and by the Indian Ocean on its eastern, southern, and western sides (see Map 6.1). The most permeable frontier, and the one used by a long series of invaders and migrating peoples, lies to the northwest. But people using even this corridor must cross over the mountain barrier of the Hindu Kush and the Thar Desert east of the Indus River.

The Indian Subcontinent

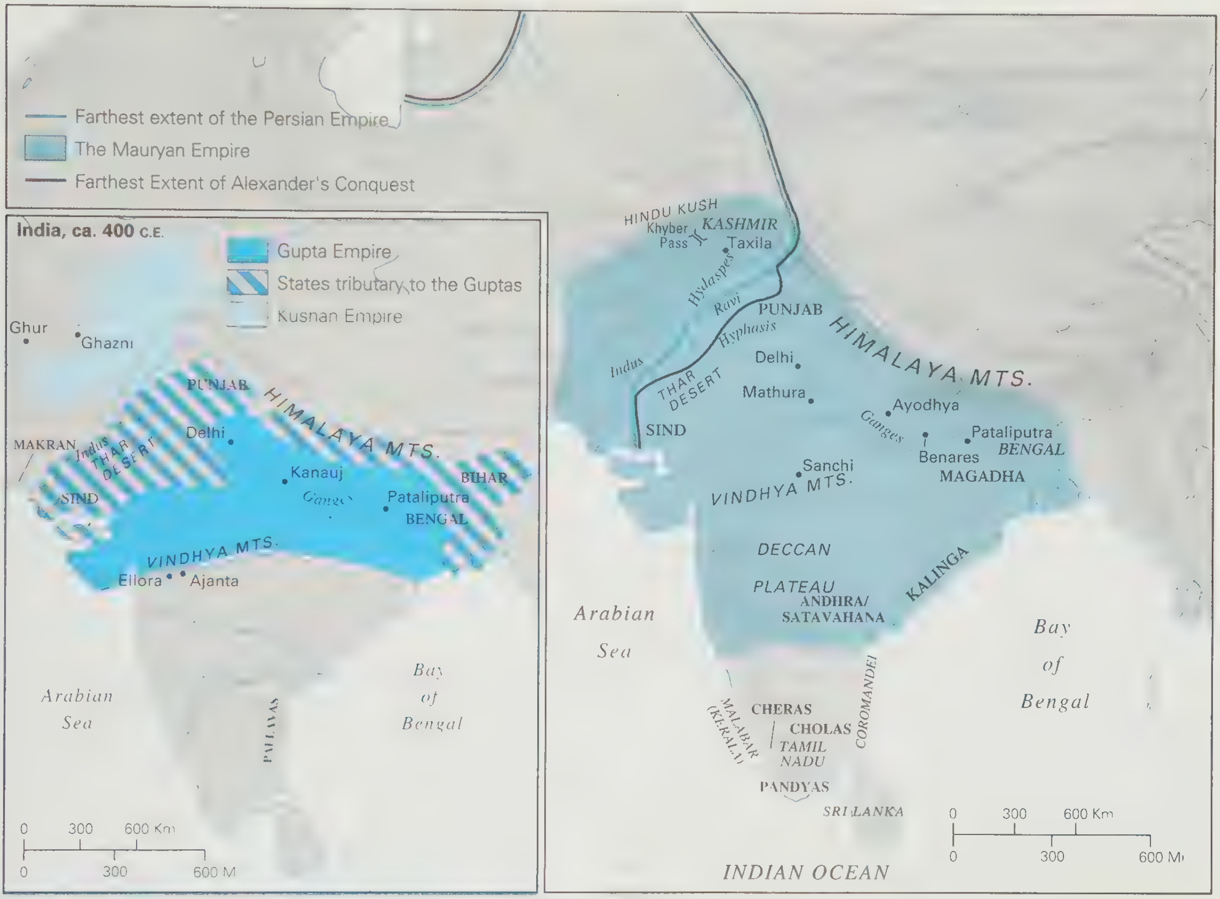
This region—which encompasses the modern nations of Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, India, and the adjacent island of Sri Lanka—can be divided into three distinct topographical zones. The mountainous northern zone takes in the heavily forested foothills and high meadows on the edge of the Hindu Kush and Himalaya ranges. Next come the great basins of the Indus and Ganges Rivers. Originating in the ice of the Tibetan mountains to the north, through the millennia these rivers have repeatedly overflowed their banks and deposited layer on layer of silt, creating large alluvial plains. Northern India is divided from the third zone, the peninsula proper, by the Vindhya range and the Deccan, an arid, rocky plateau that brings to mind parts of the American West. The tropical coastal strip of Kerala (Malabar) in the west, the Coromandel Coast in the east with its web of rivers descending from the central plateau, the flatlands of Tamil Nadu on the southern tip of the peninsula, and the island of Sri Lanka often have followed paths of political and cultural development separate from those of northern India.

The rim of mountains looming above India's northern frontier shelters the subcontinent from cold Arctic winds and gives it a subtropical climate. The most dramatic source of moisture is the monsoon (seasonal wind). The southwest monsoon begins in June. It carries huge amounts of moisture picked up from the Indian Ocean and drops it over a swath of India that encompasses the rain-forest belt on the western coast and the Ganges Basin. Three harvests a year are possible in some places. Rice is grown in the moist, flat Ganges Delta (the modern region of Bengal). Elsewhere the staple crops are wheat, barley, and millet. The Indus Valley, by contrast, gets little precipitation (see Chapter 1). In this arid region the successful practice of agriculture depends on irrigation.

Although invasions and migrations usually came by land through the northwest corridor, the ocean surrounding the peninsula has not been a barrier to travel and trade. Indian Ocean mariners learned to ride the monsoon winds across open waters from northeast to southwest in January and to reverse course in July. Ships made their way west across the Arabian Sea to the Persian Gulf, the southern coast of Arabia, and East Africa, and east across the Bay of Bengal to Indochina and Indonesia (see Chapter 8).

The Vedic Age, 1500–500 B.C.E.

Historians call the period from 1500 to 500 B.C.E. the "Vedic Age," after the Vedas, religious texts



Map 6.1 Ancient India The Indian subcontinent is largely cut off from the rest of Asia by mountains and sea. The diversity of the Indian landscape, the multiplicity of ethnic groups, and the primary identification of people with their class and caste lie behind the division into many small states that characterizes much of Indian political history.

that are our main source of information about the period. The foundations for Indian civilization were laid in the Vedic Age. Most historians believe that new groups of people—nomadic warriors speaking Indo-European languages—migrated into northwest India around 1500 B.C.E.

In the arid northwest, large-scale agriculture depends on irrigation. After the collapse of the Indus Valley civilization of the third and early second millennia B.C.E. (see Chapter 1), there was no central authority to direct these efforts, and the region became home to kinship groups that depended on their herds of cattle for sustenance and perhaps also on some gardening to supplement their diet. These societies, like those of other Indo-European peoples—Celts, Greeks, Iranians, Romans—were patriarchal. Members of the warrior class boasted of their martial skill and courage, relished combat, celebrated with lavish feasts of beef and rounds of heavy drinking, and filled their leisure time with chariot racing and gambling.

After 1000 B.C.E. some of these groups began to push east into the Ganges Plain. New technologies made this advance possible. Iron tools allowed settlers to fell trees and to work the newly cleared land with plows pulled by oxen. The soil of the Ganges Plain was fertile, well watered by the annual monsoon, and able to sustain two or three crops a year. As in Greece at roughly the same time (see Chapter 4), in India the use of iron tools to open up new land for agriculture must have led to a significant increase in population.

Stories about this era, not written down until much later but long preserved by memorization and oral recitation, speak of bitter rivalry and warfare between two groups of people: the Aryas, relatively light-skinned speakers of Indo-European languages, and the Dasas, dark-skinned speakers of Dravidian languages. A sign of the ultimate success of the Aryas in the north is the languages spoken in northern India today: they are primarily members of the Indo-European language family. Dravidian speech prevails in the south.

Skin color has been a persistent concern of Indian society and is one of the bases for its historically sharp internal divisions. Over time there evolved a system of *varna*—literally "color," though the word came to indicate something akin to "class." Individuals were born into one of four classes: *Brahmin*, the group comprising priests and scholars; *Kshatriya*, warriors and officials; *Vaishya*, merchants, artisans, and landowners; or *Shudra*, peasants and laborers. The designation *Shudra* originally may have been reserved for Dasas, who were given the menial jobs in society. Indeed, the very term *dasa* came to mean "slave." Eventually a fifth group was marked off: the Untouchables. They were excluded from the class system, and members of the other groups literally avoided them because of the demeaning or polluting work to which they were relegated—such as leather tanning, which involved touching dead animals, and sweeping away ashes after cremations.

Within the broad class divisions, the population was further subdivided into numerous *jati*, or birth groups (sometimes called *castes* from a Portuguese term meaning "breed"). Each jati had its proper occupation, duties, and rituals. Members of higher-status groups feared pollution from contact with lower-caste individuals and had to undergo elaborate rituals of purification to remove any taint.

The class and caste systems came to be connected to a widespread belief in reincarnation. The Brahmin priests taught that every living creature had an immortal essence: the *atman*, or "breath." Separated from the body at death, at a later time the atman was reborn in another body. Whether the new body was that of an insect, an animal, or a human depended on the *karma*, or deeds, of the atman in its previous incarnations. People who misbehaved would be punished in the next life by being relegated to a lower class or even a lower life form. The underlying message was: You are where you deserve to be, and the only way to improve your lot in the next cycle of existence is to accept your station and its attendant duties.

Sacrifice was the essential ritual. People believed that the dedication to a god of a valued possession, often a living creature, created a relationship between themselves and the gods. The purpose of these offerings was to invigorate the gods and thereby sustain their creative powers and promote stability in the world. The person making the sacrifice also hoped that the deity would respond favorably to his or her request.

Brahmin priests controlled the technology of sacrifice, for only they knew the rituals and prayers. The Rig Veda, a collection of more than a thousand poetic hymns to various deities, and the Brahmanas, detailed prose descriptions of procedures for ritual and sacrifice, were collections of priestly lore handed down orally from one generation of priests to the next. Some scholars have hypothesized that the Brahmins opposed the introduction of writing. Such opposition would explain why this technology did not come into widespread use in India until the Gupta period (320–550 C.E.), long after it had begun to play a conspicuous role in other societies of equivalent complexity. The priests' "knowledge" (the term *veda* means just that) gave them social and political power because they were the indispensable intermediaries between gods and humans.

Limited evidence indicates that in the Vedic period women studied sacred lore, composed religious hymns, and participated in the sacrificial ritual. They had the opportunity to own property and usually were not married until they reached their middle or late teens. A number of strong and resourceful women appear in the epic poem *Mahabharata*. One of them, the beautiful and educated Draupadi, married by her own choice the five royal Pandava brothers. This accomplishment probably should not be taken as evidence for the regular practice of *polyandry* (having more than one husband). In India, as in Greece, legendary figures could play by their own rules.

The rigid internal divisions of Indian society, the complex hierarchy of groups, and the claims of some to superior virtue and purity served important social functions in Indian culture. They provided each individual with a clear identity and role and offered the benefits of group solidarity and support. There is evidence that the elaborate system of divisions was not static and that groups sometimes were able to upgrade their status. Many of these features persisted into modern times.

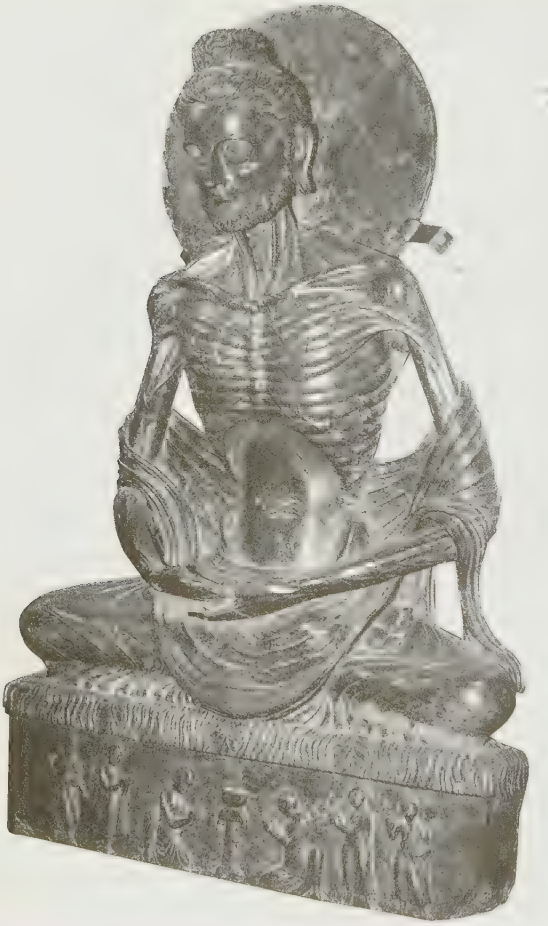
Challenges to the Old Order: Jainism and Buddhism

After 700 B.C.E. various forms of reaction against Brahmin power and privilege emerged. Certain individuals abandoned their town or village and moved to the forest, sometimes attracting bands of followers. Questioning the priests' exclusive claims to wisdom and the necessity of Vedic chants and sacrifices, these individuals offered physical and mental discipline (*yoga*), special dietary practices, and meditation as an alternate path to salvation. They taught that by distancing oneself from desire for the things of this world, one could achieve *moksha*, or "liberation"—union with the divine force that animates the universe. This release from the cycle of reincarnations sometimes was likened to "a deep, dreamless sleep." The Upanishads—a collection of over one hundred mystical dialogues between teachers and disciples—reflect this questioning of the foundations of Vedic religion.

The most serious threat to Vedic religion and to the prerogatives of the Brahmin priestly class came from two new sects that emerged around this time: Jainism and Buddhism. The belief system known as *Jainism* emphasized the holiness of the life force that animates all living creatures. Jainists wore masks to prevent themselves from accidentally inhaling small insects, and before sitting down, they carefully brushed off the surface of the seat. Those who gave themselves over completely to Jainism practiced extreme asceticism and nudity, ate only what others gave them, and eventually starved themselves to death. Less zealous Jainists, restricted from agricultural work by the injunction against killing, tended to be city dwellers engaged in commerce and banking.

Of far greater significance for Indian and world history was the rise of Buddhism. Siddhartha Gautama (563–483 B.C.E.), known as the *Buddha*, "the Enlightened One," as a young man enjoyed the Kshatriya lifestyle to which he had been born but at some point experienced a change of heart and gave up family and privilege to become a wandering ascetic. After six years of self-deprivation, he came to regard asceticism as being no more likely to produce spiritual insight than the luxury of his previous life had been, and he decided to adhere to a "Middle Path" of moderation. Sitting under a tree in a deer park near Benares on the Ganges River, he had a revelation of "Four Noble Truths": (1) life is suffering; (2) suffering arises from desire; (3) the solution to suffering lies in curbing desire; and (4) desire can be curbed if a person follows the "Eightfold Path" of right views, aspirations, speech, conduct, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, and meditation. Rising up, the Buddha preached his First Sermon, a central text of Buddhism, and set into motion the "Wheel of the Law." He soon attracted followers who took vows of celibacy, nonviolence, and poverty.

In its original form Buddhism centered on the individual. Although it did not quite reject the existence of gods, it denied their usefulness to a person seeking enlightenment. What mattered



Sculpture of the Buddha, second or third century C.E. This depiction of the Buddha, showing the effects of a protracted fast, is from Gandhara in the northwest. It displays the influence of Greek artistic styles emanating from Greek settlements established in that region by Alexander the Great in the late fourth century B.C.E. (Robert Fisher)

was living one's life in a manner that minimized desire and suffering and emphasized the search for spiritual truth. The ultimate reward was *nirvana*, literally "snuffing out the flame"—an eternal state of nonexistence. With nirvana came release from the cycle of reincarnations and achievement of a state of eternal tranquillity. The Vedic tradition emphasized the survival beyond death of the atman, the "breath" or nonmaterial essence of the individual. In contrast, Buddhism regarded the individual as a composite without any soul-like component that survived death.

When the Buddha died, he left no rules or instructions, instead urging his disciples to "be their own lamp." As the Buddha's message spread throughout India and beyond into Central, Southeast, and East Asia, its very success began to subvert the individualistic and essentially atheistic tenets of the founder. Buddhist monasteries were established, and a hierarchy of Buddhist monks and nuns came into being. Believers began to worship the Buddha himself as a god. Buddhists also revered *bodhisattvas*, enlightened men and women who had earned nirvana but chose to be reborn into mortal bodies to help others along the path to salvation.

Early artists had refused to show the Buddha as a living person and represented him only indirectly, through symbols such as his footprints, begging bowl, or the tree under which he achieved enlightenment, as if to emphasize his achievement of a state of nonexistence. From the second century C.E., however, statues of the Buddha and bodhisattvas began to proliferate. A deep schism emerged within Buddhism. Devotees of Mahayana, or "Great Vehicle," Buddhism embraced the popular new features. In contrast, practitioners of Theravada Buddhism, "The Way of the Elders" (also called Hinayana, or "Lesser Vehicle"), followed most of the original teachings of the founder.

Rise of Hinduism

Challenged by new, spiritually satisfying, and egalitarian movements, Vedic religion made important adjustments, evolving into Hinduism, the religion of hundreds of millions of people in South Asia today. (The term *Hinduism*, however, was imposed from outside. Islamic invaders who reached India in the eleventh century C.E. labeled the diverse range of practices they saw there as *Hinduism:* "what the Indians do.")

The foundation of Hinduism is the Vedic religion of the Aryan tribes of northern India. But

Stone relief of women adoring the Buddha, from the Great Stupa at Amaravati (central India), second century C.E. Many stories circulated about the life of the Buddha and his many previous lives. Such stories were represented in the rich carvings that decorated the gates and walls of *stupas*, mounds containing relics of the founder, which became major pilgrimage sites. (Robert Fisher)

Hinduism also incorporated elements drawn from the Dravidian cultures of the south, such as an emphasis on intense devotion to the deity and the prominence of fertility rituals and symbolism, as well as elements of Buddhism.

The Dravidian and Aryan gods were altered both in identity and in their relationships with humanity. Two formerly minor deities, Vishnu and Shiva, assumed a preeminent position in the Hindu pantheon. Hinduism emphasized the worshiper's personal devotion (*bhakti*) to a particular deity, usually Vishnu, Shiva, or Devi ("the Goddess"). The multiplicity of gods (330 million according to one tradition), sects, and local practices within Hinduism is dazzling, reflecting the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity of India. Yet a worshiper's devotion to one god or goddess does not entail denial of the other main deities or the host of lesser divinities and spirits. Ultimately, all are seen as manifestations of a single divine force that pervades the universe.

The activity of worship centers on temples, which range from village shrines to richly decorated stone edifices built under royal patronage. Beautifully proportioned statues beckon the deity to take up temporary residence within the image, where he or she can be reached and beseeched by eager worshipers. A common form of worship is *puja*, service to the deity, which can take the form of bathing, clothing, or feeding the statue. Potent blessings are conferred on the man or woman to whom *darsan*, a glimpse of the divine image, is given.

Pilgrimage to famous shrines and attendance at festivals offer worshipers opportunities to show devotion. The entire Indian subcontinent is dotted with sacred places where a worshiper can directly perceive and benefit from the inherent power of divinity. Hindus consider the Ganges River to be especially sacred, and each year millions of devoted worshipers travel to its banks to bathe and receive the restorative and purifying power of its waters. The habit of pilgrimage to the major shrines helped to create a broad Hindu identity and the concept of India as a single civilization, despite enduring political fragmentation.

The successful transformation of a religion based on Vedic antecedents and the ultimate victory of Hinduism over Buddhism—Buddhism was driven from the land of its birth, though it maintains deep roots in Central, East, and Southeast Asia (see Chapters 8 and 9)—is remarkable. Hinduism responded to the needs of people for personal deities with whom they could establish direct connections. The austerity of Buddhism in its most authentic form, its denial of the importance of gods, and its expectation that individuals find their own path to enlightenment may have demanded too much of ordinary individuals.

Stone relief depicting Vishnu asleep and dreaming on the ocean floor, from a Vishnu temple at Deogarh (central India), fifth century C.E. Vishnu lies on the coiled body of the giant, multiheaded serpent that he subdued. The beneficent god of preservation, Vishnu appears in a new *avatara* (incarnation) whenever demonic forces threaten the world. The Indian view of the vastness of time is embodied in this mythic image, which conceives of Vishnu as creating and destroying universes as he exhales and inhales. (John C. Huntington)

IMPERIAL EXPANSION AND COLLAPSE

Political unity in India, on those rare occasions when it has been achieved, has not lasted long. A number of factors have contributed to India's habitual political fragmentation. The landscape—mountains, foothills, plains, forests, steppes, deserts—is extremely varied. Different terrains called forth different forms of organization and economic activity, and peoples occupying topographically diverse zones differed from one another in language and cultural practices. Perhaps the most significant barrier to political unity lay in the complex social hierarchy. Individuals identified themselves primarily in terms of their class and caste (birth group); allegiance to a higher political authority was of secondary concern.

Despite these divisive factors, two empires arose in the Ganges Plain: the Mauryan Empire of the fourth to second centuries B.C.E. and the

Gupta Empire of the fourth to sixth centuries C.E. Each extended political control over a substantial portion of the subcontinent and expedited the formation of a common Indian civilization.

The Mauryan Empire, 324–184 B.C.E.

Around 600 B.C.E. separate tribal groups and independent states dotted the landscape of north India. The kingdom of Magadha, in eastern India south of the Ganges (see Map 6.1), began to play an increasingly influential role, however, thanks to wealth based on agriculture, iron mines, and its strategic location astride the trade routes of the eastern Ganges Basin. In the late fourth century B.C.E. Chandragupta Maurya, a young man who may have belonged to the Vaishya or Shudra class, gained control of the kingdom of Magadha and expanded it into India's first centralized empire.

The collapse of Greek rule in the Punjab after the death of Alexander the Great (see Chapter 4) created a power vacuum in the northwest. Chandragupta (r. 324–301 B.C.E.) and his successors extended Mauryan control over the entire subcontinent except for the southern tip. Not until the height of the Mughal Empire of the seventeenth century C.E. would so much of India again be under the control of a single government.

The Mauryan kings and government were supported by a tax equivalent to one-fourth of the value of the agricultural crop. Administrative districts were governed by close relatives and associates of the king. A large national army and royal control of mines, shipbuilding, and the manufacture of armaments further secured the power of the central government. Standard coinage fostered support for the government and military apparatus and promoted trade.

The Mauryan capital was at Pataliputra (modern Patna), where five tributaries join the Ganges. Surrounded by a timber wall and moat, the city extended along the river for 8 miles (13 kilometers). It was governed by six committees with responsibility for features of urban life such as manufacturing, trade, sales, taxes, the welfare of foreigners, and the registration of births and deaths.

Ashoka, Chandragupta's grandson (r. 269–232 B.C.E.), is a towering figure in Indian history. At the beginning of his reign he engaged in military campaigns that extended the boundaries of the empire. During his conquest of Kalinga (modern Orissa, a coastal region southeast of Magadha), hundreds of thousands of people were killed, wounded, or deported. The brutality of this victory overwhelmed the young monarch. He became a convert to Buddhism and an exponent of nonviolence, morality, moderation, and religious tolerance both in government and in private life. Ashoka, however, was not naive. Despite his commitment to employ peaceful means where possible, he hastened to remind potential transgressors that "the king, remorseful as he is, has the strength to punish the wrongdoers who do not repent."[2]

Commerce and Culture in an Era of Political Fragmentation

The Mauryan Empire prospered for a time after Ashoka's death in 232 B.C.E. Then, weakened by dynastic disputes, it collapsed from the pressure of attacks in the northwest in 184 B.C.E. Five hundred years passed before another indigenous state was able to extend its control over northern India.

In the meantime, a series of foreign powers dominated the Indus Valley and extended their influence east and south. The first was the Greco-Bactrian kingdom (180–50 B.C.E.), descended from troops and settlers that Alexander the Great had left behind in Afghanistan (see Map 4.2). Domination by two nomadic peoples from Central Asia followed. The eastern Ganges region reverted to a patchwork of small principalities as it had been before the Mauryan era.

This period of political fragmentation in the north also saw the rise of important states in central and southern India, particularly the Andhra, or Satavahana, dynasty in the Deccan (from the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E.) and the three southern Tamil kingdoms of Cholas, Pandyas, and Cheras (see Map 6.1). Although military conflicts occurred frequently among these societies, this was a period of great literary and artistic productivity (see Voices and Visions: Tamil Culture).

Indeed, despite the political fragmentation of India in the five centuries after the collapse of the Mauryan Empire, there were many signs of economic, cultural, and intellectual development. The network of roads and towns that had sprung up under the Mauryans fostered lively commerce within the subcontinent, and India was at the heart of international land and sea trade routes linking China, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, the Middle East, East Africa, and the lands of the Mediterranean. In the absence of a strong central authority, guilds (*shreni*) of merchants and artisans in the Indian towns became politically powerful, regulating the lives of their members and having an important say in local affairs.

Stone pillar inscribed with edicts of King Ashoka, ca. 240 B.C.E. The most powerful and charismatic of the Mauryan kings, Ashoka, became a convert to Buddhism early in his reign. He urged nonviolence, moderation, justice, and religious tolerance on his officials and subjects and broadcast his pronouncements in inscriptions on stone pillars and great rocks around his realm. Many are preserved and constitute the first extant examples of writing in India. (Borromeo/Art Resource, NY)

During the last centuries B.C.E. and first centuries C.E. the two greatest Indian epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, based on oral predecessors dating back many centuries, achieved their final form. The events of both epics are said to have occurred several million years in the past, but the political forms, social organization, and other elements of cultural context—proud kings, beautiful queens, tribal wars, heroic conduct, chivalric values—seem to reflect the conditions of the early Vedic period, when Aryan warrior societies were moving into the Ganges Plain.

This era also saw significant advances in science and technology. Indian doctors had a wide knowledge of herbal remedies and were in demand in the courts of western and southern Asia. Indian scholars made impressive strides in linguistics. Panini (late fourth century B.C.E.) undertook a remarkably detailed analysis of the word forms and grammar of the Sanskrit language. Prakrits—popular dialects—emerged to become the ancestors of the modern Indo-European languages of northern and central India.

The Gupta Empire, 320–550 C.E.

Like its Mauryan predecessor, the Gupta Empire grew out of the kingdom of Magadha on the Ganges Plain and had its capital at Pataliputra. Clear proof that the founder of this empire consciously modeled himself on the Mauryans is the fact that he called himself Chandra Gupta (r. 320–335), borrowing the very name of the Mauryan founder. Over the fifteen-year reign of

VOICES & VISIONS

Tamil Culture

The majority of the population in southern India speak languages that belong to a non-Indo-European family of languages called Dravidian. The Tamil language of the inhabitants of the southern tip of the peninsula (as well as the northern part of the island of Sri Lanka) is one of these. Historical evidence, quite limited for southern India, points to the existence of Tamil kingdoms from as early as the fifth century b.c.e.

The period from the third century b.c.e. to the third century c.e. is regarded as a "classical" period in which Tamil society produced works of literature on a wide range of topics, including grammatical treatises, collections of ethical proverbs, epics, and poems about love, war, wealth, the beauty of nature, and the joys of music, dance, and drama. The following passage, from an anthology called "The Ten Idylls," describes the port of Pukar at the mouth of Cauvery River:

At this great ancient and lovely port of Pukar, which has stood forever like a heaven of rare attainments, the fishermen bathe in the confluence to wash off their sin and bathe again in fresh water to wash off the salt. They dash into the waves, play with the crabs, make images in the sands and play throughout the day with never-abating enthusiasm.

In the well-lit storied mansions with high colonnades, young wives whose husbands have joined them, take off their silks and put on fine clothes of cotton. They enjoy the drinks poured out of the receptacles. . . . On the wide highways leading from the port lined with aloes of white blossoms and long leaves are the officials of the kings who collect the customs revenue of the land. They are famous for their honesty and untiring work. . . . The buildings in the bazaar streets rise up to the clouds with many floors and apartments, tall winding stairs of short steps, long corridors and wide and narrow doorways. . . . In the streets below, god-intoxicated girls sing and dance in honor of Muruga in tune to the call of the flute, the sound of the lute and the beat of the drums. . . . Flags fly over the decorated gates of temples, where gods of great repute are enshrined, before which many bow down. . . . Famous scholars, great authorities in knowledge and learning, have raised awe-inspiring flags as a sign of challenge for debates. Flags are seen on the top masts of ships lying at anchor in the beautiful open harbor of Pukar tossing in their moorings like restless elephants moving to and fro.

What physical features of the ancient Tamil city does the passage mention? What were the different social and occupational groups in Tamil society? What kinds of work did they engage in, and what kinds of recreation were available to them?

In the religious sphere, in contrast to the primarily male orientation of Brahmin-dominated northern India, the Tamil south has had a pronounced female orientation. Worship of fertility goddesses in humble local temples has always been strong. The epic Silipathikaram *tells the story of Kannagi, a heroine who resolutely sets out to prove the innocence of her husband, executed for a crime he did not commit:*

She rose bewildered and fell down on earth
like the moon behind the pouring rain,
and with her eyes blood-shot, she cried and sighed,
'O husband mine, where have you sped'. . .
(She addresses the Sun)
'Thou knowest all in this wide sea-girt earth,
Say if my husband was a thief, O Sun!'
'No thief was he, O dame with jet-black eyes,
This town will be for fire a feast' said he . . .
(Kannagi speaks again)
'Where can I get this solved? This can't be truth.
Even so, unless my anger is appeased
I will not seek to join my husband dear.
The cruel king I will see and demand the right.'
So she said; she rose and stood and paused
Remembering her evil dream, and cried.
She stood and dried her blinding tears and went
And reached the gates of the palace of the king.

Kannagi's quest leads to the death of the unjust king who ordered the execution, the destruction by fire of his capital, and the transformation of Kannagi, who is transported to the skies in a chariot to become the goddess of chastity. What does this story tell us about the importance and influence of women in Tamil society? What qualities are expected of them and admired in them? Why might Tamil society have valued these qualities?

Source: Translations from J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, *Two Thousand Years of Tamil Literature* (Madras, 1959), 150–152, 205–211.

Chandra Gupta and the forty-year reigns of his three successors, Gupta power and influence reached across northern and central India, west to Punjab and east to Bengal, north to Kashmir and south into the Deccan Plateau (see Map 6.1).

This new empire enjoyed the same strategic advantages as its Mauryan predecessor, sitting astride important trade routes, exploiting the agricultural productivity of the Ganges Plain, and controlling nearby iron deposits. Gupta control, however, was never as effectively centralized as Mauryan authority. The Gupta administrative bureaucracy and intelligence network were smaller and less pervasive. A powerful army maintained tight control and taxation in the core of the empire, but outlying areas were left to their governors to organize. The position of governor often was hereditary, passed on to high-ranking members of the civil and military administration. Distant subordinate vassal kingdoms and tribal areas were expected to make annual donations of tribute, and certain key frontier points were garrisoned to keep open the lines of trade and expedite the collection of customs duties.

Historians often point to the Gupta Empire as a good example of a "theater-state." Limited in its ability to enforce its will on outlying areas, it found ways to "persuade" others to follow its lead. One medium of persuasion was the splendor, beauty, and order of life at the capital and royal court. A constant round of rituals, ceremonies, and cultural events were a potent advertisement for the benefits of association with the empire.

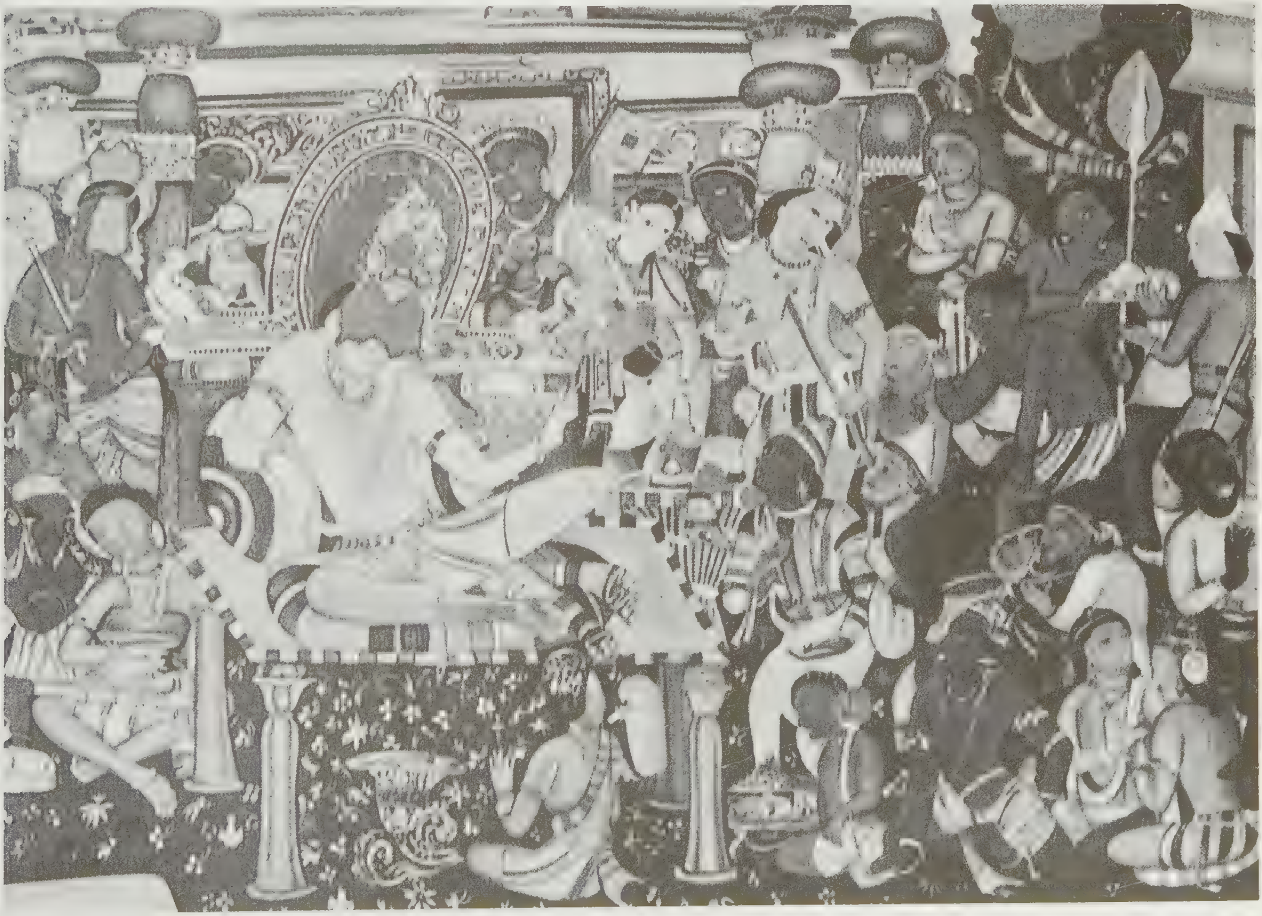
Astronomers, mathematicians, and other scientists received royal support. Indian mathematicians invented the concept of zero and developed the "Arabic" numerals and system of place-value notation that are in use in most parts of the world today. The Gupta kings were also patrons of the arts. The greatest of all ancient Indian dramatists, Kalidasa, was active in the reign of Chandra Gupta II (r. 375–415). Seven of his plays survive, written in the elite Sanskrit and everyday Prakrit of the time.

As the Athenian dramatists of the fifth century B.C.E. had drawn their plots from the legendary tradition preserved in Homer, so Kalidasa refashioned elements drawn from the great Indian epics. In Indian legend a female heroine named Shakuntala resolutely pursued a prince who had forgotten his promise that the child who resulted from their brief love affair in the forest would inherit his throne. In *Shakuntala or the Ring of Recollection*, Kalidasa turned Shakuntala into a docile figure animated more by forlorn love than by confident self-assertion. In this way he validated the prevailing conception of women, emphasizing the importance of female passivity, chastity, and devotion to the husband.

Shakuntala and other evidence seem to indicate that women's situations worsened after the Vedic period. In all likelihood, this development was similar to developments in Mesopotamia from the second millennium B.C.E., in Archaic and Classical Greece, and in China from the first millennium B.C.E. In these civilizations, several factors—urbanization, the formation of increasingly complex political and social structures, and the emergence of a nonagricultural middle class that placed high value on the acquisition and inheritance of property—led to a loss of women's rights and an increase in male control over women's behavior. Over time women in India lost the right to own or inherit property. They were barred from studying sacred texts and participating in the sacrificial ritual and in many respects were treated as equivalent to the lowest class, the Shudra. As in Confucian China, they were expected to obey first their father, then their husband, and finally their sons (see Chapter 5). Girls were married at an increasingly early age, sometimes as young as six or seven. This practice meant that the prospective husband could be sure of his wife's virginity and, by bringing her up in his own household, could train and shape her to suit his purposes. Some women escaped these instruments of male control. One way to do so was by entering a Jainist or Buddhist religious community.

Women who belonged to powerful families and courtesans trained in poetry and music as well as in ways of providing sexual pleasure had high social standing and sometimes gave money for the erection of Buddhist shrines. In the emerging Hindu culture, however, a woman's primary *dharma*, or duty, was to be a mother and wife. The most extreme form of control of women's conduct took place in certain parts of India where a widow was expected to cremate herself on her husband's funeral pyre. This ritual, called *sati*, was seen as a way of keeping a woman "pure." Women who declined to make this ultimate gesture of devotion were forbidden to remarry, shunned socially, and given little opportunity to earn a living.

A vibrant commerce within India and to foreign lands continued into the Gupta period. Coined money served as the medium of ex-



Wall painting from the caves at Ajanta (central India), seventh century C.E. Kings and other wealthy patrons donated lavishly for the construction and decoration of Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain religious shrines, including elaborate complexes of caves. At Ajanta, twenty-nine caves are filled with paintings and relief sculpture illustrating religious and secular scenes. This segment represents a visit of envoys from Persia or Central Asia to the court of an Indian monarch. The ruler, seated at left on his pillow-covered throne, is surrounded by male and female members of court. The envoys, at bottom right, who have non-Indian facial features and wear long coats, are presenting gifts to the king. (Harvard College Library) change, and well-organized artisan guilds played an influential role in the economic, political, and religious life of the towns. Adventurous merchants from the ports of eastern and southern India made the sea voyage to the Malay Peninsula and islands of Indonesia in order to exchange Indian cotton cloth, ivory, metalwork, and exotic animals for Chinese silk or Indonesian spices. The overland silk route from China also continued in operation but was vulnerable to disruption by Central Asian nomads.

The Mauryans had been Buddhists, but the Gupta monarchs were Hindus. They revived ancient Vedic practices to bring an aura of sanctity to their position, and this period also saw a reassertion of the importance of class and caste and the influence of Brahmin priests. Nevertheless, it was an era of religious tolerance. The Gupta kings were patrons for Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain endeavors.

By the later fifth century C.E. the Gupta Empire was coming under pressure from the Xiongnu. These nomadic invaders from the steppes of Central Asia poured into the northwest corridor. Defense of this distant frontier region eventually exhausted the imperial treasury, and the empire collapsed by 550.

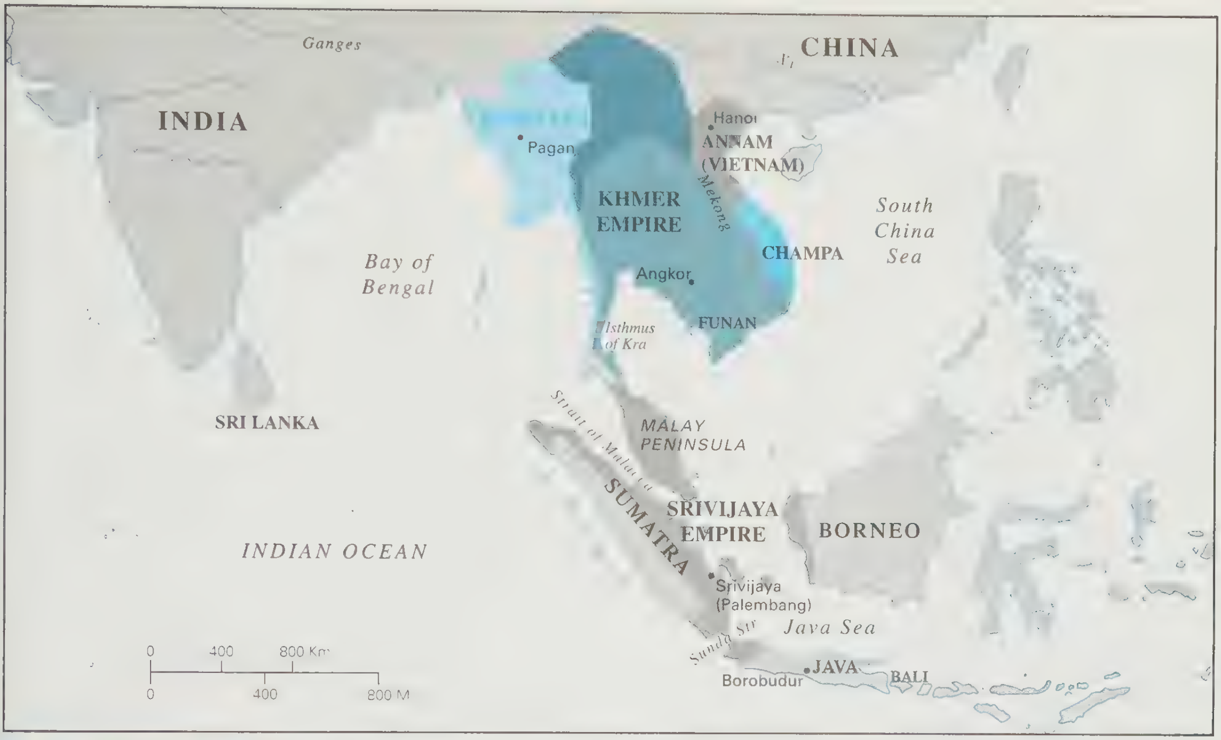
The early seventh century saw a brief but glorious revival of imperial unity. Harsha Vardhana (r. 606–647), ruler of the region around Delhi, extended his power over the northern plain and moved his capital to Kanauj on the Ganges River. We have an account of the life and long reign of this fervent Buddhist, poet, patron of artists, and dynamic warrior, written by the courtier Bana. After Harsha's death, northern India reverted to its customary political fragmentation and remained divided until the Islamic invasions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (see Chapter 12).

During the centuries of Gupta ascendancy and decline in the north, the Deccan Plateau and southern part of the peninsula had a separate existence. This region was more segmented by mountains, rocky plateaus, tropical forests, and sharply cut river courses than the broad northern plains, and there were many small centers of power. Village-based inhabitants of the lowland plains and river basins found themselves in conflict with tribal peoples from the uplands and forest. Later, from the seventh to twelfth centuries, the Pallavas, Cholas, and other warrior dynasties collected tribute and plundered as far as their strength permitted, storing their wealth in urban fortresses. These rulers sought legitimacy and fame as patrons of religion and culture, and much of the distinguished art and architecture of the period was produced in the kingdoms of the south. These kingdoms served as the conduit through which Indian religion and culture reached Southeast Asia.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Southeast Asia consists of three geographical zones: the Indochina mainland, the Malay Peninsula, and thousands of islands extending on an east-west axis far out into the Pacific Ocean (see Map 6.2). Encompassing a vast area of land and water, today this region is occupied by the countries of Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, and the Philippines. Poised between the ancient centers of China and India, Southeast Asia has been influenced by the cultures of both civilizations. The region first rose to prominence and prosperity because of its intermediate role in the trade exchanges between southern and eastern Asia.

Southeast Asia's strategic importance is enhanced by the region's natural resources. This is a geologically active zone; the islands are the tops of a chain of volcanoes. Lying along the equator, Southeast Asia has a tropical climate. The temperature hovers around 80 degrees Fahrenheit (30 degrees Celsius), and the monsoon winds provide dependable rainfall throughout the year. Thanks to several growing cycles each year, the region is capable of supporting a large human population. The most fertile agricultural lands lie along the floodplains of the



Map 6.2 Southeast Asia The position of Southeast Asia between the ancient centers of civilization in India and China had a major impact on its history. A series of powerful and wealthy states arose in the first millennium C.E. by gaining control of major trade routes: first Funan, based in southern Vietnam and the Malay peninsula, then Srivijaya on the island of Sumatra, followed by a number of states on the island of Java. Shifts in the trade routes led to the demise of one state and the rise of another.

largest silt-bearing rivers or contain rich volcanic soil deposited by ancient eruptions.

Early Civilization

Rain forest covers much of Southeast Asia. Rainforest ecosystems are particularly fragile because of the great local variation of plant forms within them and because of the vulnerability of their soil to loss of fertility if the protective forest canopy is removed. As early as 2000 B.C.E. people in this region were practicing *slash-and-burn agriculture*—clearing a patch of land for farming by cutting and burning the vegetation growing on it. The cleared land, known as *swidden*, was farmed for several years, then abandoned and reclaimed by the forest.

By the first millennium B.C.E. the inhabitants of Southeast Asia had developed impressive navigational skills. They knew how to ride the monsoon winds and to interpret the patterns of swells, winds, clouds, and bird and sea life. Groups of Malay peoples in large double outrigger canoes spread out across the Pacific and Indian Oceans—half of the circumference of the earth—to settle thousands of islands.

The inhabitants of Southeast Asia tended to cluster along the banks of rivers or in the fertile volcanic plains. Fields and villages were never far from the rain forest, with its wild animals and numerous plant species. Forest trees provided fruit, wood, and spices. The shallow waters surrounding the islands teemed with fish. This region was also an early center of metallurgy, particularly bronze.

A number of plant and animal species spread from Southeast Asia to other regions. Among them were wet rice (rice cultivated in deliberately flooded fields), soybeans, sugar cane, yams, bananas, coconuts, cocoyams, chickens, and pigs. Rice was the staple food product, for even though rice cultivation is labor-intensive (see Chapter 2), it can support a large population.

The first political units were small, reflecting the number of people who drew water from the same source. Water resource "boards," whose members were representatives from the leading families of the different villages involved, met periodically to allocate and schedule the use of water. Large states emerged in the early centuries C.E., in response to two powerful forces: commerce and Hindu/Buddhist culture.

Southeast Asia was strategically sited along what turned out to be a new trade route that merchants used to carry Chinese silk to India and the Mediterranean when the movements of nomadic peoples disrupted the old land route across Central Asia. In India there was increasing demand for silk—for domestic use and for transshipment to the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea to satisfy the fast-growing luxury market in the Roman Empire. A sea-land-sea route developed between India, the Isthmus of Kra on the Malay peninsula, and the South China Sea (see Map 6.2). Over time merchants broadened this exchange network to encompass not only silk but goods from Southeast Asia, such as aromatic woods, resins, and cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and other spices. Southeast Asian centers rose to prominence by serving this trade network and controlling key points.

Commerce brought Indian merchants and sailors into the ports of Southeast Asia. As Buddhism spread, Southeast Asia became a way station for Indian missionaries and East Asian pilgrims going to and from the birthplace of their faith. Indian cosmology, rituals, art, and statecraft constituted a rich treasury of knowledge and a source of prestige and legitimacy for local rulers who adopted them.

The first major Southeast Asian center, called "Funan" by Chinese visitors, flourished between the first and sixth centuries C.E. By extending its control over most of southern Indochina and the Malay Peninsula, Funan was able to dominate the Isthmus of Kra—a key point on the trade route from India to China. After offloading their goods from ships and carrying them across the narrow strip of land, merchants needed food and lodging while they waited for the monsoon winds to shift so they could make the last leg of the voyage to China by sea. Funan stockpiled food and provided security for those engaged in this trade—in return, most probably, for customs duties and other fees.

The Srivijayan Kingdom

By the sixth century, a new, significantly shorter all-sea route had developed through the Strait of Malacca and into the South China Sea (see Map 6.2). A new center of power, Srivijaya—Sanskrit for "Great Conquest"—dominated the new southerly route by the late seventh century. The Srivijayan kingdom had a good natural harbor on a broad and navigable river and a productive agricultural hinterland and was well situated to control vital passageways for shipping. The Srivijayan capital (modern Palembang), one of several thriving Sumatran river ports, gained ascendancy over its rivals and assumed control of the international trade route by fusing four distinct ecological zones into an interdependent network.

The core area was the productive agricultural plain along the Musi River. The king and his administrative specialists controlled this zone directly. The upland regions of Sumatra's interior, the source of commercially valuable forest products, were less directly controlled. The local rulers of this area were bound to the center in a dependent relationship held together by oaths of loyalty, elaborate court ceremonies, and the sharing of profits from trade. The third zone consisted of the conquered river ports of Srivijaya's main rivals.

The fourth zone was the fertile "rice bowl" on the central plain of the nearby island of Java—a region so productive, because of its volcanic soil, that it houses and feeds the majority of the population of present-day Indonesia. Srivijayan monarchs maintained alliances with several ruling dynasties that controlled this region. These arrangements gave Srivijaya easy access to the large quantities of foodstuffs needed by the people living in the capital and by the merchants and sailors visiting the various ports.

The kings of Srivijaya who constructed and maintained this complex network of social, political, and economic relationships were men of extraordinary energy and skill. Although their authority depended in part on force, it owed much more to diplomatic and even theatrical talents. The Srivijayan king was believed to have great magical powers. He mediated between the spiritually potent realms of the mountains and the sea, and he embodied powerful forces of fertility associated with the rivers in flood. His capital and court were the scene of ceremonies designed to dazzle observers and reinforce the image of wealth, power, and sanctity surrounding the king.

The kings built and patronized Buddhist monasteries and schools. In central Java local dynasties allied with Srivijaya built magnificent temple complexes to advertise their glory. Borobodur, the most famous of these, was the largest human construction in the Southern Hemisphere. The winding ascent through the ten tiers of this mountain of volcanic stone is a Buddhist allegory for the progressive enlightenment of the soul.

In all of this, the cultural influence of India was paramount. Shrewd Malay rulers utilized Indian models of bureaucracy and the Sanskrit system of writing to expedite government business. Their special connection to powerful gods and higher knowledge raised them above their rivals. Southeast Asia's central position on long-distance trade routes and pilgrimage routes guaranteed the presence of foreigners with useful skills to serve as priests, scribes, and administrators. Even more influential was Buddhism because of the flow of Buddhist pilgrims and missionaries between East Asia and India.

The Southeast Asian kingdoms, however, were not passive recipients of Indian culture. They took what was useful to them and synthesized it with indigenous beliefs, values, and institutions—for example, local concepts of chiefship, ancestor worship, and forms of oaths. The whole process amounted to a cultural dialogue between India and Southeast Asia.

The kings of Srivijaya carried out this marvelous balancing act for centuries. However, the system was vulnerable to shifts in the pattern of international trade, which must have contributed to the collapse of Srivijaya in the eleventh century, though the immediate cause was a destructive raid on the capital by forces of the Chola kingdom of southeast India.

After the decline of Srivijaya, the leading role passed to new, vigorous kingdoms on the eastern end of Java, and the maritime realm of Southeast Asia remained prosperous and connected to the international network of trade. Some Europeans were aware of this region as a source of spices. Some four centuries after the decline of Srivijaya, an Italian navigator serving under the flag of Spain—Christopher Columbus—embarked on a westward course across the Atlantic Ocean, seeking to establish a direct route to the fabled "Indies" from which the spices came.

CONCLUSION

This chapter traces the emergence of complex societies in India and Southeast Asia between the second millennium B.C.E. and the first millennium C.E. Because of migrations, trade, and the spread of belief systems, an Indian style of civilization spread throughout the subcontinent and adjoining regions and eventually made its way to the mainland and island chains of Southeast Asia. In this period were laid cultural foundations that in large measure still endure.

The development and spread of Vedism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Hinduism has a central place in this chapter, because nearly all the sources from which scholars can reconstruct the story of antiquity in India and Southeast Asia are religious. A visitor to a museum who examines artifacts from ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Greco-Roman Mediterranean, China, and India will find that a prominent part of the collection consists of objects from religious shrines or with a cultic function. Only the Indian artifacts, however, will be almost exclusively from the religious sphere.

The prolific use of writing came later to India than to other parts of the Eastern Hemisphere, for reasons particular to the Indian situation. Like Indian artifacts, most of the ancient Indian texts are of a religious nature. Ancient Indians did not generate historiographic texts of the kind written elsewhere in the ancient world, primarily because they held a strikingly different view of time. The distinctive Indian view of time—as vast epochs in which universes are created and destroyed again and again and the essential spirit of living creatures is reincarnated repeatedly—made the particulars of any brief moment seem relatively unilluminating.

Political and social division has been the norm throughout much of the history of India and Southeast Asia. It is a consequence of the topographical and environmental diversity of the subcontinent and the complex mix of ethnic and linguistic groups inhabiting it. The elaborate structure of classes and castes was an attempt to organize a diverse population and position individuals within an accepted hierarchy, as well as to regulate group interactions. Strong central governments, such as those of the Mauryan and Gupta kings, gained ascendancy for a time and promoted prosperity and development. However, as in Archaic Greece and Warring States China, the periods of fragmentation and multiple small centers of power seemed as economically and intellectually fertile and dynamic as the periods of unity.

India possessed many of the advanced technologies available elsewhere in the ancient world—agriculture, irrigation, metallurgy, textile manufacture, monumental construction, military technology, writing, and systems of administration. But India made the most profound contribution to mathematics, devising the so-called Arabic numerals and place-value notation.

Many distinctive social and intellectual features of Indian civilization—the class and caste system, models of kingship and statecraft, and Vedic, Jainist, and Buddhist belief systems—originated in the great river valleys of the north, where descendants of Indo-European immigrants came to dominate. Hinduism embraced elements drawn from the Dravidian cultures of the south as well as from Buddhism. The capacity of the Hindu tradition to assimilate a wide range of popular beliefs facilitated the spread of elements of a common Indian civilization across the subcontinent and, as the pace of international commerce quickened in the first millennium C.E., into Southeast Asia. The next chapters describe how the networks of long-distance trade and communication established in the Eastern Hemisphere in antiquity continued to expand and fostered technological and cultural development in the subsequent era.

SUGGESTED READING

A useful starting point for the Indian subcontinent is Karl J. Schmidt, *An Atlas and Survey of South Asian History* (1995), with maps and facing text illustrating geographic, environmental, cultural, and historical features of South Asian civilization. Concise discussions of the history of ancient India can be found in Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India,* 3d ed. (1989).

Ainslie T. Embree, *Sources of Indian Tradition,* vol. 1, 2d ed. (1988), contains translations of primary texts, with the emphasis almost entirely on religion and few materials from southern India. Barbara Stoler Miller, *The Bhagavad-Gita: Krishna's Counsel in Time of War* (1986), is a readable translation with a useful introduction and notes. The filmed version of Peter Brook's stage production of *The Mahabharata* (3 videos—1989) generated much controversy because of its British director and multicultural cast, but it is a painless introduction to the plot and main characters. James Legge, *The Travels of Fa-hien: Fa-hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (1971), and John W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (1877), provide translations of reports of foreign visitors to ancient India.

To explore political institutions and ideas in ancient India, see Charles Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India* (1962), and R. S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India,* 2d ed. (1968). Romila Thapar, *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (1963), is a detailed study of the most interesting and important Maurya king.

For fundamental Indian social and religious conceptions see David R. Kinsley, *Hinduism: A Cultural Perspective* (1982). See also David G. Mandelbaum, *Society in India,* 2 vols. (1970), which provides essential insights into the complex relationship of class and caste. Surinder M. Bhardwaj, *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India: A Study in Cultural Geography* (1973), examines important elements of worship in the Hindu tradition.

Roy C. Craven, *Indian Art* (1976), is a clear, historically organized treatment of its subject. Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* (1971), is lavishly illustrated.

For the uniqueness and decisive historical impact of Indian mathematics, see Georges Ifrah, *From One to Zero: A Universal History of Numbers* (1985).

Jean W. Sedlar, *India and the Greek World: A Study in the Transmission of Culture* (1980), relates the interaction of Greek and Indian civilizations. Lionel Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (1989), explicates a fascinating mariner's guide to the ports, trade goods, and human and navigational hazards of Indian Ocean commerce in the Roman era.

Richard Ulack and Gyula Pauer, *Atlas of Southeast Asia* (1989), provide maps and a very brief introduction to the environment and early history of Southeast Asia. Nicholas Tarling, ed., *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, vol. 1 (1992), and D. R. DeSai, *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*, 3d ed. (1994), provide general accounts of Southeast Asian history. Lynda Shaffer, *Maritime Southeast Asia to 1500* (1996), focuses on early Southeast Asian history in a world historical context. The art of Southeast Asia is taken up by M. C. S. Diskul, *The Art of Srivijaya* (1980).

NOTES

1. Barbara Stoler Miller, *The Bhagavad-Gita: Krishna's Counsel in Time of War* (New York: Bantam Books, 1986), 98–99.

2. B. G. Gokhale, *Asoka Maurya* (New York: Twayne, 1966).

PART THREE

Growth and Interaction of Cultural Communities, 300–1200

Technologies of food production and local religious and political systems long distinguished specific human societies from one another. The great river-valley civilizations differed markedly from one another in irrigation techniques, religion, government, and patterns of daily life—despite environmental similarities. Likewise, the pastoral societies in various re-

Technology

ca. 800 B.C.E.—Iron smelting south of the Sahara
ca. 250 B.C.E.—Silk Road opens from China to Mesopotamia
ca. 100 C.E.—Stirrup spreads from northern Afghanistan
ca. 750—Trans-Saharan trade routes become active
ca. 800—Efficient horse harnessing in northern Europe
800s—Woodblock printing in East Asia, to a lesser extent in Islamic lands
1000s—Song Empire develops compasses, large ships; extensive coal and iron production

Environment

ca. 5000–1000 B.C.E.—Spread of maize, potatoes, and manioc in America
ca. 2500 B.C.E.—Sahara reaches maximum aridity
ca. 100 C.E.—Bananas and yams from Southeast Asia spread to Africa
ca. 200–400—Introduction of rice cultivation into Japan from Korea
ca. 300—Chinese crops in Mesopotamia: rice, sugar, and citrus
ca. 700–1000—Cotton becomes dominant fabric in Islamic lands
ca. 1100–1200—European population growth and agricultural expansion

North America

ca. 70–1500 C.E.—Mississippian culture
ca. 100–400—Hopewell culture
ca. 450–1300—Anasazi culture

Central America

ca. 1200–400 B.C.E.—Olmec culture
ca. 100–750 C.E.—Teotihuacán
ca. 350–800—Classic Maya civilization
ca. 1200–1421—Aztec state

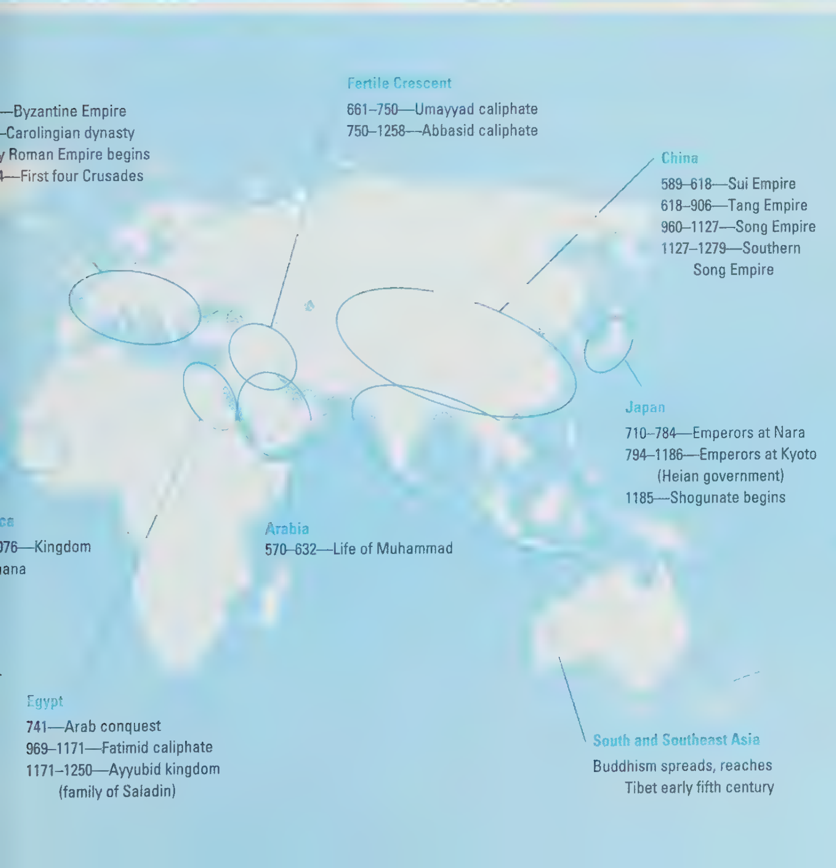
Andes

ca. 900–325 B.C.E.—Chavín culture
ca. 200–700 C.E.—Mochica state
ca. 250–1000—Tiahuanaco
ca. 1300–1432—Incan state

gions differed from each other—in types of animals herded, use of animal products, social organization, and relations with settled peoples. Around the world, even among peoples who were responding to similar ecological challenges, or who had a linguistic kinship with neighboring peoples, diversity of all sorts was normal.

Over time, some groups prospered more than others, and a few expanded from localized states into extensive empires. As we have seen, the imperial armies of Assyria, Macedon, Rome, and Han China effectively united disparate societies under unified political rule for greater or lesser periods of time. But peaceful exchange along trade routes, folk migrations by people equipped with especially productive technologies, and missionary efforts to convert people to new religions regardless of their political allegiances had a more profound and long-lasting impact on the coming together of the world's peoples. The continent-spanning technological, social, and cultural exchange and interaction that marked the centuries from 300 to 1200 differed substantially from earlier instances of cultural expansion in both mechanisms of exchange and eventual historical impact. Some of these interactions relate to religion, some to political purpose, some to trade, and some to migration. They do not add up to an easily summarized story, but they are so different from earlier interactions arising primarily from conquest or the extension of political boundaries that they constitute a distinct era in world history.

In the realm of religion, the division of the Roman Empire into eastern and western halves and the decline of the western half in the fifth century C.E. provided the background for the slow conversion of Europe to Christianity, while Arab military prowess set the stage for a centuries-long process of converting non-Arabs to



Society

ca. 2000 B.C.E.–1500 C.E.—Urban temple complexes in Central and South America
ca. 500 B.C.E.–1000 C.E.—Bantu migrations from West Africa
ca. 400–800 C.E.—Decline of urbanism and monetary economy in Europe
600s—Introduction of Chinese examination system
ca. 800–1000—Islamization leads to rapid urbanization in Iran
ca. 1000—Decline of Confucian elite in Japan, rise of warrior classes

Culture

ca. 4000–200 B.C.E.—Saharan rock art
From ca. 50 C.E.—Christianity spreads from Jerusalem
From ca. 100—Buddhism spreads eastward
325—Christianity becomes official Roman faith
ca. 600–840—Buddhist political and cultural influence in China

Islam. Simultaneously, Buddhism drew on the energies of missionaries and pilgrims as it made its way by land and sea from northern India and Afghanistan to Sri Lanka, Tibet, Southeast Asia, China, Korea, and Japan.

In the realm of political purpose, the era of the Crusades in the eleventh century saw European Christian armies attack Muslim territories in the eastern Mediterranean and Spain, thereby contributing to a reopening of contacts between lands long separated.

In the realm of trading connections, three types of long-distance routes rose and flourished: the Silk Road across Central Asia from Mesopotamia to China, trans-Saharan caravan routes linking North Africa with sub-Saharan Africa, and a variety of maritime routes connecting the coastal lands of the Indian Ocean. The exchanges taking place by means of these routes had a significant impact on the receiving societies and economies.

In the realm of change brought on by movements of human groups, the spread of the Bantu peoples eastward and southward from West Africa brought iron implements and new techniques of food production to sub-Saharan Africa and helped foster a distinctive African cultural pattern. Quite differently, the Arabs of the Arabian peninsula, under the inspiration of the Prophet Muhammad, in the seventh century C.E. conquered an empire stretching from Spain to India and implanted in it their language, faith, and cultural values.

Meanwhile, at the other end of Eurasia, at the close of the ninth century C.E. the demise of the Tang Empire, which was strongly oriented toward contacts with the pastoral peoples of Central Asia, led the leaders of smaller successor states in the north to encourage a steady migration toward the south. This contributed, under the Song Empire, to a clearer distinction between the civilization of the pastoral and trading peoples of Central Asia and the comparatively unified civilization that had come to cover most of China.

This era also witnessed the culminating stages of technological, cultural, and civilizational development in the Western Hemisphere. All aspects of the long-distance cultural exchange and interaction that mark this era in Eurasia and Africa have counterparts in the Western Hemisphere. Although the near absence of written records makes a detailed history impossible, it is apparent that an early succession of urban, agricultural civilizations in the Andes, the Yucatán lowlands, and the central plateau of Mexico reached a climax in the Aztec and Incan Empires and in the somewhat earlier flourishing of the Maya.

In the long sweep of human history, civilizational expansion through increasing the size of political units could not remain the sole or dominant form of societal interaction. Empires lacked the technological means to communicate with or defend borders that were too distant from the imperial center. Thus, other mechanisms of interaction and exchange played stronger roles as distant peoples gradually became aware of one another. Trade, migration, travel for the purpose of telling people about new ideas or beliefs, and political determination to invade or make contact with peoples in distant lands, did not begin in this period, but they characterize and dominated it. And in so doing, they make the centuries from 300 to 1200 a critical link between the earlier world of societies living largely apart with only limited contact and, at the era's end, a world of interconnections among peoples and continent-spanning exchanges of technologies, products, and ideas.

Christian Europe Emerges, 300–1200

The Post-Roman Transformation • The Western Church

The Byzantine Empire • Western Europe Revives

Christmas Day in the year 800 found Charles, the king of the Franks, in Rome instead of at his palace in Aachen, in northeastern France. At six-foot-three, Charles was a foot taller than the average man of his time, and his royal career had been equally gargantuan. Crowned king in his mid-twenties in 768, he had spent three decades crisscrossing western Europe, waging war on Muslim invaders from Spain, Avar invaders from Hungary, and a myriad of German princes. Charles had subdued many enemies and established himself as protector of the papacy. So it is hard to believe the eyewitness report of his secretary and biographer, the Saxon Einhard, that Charles was surprised when Pope Leo III stepped forward as the king rose from his prayers in the church of Saint Peter and placed a new crown on his head. "Life and victory to Charles the August, crowned by God the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans," proclaimed the pope.[1] Then, amid the cheers of the crowd, he humbly knelt before the new emperor.

Charlemagne (from the Latin *Carolus magnus*, "Charles the Great") was the first to bear the title *emperor* in western Europe since 476, when a Germanic commander had deposed the Roman emperor in the West. Rome's decline and Charlemagne's rise marked a shift of focus for Europe—away from the Mediterranean and toward the north and west. The world of Charlemagne, dominated by the Germanic peoples of the north, opened a new era in European history. German custom and Christian piety transformed the Roman heritage to create a new European civilization. That civilization is commonly called *medieval*, literally "middle age," because it comes between the era of Greco-Roman civilization and the intellectual, artistic, and economic changes of the Renaissance in the fourteenth century.

The unity of Charlemagne's realm fell apart under his less able successors; and during his lifetime even Charlemagne had to acknowledge a rival emperor in the East, where the political and legal heritage of Rome continued in the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine Empire. In the East, the Byzantines maintained and reinterpreted Roman traditions for centuries, and the blending of the authority of the Byzantine emperors with the influence of the Christian church brought into being a new, creative synthesis. Western Europeans, in contrast, lived amid the ruins of an empire that haunted their dreams but was never rebuilt. The western area of the old Roman Empire, despite the respite of Charlemagne's reign, experienced generations of chaos among scores of competing regional powers; there the only unifying force was the growing authority of the church.

THE POST-ROMAN TRANSFORMATION

The migrations of the Germanic peoples, the disappearance of the legal framework of unity and order that persisted even in the final days of the Western Roman Empire, and the fragmentation of political allegiance among scores of kings, nobles, and chieftains dramatically changed the landscape in western Europe between 500 and 800. In region after region, the traditional, family-based law of the Germanic peoples supplanted the edicts of the Roman emperors.

From Roman Empire to Germanic Kingdoms

Beginning in the third century, Rome's decline marked the end of an empire and the end of an era during which the eastern Mediterranean was the geographic center of a group of interrelated societies and economies. Although Roman political institutions and military prowess had unified the Mediterranean basin (see Chapter 5), Rome itself was always on the empire's western fringe, far from the great Eastern cities such as Athens, Antioch, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Thus it is not surprising that when the empire weakened, the emperors Diocletian and Constantine worked to preserve power in the East in what became known as the Byzantine Empire.

Left on its own, the Western Roman Empire fragmented in the fifth century into a handful of kingdoms under Germanic rulers. In the sixth century Italy itself saw the establishment of a strong Lombard kingdom in its north and a Byzantine foothold around Ravenna along the northeast coast. Rome proper lost virtually all political importance even though it retained prominence as the seat of the papacy, which local noble families competed to control.

Despite the warlike behavior of the new rulers in the West, lack of unity impaired their military strength. In 711 Arabs and Berbers overturned the kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain, then moved on to France. They conquered much of the southern coast and penetrated as far north as Tours before Charlemagne's grandfather, Charles Martel, stopped them in 732.

The Arabs never returned to northern Europe, but in the ninth century, Viking sea raiders from Scandinavia harried the British and French coasts and pursued raiding and trading interests along the rivers of eastern Europe. Although many Viking attacks were private pirate raids for booty and slaves, the eleventh century saw concerted efforts at colonization and political expansion with the settlement of Iceland, Greenland, and, for a brief time, Vinland on the eastern coast of Canada.

A Basic Economy

With the ascent of the Germanic peoples, the urban-based civilization of the Romans withered and shrank. Cities lost population, in some cases becoming villages. Roads fell into disuse and disrepair. Small thatched houses sprang up beside abandoned villas, and public buildings made of marble became dilapidated in the absence of the laborers, money, and civic leadership needed to maintain them. Purchases paid for in coin gave way to the bartering of goods and services. Trade languished. Occasional shipments of goods from Egypt and Syria continued to reach Western ports, but for the most part western Europe had to rely on its own resources.

Roman centralization had long diverted the wealth and production of the empire toward the capital, from which Roman culture radiated outward to the provinces. As Germanic and other territorial lords replaced Roman governors, local self-sufficiency became ever more important, and the general disappearance of literacy and other aspects of Roman civilized life made room for new trends, based on local folk cultures, to flourish.

In both north and south, self-sufficient farming estates known as *manors* or *villas* became the primary centers of agricultural production. Political insecurity prompted common farmers to give their lands to large landowners in return for political and physical protection. The warfare and instability of the post-Roman centuries made unprotected country houses especially vulnerable to pillaging and encouraged the fortification of manors. Isolated by poor communications and lack of organized government, landowners depended on their own resources for survival. Many became warriors or maintained a force of armed men. Others swore allegiance to landowners who had the armed force to protect them.

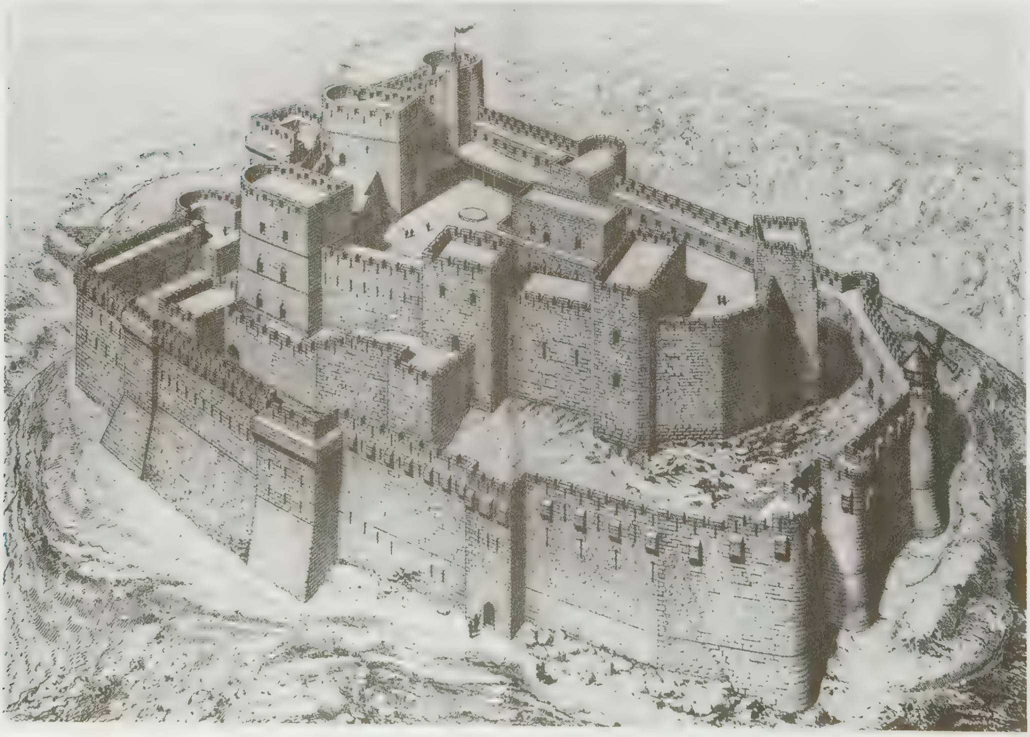
A well-appointed manor possessed fields, gardens, grazing lands, fish ponds, a mill, a church, workshops for making whatever implements or goods were needed, and a village for the farmers dependent on its lord. The degree of protection that a manor required varied, though the trend was toward ever greater fortification down to the twelfth century (see Environment and Technology: Castles and Fortifications).

Castles and Fortifications

The word *castle* brings to mind great stone fortresses, but these mark the climax of a long evolution. The Romans built square army camps surrounded by stockades to protect their frontiers. Once the frontiers were breached, the new rulers of Europe, each with far fewer men than a Roman legion, built smaller fortifications: either a *ringwork* (a circular wooden stockade surrounding a group of wooden buildings) or, more often, a *motte-and-bailey*. The *motte* was an artificial mound with a trench around it and a wooden tower on top. The *bailey* was a courtyard or enclosed area with a wooden stockade at the foot of the mound.

As security needs increased, some lords and rulers built a keep within the bailey or atop the motte. The *keep* was a fortified stone building. Castle Acre in England began as a country house surrounded by a fairly weak ringwork. In the mid-twelfth century the mound was raised and the house was redesigned as a keep within a smaller, more imposing ringwork. The builders doubled the thickness of the house walls and buried much of the first floor to strengthen the house's foundation. The final twelfth-century version of the keep, shown here, was surrounded by a formidable wall.

Castle Acre, in England, twelfth century (Illustration from John R. Kenyon, Medieval Fortifications [Leicester, Eng: Leicester University Press, 1990]. Used with permission of Giraudon/Art Resource, NY.)



Life on the manor reflected one's personal status. The lord and his family exercised almost unlimited power over their *serfs*—agricultural workers who belonged to the manor. Serfs were obligated to till their lord's fields and were subject to other dues and obligations. They were prohibited from leaving the manor where they were born and attaching themselves to another lord. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the majority of peasants in England, France, and western Germany were unfree serfs. In Bordeaux, Saxony, and a few other regions a tradition of free peasantry stemming from the egalitarian social structure of the migrating Germanic peoples still survived. Outright slavery, the mainstay of the Roman economy (see Chapter 5), diminished as more and more peasants became serfs in return for a lord's protection.

Feudal Society

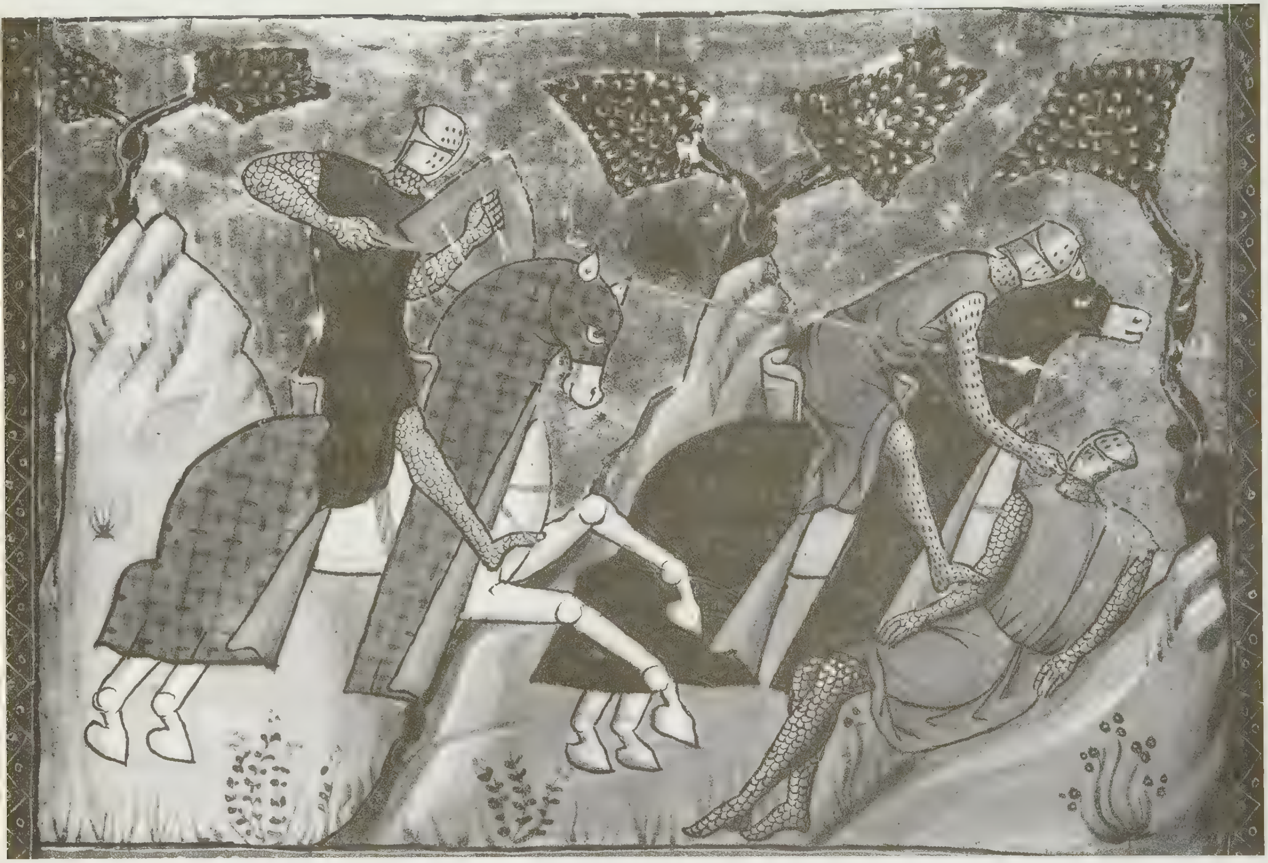
During the period of Germanic migrations, and continuing much later among the Vikings of Scandinavia, men regularly answered the call to arms issued by war chiefs, to whom they swore allegiance. All warriors shared in the booty gained from raiding. But as settlement enhanced the importance of agricultural tasks over swineherding and hunting, laying down the plow and taking up the sword at the chieftain's call became harder to do.

Those who, out of loyalty or desire for adventure, continued to join the war parties included a growing number of horsemen. The mounted warrior was the backbone of the Carolingian army. At first, fighting from horseback did not make a person either a nobleman or a landowner. By the tenth century, however, nearly constant warfare to protect rights to land or to support the claims of a superior lord brought about the gradual transformation of the mounted warrior into the noble knight—a transformation that led to landholding becoming inseparable from military service. This process, culminating in what later historians labeled "feudal" society, was a specifically European response to weak central government, the lack of effective law, the need to defend one's land militarily, and respect for personal oaths of loyalty. It brought together the Roman practice of granting land in return for military service and the German custom of swearing allegiance to a war chief.

The German foes of the Roman legions had equipped themselves with a helmet, a shield, and a sword, spear, or throwing ax. They did not wear body armor. Some rode horses, but most fought on foot. The rise of the mounted warrior as the paramount force on the battlefield is associated with the use of stirrups. For hundreds of years horsemen had gripped their mounts with their legs and fought with bow and arrow, throwing javelin, stabbing spear, and sword. Stirrups allowed the rider to stand in the saddle, lean forward with a sturdy lance held under his arm, and absorb the impact of striking his enemy at full gallop. This type of warfare required heavy, grain-fed horses rather than the small, grass-fed animals of the Central Asian pastoralists who seem to have invented the stirrup around the first century C.E. Thus it was in predominantly agricultural Europe rather than among the nomads of the steppe that charges by mounted knights came to dominate the battlefield.

By the eleventh century, the knight had emerged as the central figure in medieval warfare. He wore an open-faced helmet and a long linen shirt, or hauberk, studded with small metal disks. A century later, knightly equipment commonly included a visored helmet that covered the head and neck and a hauberk of chain mail. Armor was made for the knight's horse, too. From these evolved, in the thirteenth century, metal plate protection for the knight's chest, thighs, and other vulnerable areas, and in the fifteenth century, completely enclosed iron plating.

Each increase in armor for knight and horse entailed a greater financial outlay. Since land was the basis of all wealth, it rapidly became impossible for anyone to serve as a knight who did not have financial support from land revenues. Accordingly, kings began to reward meritorious armed service with grants of land from their own



Battle of knights Although stirrups are not shown here, the posture of the triumphant knight indicates that the force of his blow has forced him back in his saddle and he is bracing himself by pushing his feet against stirrups and his body against the cantle (back) of his saddle. Without stirrups he would be knocked off over his horse's rump. (British Library)

property. Nobles with extensive properties did the same to build up their own military retinues.

A grant of land in return for a sworn oath to provide specified military service was called a *feudum*, or *fief*. At first, kings granted fiefs on a temporary basis, but by the tenth century, most fiefs could be inherited as long as the specified military service continued to be provided. Although feudalism varied greatly from one part of Europe to another, and generally was more developed in the north and west than in the Mediterranean region, it lent a distinctive cast to medieval European history.

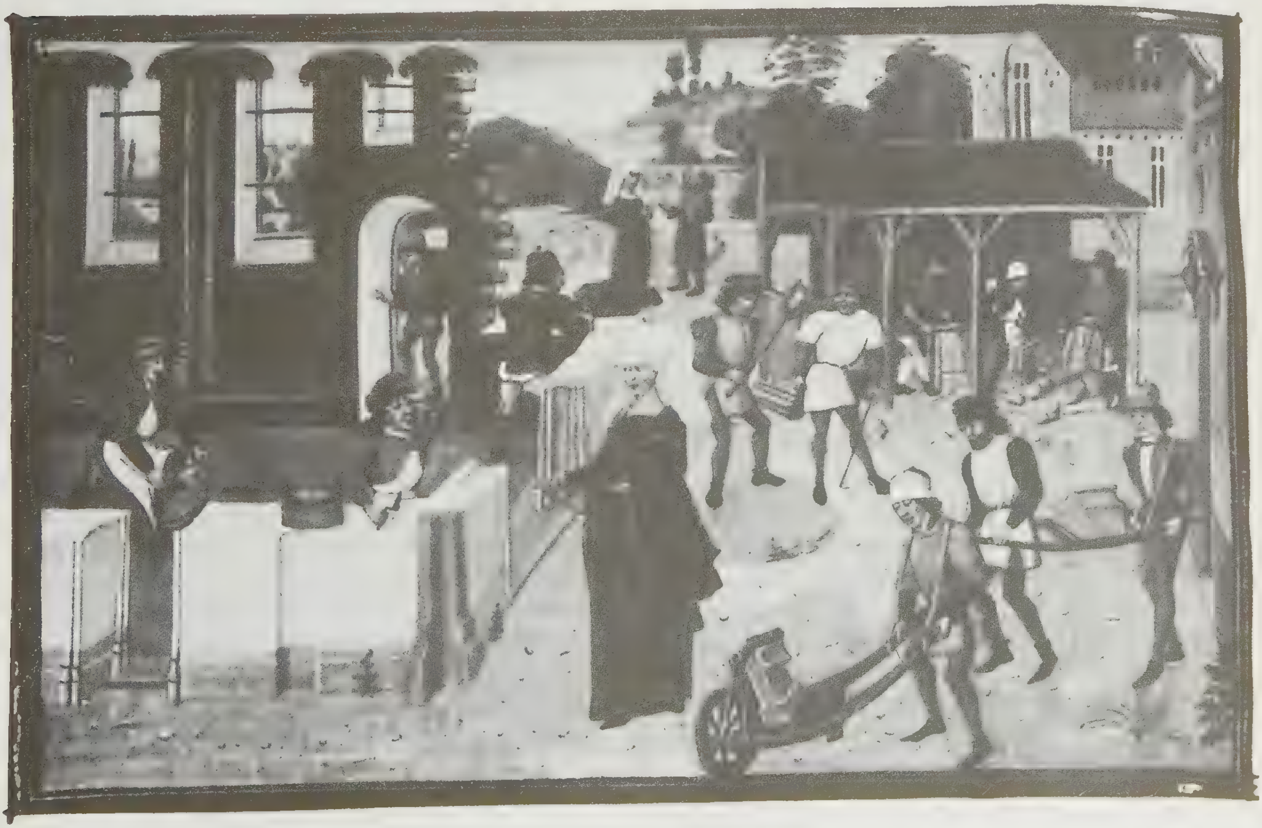
In feudal societies kings tended to be weak and dependent on their *vassals*, noble followers whose services a king or some other noble might be able to command for only part of the year, depending on the agreement between them. A lord granted land and owed protection to a vassal; the vassal swore an oath of loyalty and service to the lord. The allegiance that a vassal owed to one lord was likely to entail military service to that lord's master in time of need.

A "typical" feudal realm—actual practices varied between and within realms—consisted of some lands directly owned by a king or a count and administered by his royal officers. Other lands, often the greater portion, were held and administered by the king's or count's major vassals in return for military service. These vassals, in turn, granted land to their own vassals. Instead of taxes, the lands of kings and other nobles yielded primarily military service.

A lord's manor was the effective source of governance and justice in most areas. Direct royal government was quite limited. The king had few financial resources and seldom exercised legal jurisdiction at a local level. The fact that all members of the clergy, as well as the extensive agricultural lands owned by monasteries and nunneries, fell under the supervision and legal jurisdiction of the church further limited the reach and authority of the feudal monarch.

Noblewomen became enmeshed in the tangle of feudal obligations as heiresses and as candidates for marriage. A man who married the widow or daughter of a lord with no sons could gain for himself control of that lord's property. Entire kingdoms were put together or taken apart through marriage alliances. Noble daughters and sons had little say in marriage matters, for the important issues were land, power, and military service, not the feelings or preferences of individuals. Noblemen guarded the women in their families as closely as they guarded their other valuables.

Noblewoman directing construction of a church. This picture of Berthe, wife of Girat de Rouissillion, acting as mistress of the works is from a tenth-century manuscript but shows a scene from the ninth century. Wheelbarrows rarely appear in medieval building scenes. (Copyright Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, Bruxelles, Ms. 6, fol. 554 verso.)



This does not mean that all women lived powerless, sheltered lives. Some noblewomen exercised real power, administering their husband's lands when they were away at war. Women of the manor who were not of the noble class usually worked alongside their menfolk, performing agricultural tasks such as raking and stacking hay, shearing sheep, and picking vegetables. As artisans, women spun, wove, and sewed clothing. Indeed, one of the greatest works of craft and art surviving from medieval Europe is the Bayeux Tapestry, a piece of embroidery 230 feet (70 meters) long and 20 inches (51 centimeters) wide designed and executed entirely by women. It depicts in cartoon form the story of the invasion of England in 1066 by William the Conqueror, duke of Normandy.

THE WESTERN CHURCH

The Christian church was the sole institution claiming jurisdiction over, and the loyalty of, large segments of Europe's population. The growing Christian populations in eastern Europe recognized the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, even in Slavic lands beyond the control of the Byzantine emperor (see Map 7.1). The pope commanded similar authority over church affairs in the Latin West. There, missionaries added territory to Christendom with forays into the British Isles and the lands of the Germans.

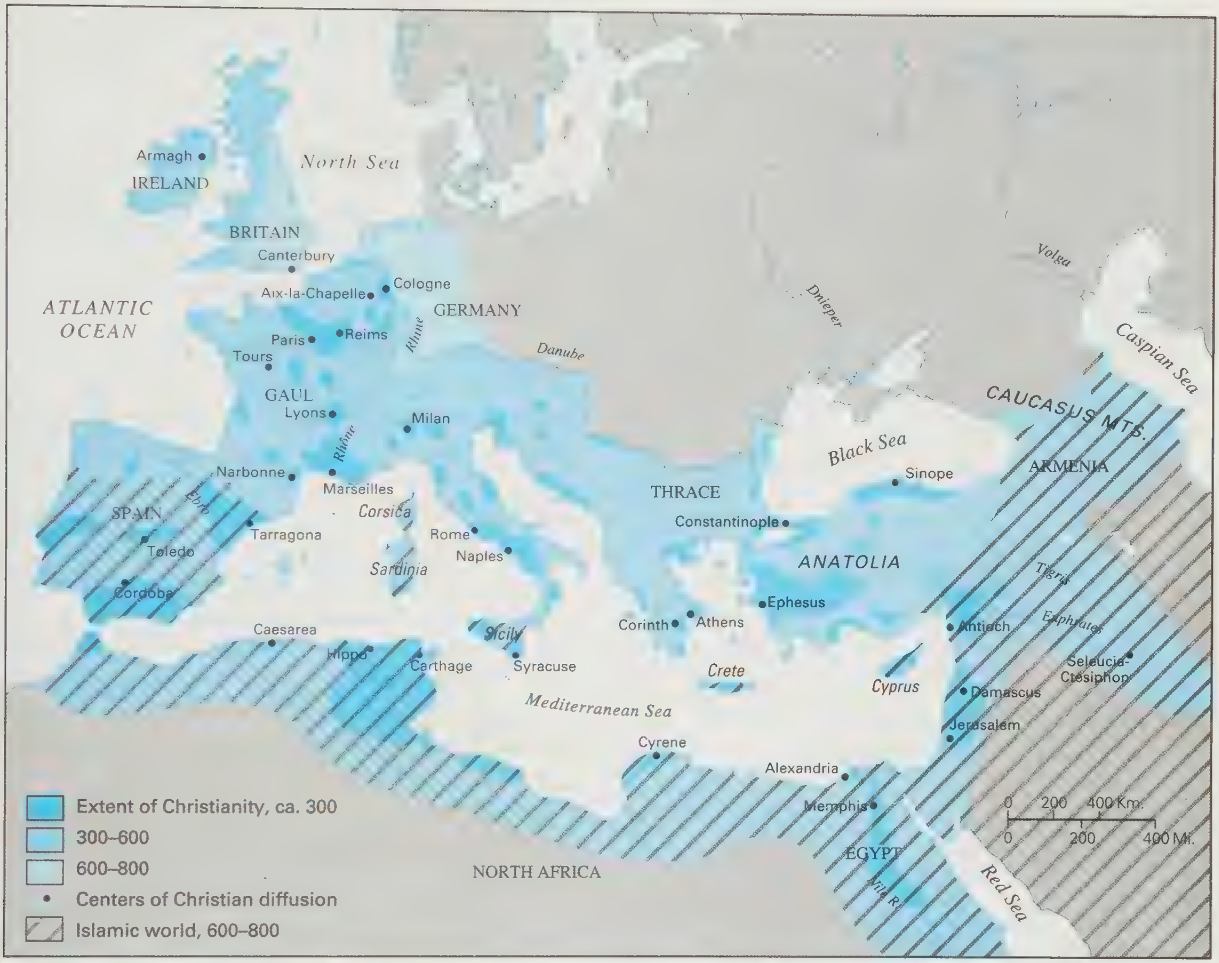
Regional disagreements over church regulations, shortages of educated and trained clergy, difficult communications, political disorder, and the general insecurity of the period were formidable obstacles to unifying church standards and practices. By the eleventh century, clerics in some parts of western Europe were still issuing prohibitions against the worship of rivers, trees, and mountains and other superstitions. In the face of lingering paganism and lax enforcement of prohibitions against practices such as clergy marrying, nepotism (giving preferment to one's close kin), simony (selling ecclesiastical appointments, often to people who were not members of the clergy), and even the wearing of beards, the papacy's persistence in asserting its legal jurisdiction over clergy, combating heretical beliefs, and calling on secular rulers to recognize its authority constituted a rare force for unity and order in a time of disunity and chaos.

Faith and Rule

From the fourth century onward, divisions on matters of doctrine endangered the Christian church. Jesus' disciples had established Christian communities, or patriarchates, in Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, and most Christians recognized the religious leaders of these communities—called "patriarchs" in the East and "popes" in Rome—as the paramount leaders of the church. In the fourth century, the emperor Constantine made his capital city, Constantinople, the fifth patriarchate. Patriarchs and popes appointed bishops throughout the regions that recognized their authority, and the bishops in turn consecrated priests in smaller localities. Church rules were set by the patriarchs and popes and by councils of bishops, and priests were expected to follow these rules.

In theory, the church hierarchy would ensure consistency in ritual and belief throughout the Christian community. In fact, patriarchs, popes, and bishops sometimes disagreed about important religious issues, and the disagreements could lead to charges and countercharges of *heresy*—the holding of beliefs that were so unacceptable as to be un-Christian. Charges of heresy were important to ordinary people because they brought into question the ceremonies and rituals performed by the priests or bishops charged as heretics. They also threatened the unity of the Christian church at a time when political fragmentation was rapidly increasing.

The common way of dealing with challenges to Christian unity was for a council of bishops to deliberate and declare a particular doctrine true or false. In the East, the Byzantine emperor (who



Map 7.1 The Spread of Christianity By the early eighth century, Christian areas around the southern Mediterranean from northern Syria to northern Spain, accounting for most of the Christian population, had fallen under Muslim rule, and the slow process of conversion to Islam had begun. This accentuated the importance of the patriarchs of Constantinople, the popes in Rome, and the later-converting regions of northern and eastern Europe.

also was patriarch of Constantinople) claimed the prerogative of calling such conferences. In the West, the pope took the lead. Schismatics—believers in heretical ideas—could call conferences of their own. The bishops of particular regions often met in council to set rules, called *canons*, to regulate the priests and lay people (men and women who were not members of the clergy) under their jurisdiction.

In politically fragmented western Europe, the pope needed allies and found them in rulers like Charlemagne, who upheld papal rights in return for religious legitimation of his rule. Charlemagne's descendants, however, did not maintain his empire intact, and not until 962, with the papal coronation of a "Holy Roman Emperor" (Charlemagne never held this title), did a secular political authority come into being that claimed to represent general Christian interests. Essentially a loose confederation of German princes who named one of their own to the highest office, the Holy Roman Empire held little sway west of the Rhine River.

Although the pope crowned the Holy Roman emperors, the law of the church (known as *canon law*) and the various secular laws in effect in different regions were on a collision course. According to canon law, the pope had exclusive legal jurisdiction over all clergy and all church property wherever located. Kings and princes saw this claim as an intrusion on their territory, but they generally were fearful of objecting to it because the pope could excommunicate them—that is, bar them from all church activities and sacraments. Complicating things, many bishops controlled lands that owed military support or other feudal services and dues to the kings and princes. The secular rulers argued that they should have the power to appoint those bishops because that was the only way to ensure that they would fulfill their duties as feudal vassals. The popes disagreed.

In the eleventh century, this conflict over the right to control ecclesiastical appointments came to a head. Lords and monarchs insisted on controlling the nomination, or *investiture*, of bishops and abbots in their domains. Historians use the term *investiture controversy* to refer specifically to this struggle; the term also refers to the broader conflict between popes and kings over whether the kings had jurisdiction over all of their subjects, including the clergy. The struggle continued until 1122, when a compromise was reached at Worms, a town in Germany. In the Concordat of Worms, Emperor Henry V renounced his rights to choose bishops and abbots and confer on them spiritual symbols such as a staff and a ring. In return, Pope Calixtus II permitted the emperor to invest *papal* nominees for the position of bishop or abbot with any lay rights or obligations *before* their spiritual consecration. This was essentially a victory for the church, though not a complete one.

Western Europe was heir to three legal traditions: (1) feudal law, with roots in Germanic custom; (2) canon law, based on Roman law in its visualization of a single hierarchical institution with jurisdiction over all of Western Christendom; and (3) Roman law. This pattern of church-state division set western Europe apart from both the Byzantine Empire and the Muslim states that succeeded the Byzantines in Syria, Egypt, and Tunisia (see Chapter 8).

Monasticism

Another distinctive feature of Western Christendom rooted in the period from 300 to 1200 was monasticism. The most important form of monasticism in western Europe brought together in a single community groups of monks or nuns. Benedict of Nursia (ca. 480–547), in Italy, began his pious career as a hermit in a cave but eventually organized several monasteries, each headed by an abbot. The Rule he promulgated to govern the monks' behavior emphasizes celibacy, poverty, and obedience to the abbot and remains in force today in Benedictine monasteries.

Monastic life removed thousands of pious men and women from towns and villages and thus reinforced the tendency toward separation of religious affairs from secular politics and economics. Monasteries were the primary centers of literacy and learning in the centuries following the decline of the Western Empire. Many lay nobles were illiterate and interested in little other than warfare and hunting. Monks (but seldom nuns) saw copying manuscripts and even writing books as part of their religious calling. Were it not for monks of the ninth century, most ancient works in Latin would have disappeared.

Monasteries and nunneries served other functions as well. Most serviced the needs of travelers, organized agricultural production on their lands, and took in foundlings. Nunneries provided refuge for widows and other women who lacked male protection in a harsh world or who desired a spiritual life. All such religious houses, however, presented problems of oversight to the church. A bishop might have authority over an abbot or abbess (head of a nunnery), but there was no way to exercise constant vigilance over what went on behind monastery walls.

Shaping European Society

The magnitude of the changes in the society of western Europe that took place under the influence of Christianity is difficult to overestimate. Roman society in Jesus' time had felt comfortable with slavery, religious pluralism, and overt sexuality. Christian society demanded a celibate clergy and discouraged sexual activities outside marriage, advocated monogamy while deploring divorce and concubinage, frowned on slavery, and looked on non-Christians with suspicion and sometimes hatred.

The fragile legal status of the Jews led them into money-changing, goldsmithing, and other trades that they could practice anywhere. Rulers and popes protected or expelled Jews to suit their own political and economic ends and whims. When crusading enthusiasm overtook Europe in the early eleventh century (see below), some Christian zealots decided to murder and loot local Jewish communities rather than trek to the Holy Land. Muslims were even more unwelcome than Jews because Islam was seen as a political threat (see Chapter 8).

Roman society had been based on extended kinship lineages (see Chapter 5). Christian Europe conceived of the family in a narrower sense. The lines of social division separating nobles from clergy or landowners from serfs were quite different from those of the Roman era. Festivals and rituals, monumental building programs, artistic endeavor of all kinds—everything that conveyed a sense of civilization—manifested itself in Christian form rather than in the trappings of the secular empire of Rome. In the fourth and fifth centuries, Germanic customs and tastes replaced the more sophisticated traditions of Rome. By the year 1200, Christianity had forged in western Europe a new civilization that preserved selected features of the Roman and German past while evolving its own distinctive features.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

European Christian civilization in the eastern region of the old Roman Empire was very different from its counterpart in the West. The Byzantine emperors represented the continuation of Roman imperial rule and tradition and brought to political, social, and religious life a continuity that was almost entirely absent in the West. Roman law, which the Eastern emperors inherited intact, lessened the impact of church proscriptions, and the Byzantine emperors made a comfortable transition into the role of all-powerful Christian monarchs.

The Byzantine drama, however, played on a small and steadily shrinking stage. The loss of Syria, Egypt, and Tunisia to Muslim invaders in the seventh century, Slavic pressure on Byzantium's Balkan frontiers, and the Byzantine failure in the late eleventh century to prevent the Muslims from overwhelming Anatolia (modern Turkey) deprived the empire of long-lasting periods of peace. Christianity progressively withered in lands that fell to the Muslims. By the end of the twelfth century, at least two-thirds of the Christians in the former Byzantine territories had adopted the Muslim faith. The peoples to the north, however, provided room for Christian missionary expansion. As the Slavs gradually adopted Christianity, they also came to revere the customs, rituals, and imperial tradition of Byzantium. These factors were to have a profound impact on the later history of Russia.

The Fortunes of Empire

The Roman emperors who ruled in the East retained many imperial traditions and outlooks that disappeared in the West. Constantine erected a 120-foot-tall (36-meter) column topped with a statue of Apollo in the forum of his new capital, Constantinople, and he retained the old Roman title *pontifex maximus* (chief priest). Nevertheless, he was a Christian, and he studded the city with churches.

The pope in Rome was chosen by ecclesiastical election and eventually claimed complete independence and authority over Western Christendom. In contrast, the Byzantine emperor decided who would be the patriarch of Constantinople and involved himself in doctrinal disputes. For centuries the Byzantine Empire was torn by disputes over theology and by quarrels among the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. In contrast with the West, polytheism died fairly quickly in the Byzantine world, surviving longest among country folk.

Having a single ruler endowed with supreme legal and religious authority prevented the breakup of the Eastern Empire into a mosaic of petty feudal principalities but did not guarantee either peace or prosperity. In the fourth century the empire was threatened from the east by a new Iranian empire ruled by the Sasanid family (see Chapter 8) and from the north by Germanic Goths and the nomadic Huns from Central Asia. Bribes, diplomacy, and occasional military victories persuaded the Goths and Huns (that is, the Xiongnu) either to settle peacefully or move toward western Europe. War with the Sasanids recurred for almost three hundred years, however, until a new enemy appeared from the Arabian peninsula in the form of marauding tribes led by followers of the Arab prophet Muhammad. During the first half of the seventh century, these Muslim invaders destroyed the Sasanid Empire and captured Egypt, Syria, and Tunisia.

The loss of some of its most populous and prosperous provinces permanently reduced the power of the Byzantine Empire, and its political trajectory was generally downward. Although it survived until 1453, its last emperors were continually threatened by the Muslims to their south and by newly arriving Slavic and Turkic peoples to their north. At the same time, relations with the popes and princes of western Europe steadily worsened. As early as the mid-ninth century the patriarchs of Constantinople had challenged the territorial jurisdiction of the popes of Rome and some of the established practices of the Latin Church. These arguments worsened over time and in 1054 culminated in a formal schism between the Latin Church and the Orthodox Church—a break that has never been mended. This ill will did not prevent Eastern and Western Christians from cooperating in some measure during the crusading era of the twelfth century. But it contributed to the decision by the leaders of the Fourth Crusade (see below) to sack Constantinople in 1204, send the Byzantine emperor fleeing to an outlying province, and establish Latin principalities on Byzantine territory.

Society and Urban Life

The maintenance of imperial authority, and the accompanying urban prosperity, in the eastern provinces of the old Roman Empire buffered Byzantium against the population decline and severe economic regression suffered in the West from the third century on. Nevertheless, a similar though less pronounced transformation set in around the seventh century, possibly sparked by the loss of Egypt and Syria to the Muslims. In many areas, barter replaced money transactions, cities declined in population and prosperity, and the traditional class of local urban notables practically disappeared. The disappearance of that class left a social gap between the high aristocracy at the imperial court and the rural landowners and peasants. By the end of the eleventh century, a family-based military aristocracy somewhat similar to the feudal nobility of western Europe had emerged, though without being institutionalized in feudal law codes.

The situation of women changed, too. Earlier Roman family structure had been loose, and women had been comparatively active in public life. Now the family became a more rigid unit, and women increasingly found themselves confined to the home by their husbands and by social custom. When they went out in public, they concealed their faces behind veils. The only males they socialized with were family members. Paradoxically, however, from 1028 to 1056 women ruled the Byzantine Empire with their husbands.

To what extent these changes were related to the social conditions that brought about a parallel seclusion of women in the neighboring Islamic countries has not yet been established. It is likely, however, that the two developments were linked despite the differences in religion. By comparison with Christianity in western Europe, Byzantine Christianity manifested less interest in, or felt less need for, the provision of refuge for women in nunneries. This, too, finds its parallel in the development of Islam.

Economically, the Byzantine emperors continued a late Roman inclination to set prices, control the provision of grain to the capital city, and monopolize trade in certain goods, like purple cloth. As long as merchants and pilgrims hastened to the metropolis of Constantinople from all points on the compass, rare and costly goods were readily available for aristocratic consumption. The decline of other Eastern cities, however, reemphasized the importance of agriculture and animal husbandry to the economy. Byzantine farmers continued to use light scratch plows and creaky oxcarts long after farmers in western Europe had adopted heavy plows and efficiently harnessed horses. Despite this backwardness in agriculture, however, the Byzantines continued for a time to outclass western Europe in the variety and quality of manufactured goods.

Because Byzantium's inheritance from the earlier Roman Empire was so much richer than western Europe's, there was little recognition that the slow deterioration that set in during the seventh century constituted a problem. By the time of the Crusades, however, the Byzantines knew they were being surpassed by the western Europeans. They had lost their most valuable provinces. Their army played only a supporting role in the conquest of the Holy Land. And most of their maritime commerce was carried in ships from Genoa, Venice, and Pisa. Vestiges of the legendary Byzantine imperial pomp and political intrigue remained, but the eastern successor of the Roman Empire amounted to little more than a small, weak principality centered on a shrunken, looted, and dilapidated Constantinople and a few outlying cities.

Cultural Achievements

The Byzantine emperor's power persisted in secular legal affairs. Several emperors ordered collections of laws and edicts to be made. The most famous and complete collection was the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (*Body of Civil Law*) compiled in Latin by seventeen legal scholars at the behest of the emperor Justinian (r. 527–565). In the late eleventh century, it began to be studied at the fledgling University of Bologna, in Italy, and be-

Byzantine church from a twelfth-century manuscript The upper portion shows the church façade and domes. The lower portion shows the interior with a picture or mosaic of Christ enthroned at the altar end. (Bibliothèque nationale de France)

came the basis for *civil* law (as opposed to *canon* and *feudal* law) in western Europe as well. Many modern principles of law were thereby handed on from Roman models, a fact that accounts for the use of Latin expressions in the legal profession today.

Also of lasting importance from the time of Justinian is the architectural tradition represented by Hagia Sophia, the great domed cathedral of Constantinople. Domed buildings, which required a careful calculation of the stress of the stone dome's weight, were comparatively rare in the western lands of the Roman Empire but evolved splendidly in Byzantium, creating enormous spaces with an aesthetic appeal completely different from that of the long, lofty naves of Western cathedrals. After capturing Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Turks patterned a series of majestic mosques on Hagia Sophia, which they transformed into a mosque.

In the tenth century the Russians, who were then enjoying an upsurge of power in a new state centered on the city of Kiev (see Chapter 11), turned more and more toward Christianity. Russian preferences for domed churches and for the display of religious images (icons) are direct inheritances from Byzantium, as is the use of the title *tsar*, a contraction of the Latin title *caesar*. Thus slowly declining Byzantium witnessed the triumph of Orthodox Christianity and Byzantine ecclesiastical culture in the lands of the Slavs.

WESTERN EUROPE REVIVES

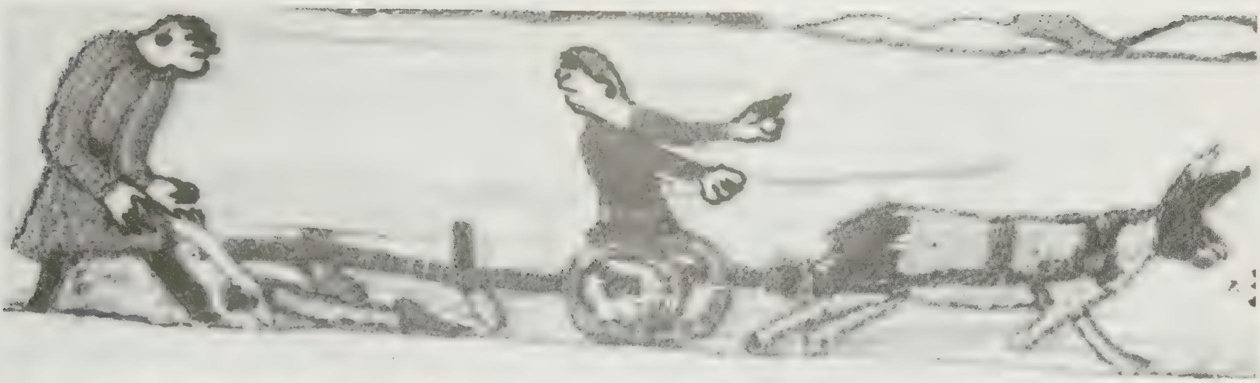
Between 1000 and 1300, western Europe slowly emerged from nearly seven centuries of *subsistence economy*—an economy in which most people work on the land and can meet only their basic needs for food, clothing, and shelter. As population and agricultural production climbed, a growing food surplus found its way to town markets, enhancing the return of a *money-based exchange economy*—an economy providing support for large numbers of craftspeople, construction workers, traders, and artisans engaged in cloth making, such as spinners, bleachers, dyers, and weavers.

Historians have attributed western Europe's revival to population growth spurred by new technologies and to the appearance in Italy and Flanders (modern Belgium and Holland) of self-governing cities devoted primarily to trade and seafaring. Among the beneficiaries of these changes were kings, who began the long process of improving central administration, gaining greater control over their vassals, and consolidating the realms that eventually became strong national kingdoms.

The Role of Technology

Most historians agree that technology played a significant role in the approximate tripling of the population of western Europe between 1000 and 1300. The population of England, for example, seems to have risen from 1.1 million in 1086 to 3.3 million in 1300, and the population of the territory of modern France seems to have risen from 5.2 million to 15.7 million over the same period. A group of innovations is credited with launching the economy of western Europe into a robust and productive stage. Notable among them were efficient draft harnesses that did not strangle a horse pulling a heavy load and a new type of plow. The Roman plow, which farmers in southern Europe continued to use, merely scratched the soil. The new plow, effective in the northern river valleys, had a curved plate (a moldboard) and a blade (a coulter). The moldboard turned over the heavy, wet soil cut by the coulter. The new harness and new plow contributed to the emergence of the horse as western Europe's primary work animal, replacing the ox in many areas. In no other part of the world did the draft horse become so important.

Accompanying improvements in tilling the soil was improved understanding of how to maximize its productivity. A three-field system of cultivation emerged. Two-thirds of the land of a



Farming scene on the border of the Bayeux Tapestry By the late eleventh century, new harnessing techniques permitted the use of heavier plows. Here a mule harnessed with a horse collar pulls a wheeled plow with a coulter, the knife-like piece behind the wheels that cuts the turf, and a moldboard, which turns over the soil. (Tapisserie de Bayeux et avec autorisation spéciale de la Ville de Bayeux)

manor or village was planted in grain or other foodstuffs each year; this land was plowed once and then sown with seed. The other third was left fallow but was plowed twice a year to turn under the weeds and thus return nitrogen to the soil. Some fallow (unplanted) land was also used for grazing. The time and energy that farmers saved could go into other productive activities, including increasing the total area under cultivation.

Cities and the Rebirth of Trade

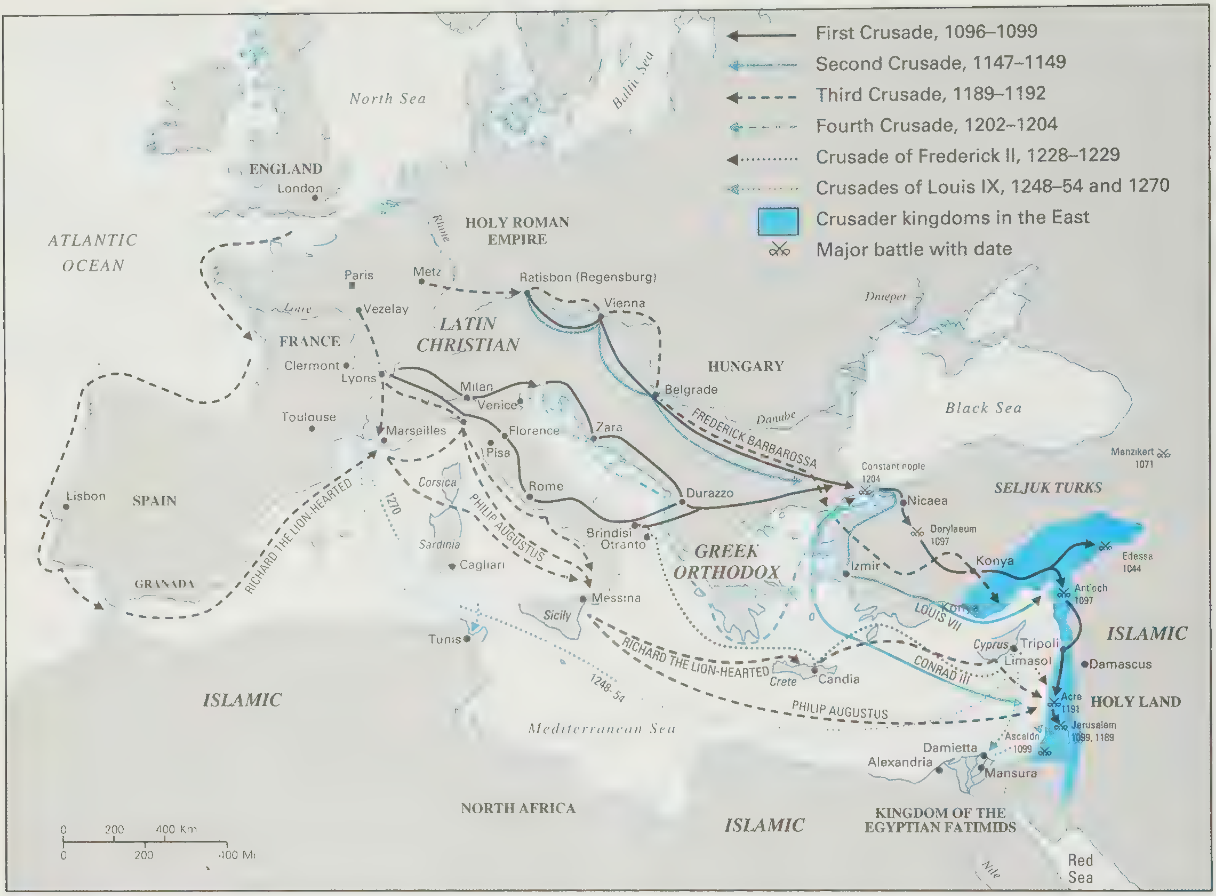
Associated with the growth of population was the appearance, first in Italy and Flanders and then elsewhere, of independent cities governed and defended by communes of leading citizens. Lacking the extensive farmlands that had been practically the sole basis of wealth in western Europe since the decline of Rome, these cities turned to manufacturing and trade. Equally important, they won for themselves a legally independent position between the jurisdiction of the church and that of the feudal lord and therefore could frame their laws specifically to favor manufacturing and trade. These laws made serfs free, so these cities attracted many migrants from the countryside.

In the eleventh century Venice rose to become the dominant seapower in the Adriatic. With its rivals Pisa and Genoa from the western side of Italy, Venice competed for leadership in the trade of goods from Muslim ports in North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean.

Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres in Flanders were the only cities in western Europe—except Cordoba and Seville in Muslim Spain—that could rival the Italian cities in prosperity, trade, and industry. These cities centralized the wool trade of the North Sea, transforming raw wool from Britain into woolen cloth that enjoyed a very wide market.

The Crusades

The Crusades dominated the politics of Europe from 1000 to 1200 (see Map 7.2). Besides being religiously inspired military campaigns to recapture from the Muslims the Holy Land on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, they were a manifestation of many social and economic currents of the eleventh century. Reforming leaders of the Latin Church were interested in softening the warlike tone of society, so they tried to limit fighting between feudal lords by specifying times



Map 7.2 The Crusades The First and Second Crusades proceeded overland through Byzantine territory. The Third Crusade included contingents under the French and English kings, Philip Augustus and Richard the Lion-Hearted, that traveled by sea, and a contingent under the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa that took the overland route. Frederick died in southern Anatolia. Later crusades were mostly seaborne, with Sicily, Crete, and Cyprus playing important roles.

of truce, such as during Lent (the forty days before Easter) and on the Sunday sabbath. Ambitious rulers were looking for new lands to conquer. Feudal knights, particularly younger sons in areas where the oldest son inherited everything, were becoming increasingly anxious about acquiring the land they needed to maintain their noble status. Italian merchants were eager to increase trade in the eastern Mediterranean and to acquire trading posts in Muslim territory.

Several influences focused attention on the Holy Land, which had been under Muslim rule for four centuries. Pilgrimages were particularly important. Pilgrims traveled under royal protection. Some were tramps, thieves, and merchants using pilgrimage as a safe way of traveling. Others were genuinely pious, often journeying to fulfill a vow or as a penance for sin.

Knights who followed a popular pilgrimage route across northern Spain learned of the expanding campaigns of the Christian kings to dislodge the Muslims. Others heard of the war conducted by seafaring Normans against the Muslims in Sicily, whom they finally defeated in the 1090s after thirty years of fighting. The tales of pilgrims returning from the East further induced both churchmen and nobles to think of the Muslims as a proper target of Christian militancy. Muslim rulers, who had controlled Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria ever since the seventh century, generally tolerated and protected Christian pilgrims. But that changed after 1071, when a Turkish army defeated the Byzantine emperor at the Battle of Manzikert and opened the way for Turkish tribal bands to spread throughout Anatolia. Ancient centers of Christianity previously under Byzantine control faced absorption into the growing Muslim political realm.

From time to time the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus suggested to the pope and to western European rulers that they help him confront the Muslim threat. In 1095, at the Council of Clermont, Pope Urban II responded. He addressed a huge crowd of people gathered in a field and called on them, as Christians, to stop fighting one another and go to the Holy Land to fight Muslims.

"God wills it!" exclaimed voices in the crowd. People cut cloth into crosses and sewed them on their shirts to symbolize their willingness to march on Jerusalem. And thus began the holy war now known as the "First Crusade," a word taken from Latin *crux* for "cross." People at the time, however, spoke not of a "crusade" but of *peregrinatio*, a "pilgrimage." Indeed, the Crusades were basically armed pilgrimages. Pope Urban promised that crusaders who had committed sins would be freed from the normal penance, the usual reward for peaceful pilgrims to Jerusalem.

The three crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries signaled the end of western Europe's centuries of isolation, not just political but also intellectual. Sicily, seized from the Muslims, yielded treasures in the form of Arabic translations of Greek philosophical and scientific works and equally important original works by Arabs and Iranians. Spain yielded an even greater bounty to translators who worked in both the Christian and the Muslim kingdoms. Later, Greece was ransacked for ancient Greek manuscripts during the Fourth Crusade. Generations passed before all these works were translated into Latin and studied, but they eventually transformed the thought of the western Europeans, who previously had had little familiarity with Greek writings except through Latin intermediaries.

Decline of Feudal Society

Born of disunity, chaos, and poverty, feudal society was ill suited to the economic, political, and ecclesiastical revival that began to stir Europe to new life in the twelfth century and ultimately gave birth to a robust and expansive Europe in the following centuries (see Chapter 13). Nobles and serfs subsisting on the agricultural and craft production of isolated manors and minimally connected to any broader market network gradually became obsolete, for this was a time of urban-based manufacturing, large-scale imports from the East, and the need for cash to support a noble's trip to the Holy Land. Steady improvements in fortifications and armaments added to the financial burden of the nobility but gave a few kings and great nobles the opportunity to enlarge, consolidate, and economically exploit their domains.

All of these secular tendencies had religious counterparts. Monasteries living off the yield of their lands and the work of their serfs had been little different from feudal manors. Their abbots had played the same role as secular lords. With monastic reform, the independence of abbots dwindled along with the power of many petty nobles. In Paris, London, and other growing cities, cathedrals became important as symbols of civic pride and as ecclesiastical centers in a new, reviving Europe. Cathedral building brought together the political authority, financial resources, and technical skills of urban communities. The impact of a new cathedral was much greater than that of a rural monastery.

Even as the seeds of feudal decline were germinating, long-lasting expressions of feudal culture such as ideas of chivalry and courtly love were receiving their highest expression in poetry and story. Noble society seemed to be flourishing, and most of the nobility of the twelfth century never imagined that their great-grandchildren would lose many of their privileges to increasingly powerful kings.

CONCLUSION

The collapse of imperial Rome was not a unique phenomenon in world history. China's Han dynasty (see Chapter 5) and the Abbasid caliphate (discussed in Chapter 8) both dissolved into a myriad of successor states, as had Alexander the Great's short-lived empire in the fourth century B.C.E. (see Chapter 4). Although the chaos, disunity, and economic regression that post-Roman western Europe experienced were particularly severe, the cultural vitality that emerged from the centuries of disorder bears comparison with other instances. The Hellenistic Age, which followed the death of Alexander in 323 B.C.E., was a remarkable period of intellectual, religious, and scientific ferment and creativity. The Tang Empire, which emerged in China in the seventh century C.E. (see Chapter 9), was a powerful new state with a distinctive and lively culture based only in part on survivals from the Han era. And in the Middle East the emergence of a mass society based on the Islamic religion was largely a phenomenon of the period following the collapse of the central Islamic state in the tenth century (see Chapter 8). The dynamic development of Islam after this political collapse is remarkably parallel to the overwhelming influence gained by Christianity in western Europe by the end of the twelfth century.

In contrast, the Byzantine Empire continued and built on Roman practices in an economic and political environment that was both more prosperous and more peaceful than that of western Europe. Furthermore, Byzantine society became deeply Christian well before a comparable degree of Christianization had been reached in western Europe. Yet despite their success in transmitting their own version both of Christianity and of the imperial tradition to Russia and to the peoples of the Balkans, the Byzantines lacked the dynamism of the Europeans to their west and the Muslims to their south.

The intermediate periods between empires seem to be unusually creative and culturally dynamic times, as these examples show. Perhaps one reason for this flowering is the opportunity that imperial dissolution affords different localities and peoples to follow their own particular lines of social, economic, and cultural development. The history of the rise and development of Islam, told in the next chapter, offers an opportunity to test this hypothesis.

SUGGESTED READING

Of the many general histories of Europe during this period, Roger Collins's *Early Medieval Europe, 300–1000* (1991) is the best survey stressing institutional and political developments. Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy* (1974), provides an outstanding overview of economic and social history reflecting up-to-date historical methods. Jacques Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization, 400–1500* (1989), puts more stress on questions of social structure. Richard W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (1970), offers a survey concentrating on the all-important history of the church. The same author's *The Making of the Middle Ages* (1953) is a classic that gives a memorable impression of the period based on specific lives and events.

Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (1950), is an extraordinary biography of an extraordinary woman. Dhuoda, *Handbook for William: A Carolingian Woman's Counsel for Her Son*, trans. Carol Neel (1991), offers a firsthand look at the life of a noblewoman of the Carolingian era. More general works on women include Margaret Wade's classic popular history, *A Small Sound of the Trumpet: Women in Medieval Life* (1986), and Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser's *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* (1989). In the area of religion, Caroline Bynum's *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (1982) illustrates new trends in the study of women in this period.

Hans Eberhard Mayer's *The Crusades* (1988) is an excellent brief history of the crusading era. For a longer masterful account, stressing particularly the Byzantine standpoint, see Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (1987).

The classic account of the revival of trade and urban life is Henri Pirenne's *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (1952).

The standard histories of the Byzantine Empire are Georgij A. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (1969), and Alexander Aleksandrovich Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2 vols. (1952). Volume 1 of Vasiliev's work takes the history down to 1081. Later Byzantine history, for which conventional narratives are scarce, is unusually well covered by A. P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein in *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (1985). This book stresses social and economic issues instead of religion and politics and covers broader topics than its title indicates.

NOTE

1. Lewis G. M. Thorpe, *Two Lives of Charlemagne* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 1969).

CHAPTER EIGHT

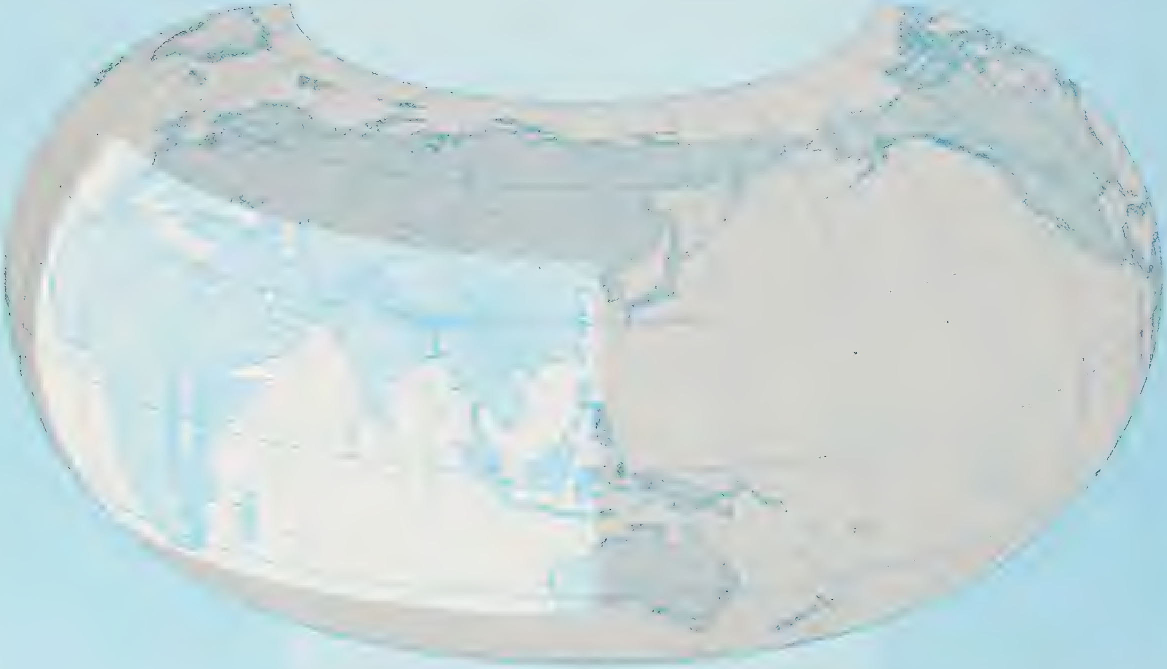
Expanding Networks of Communication and the Rise of Islam,

300 B.C.E.–1200 C.E.

The Silk Road • Indian Ocean Trade • Routes Across the Sahara

Sub-Saharan Africa • The Spread of Ideas • The Origins of Islam

The Caliphate in Power • Islamic Civilization



Around the year 800 C.E., a Chinese poet named Bo Zhuyi nostalgically wrote:

> Iranian whirling girl, Iranian whirling
>   girl—
> Her heart answers to the strings,
> Her hands answer to the drums.
> At the sound of the strings and drums, she
>   raises her arms,
> Like whirling snowflakes tossed about, she
>   turns in her twirling dance.
> Iranian whirling girl,
> You came from Sogdiana.
> In vain did you labor to come east more
>   than ten thousand tricents.
> For in the central plains there were already
>   some who could do the Iranian whirl,
> And in a contest of wonderful abilities, you
>   would not be their equal.[1]

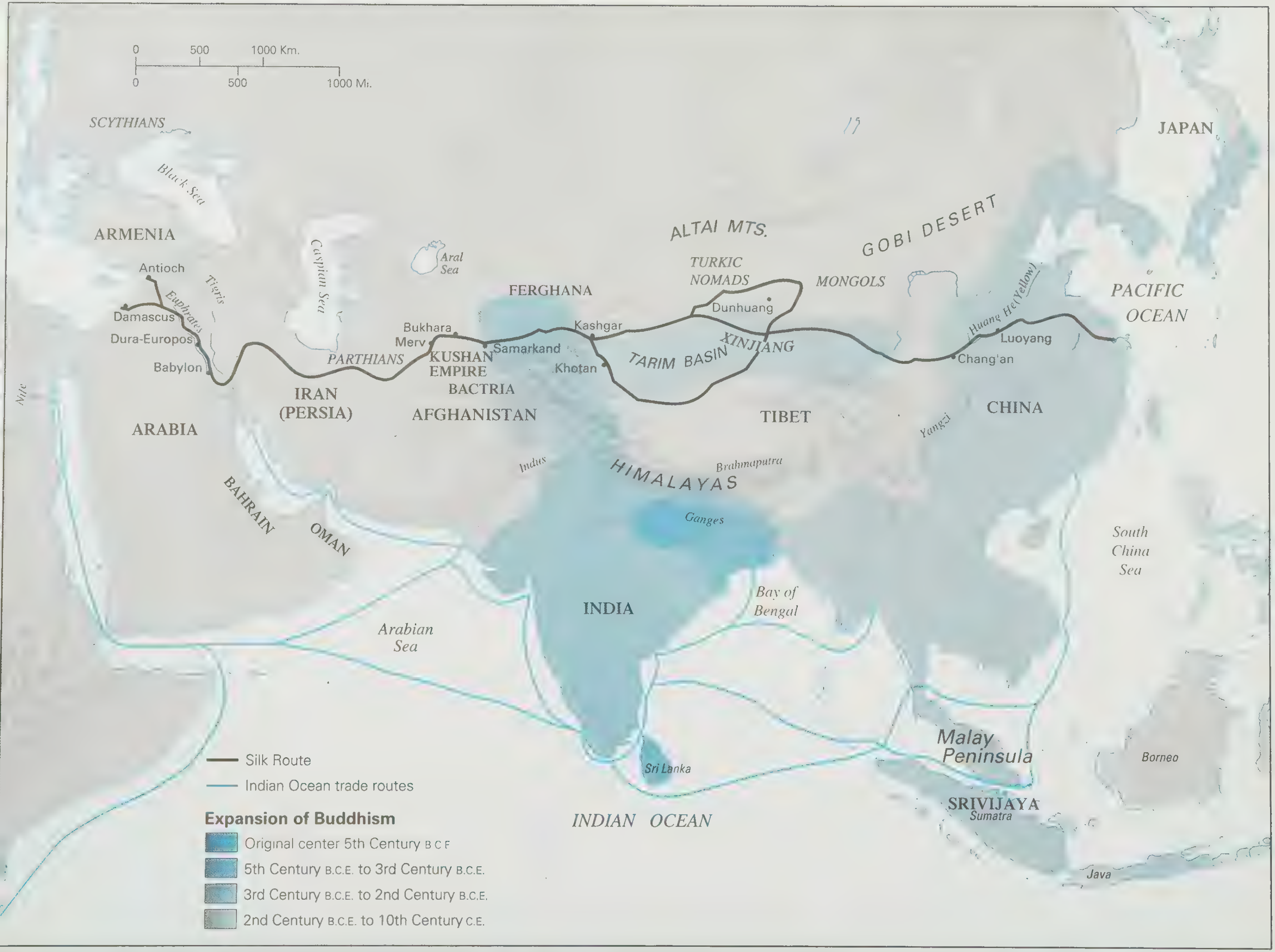
An exotic foreign dancer would not seem particularly remarkable to us, accustomed as we are to a world closely interconnected through television and satellite communications. But the western part of Central Asia, the region around Samarkand and Bukhara known in the eighth century C.E. as Sogdiana, was 2,500 miles (4,000 kilometers) from the Chinese capital of Chang'an. The average caravan took more than four months to trek across the mostly unsettled deserts, mountains, and grasslands. How many Iranian dancing girls reached China by this route? Enough to make their style of dance legendary and the object of local imitation. Indeed, contemporary pottery figurines excavated from Chinese graves show troupes of Iranian performers.

The Silk Road connecting China and the Middle East across Central Asia was an important conduit for the exchange of agricultural goods, manufactured products, and ideas. But musicians and dancing girls traveled, too—as did camel pullers, merchants, monks, and pilgrims. Like any important trade route, the Silk Road was not just a means of bringing peoples and parts of the world into contact; it was a social system. However, it was a social system that neither lay within a state or empire nor gave rise to one. Consequently, this and other major trading networks that have had a deep impact on world history deserve special scrutiny.

Circumstantial evidence, reinforced by legendary accounts of missionary exploits, offers the persuasive argument that trade routes and networks of exchange played vital roles in the spread of religion. How people received, adapted, and utilized each religion as it spread from one country to the next is difficult to determine. But the spread of religion plays as important a role as agricultural and technological innovation in shaping the patterns of cultural change and diversity in this first era of long-distance interchange among the peoples of the earth.

This chapter examines the social systems and historical impact of exchange networks that developed between 300 B.C.E. and 1200 C.E. in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Silk Road, the Indian Ocean, and the trans-Saharan caravan routes in Africa were the avenues of long-distance trade in this era, when major parts of the globe began slowly to get to know one another. This chapter also compares the development of the Saharan trading system of northern Africa with the simultaneous folk migrations of Bantu-speaking peoples within sub-Saharan Africa that laid the foundation for that region's special type of cultural unity.

Finally, this chapter discusses the spread of ideas, especially the dramatic expansion of Islam as a political, social, and cultural community.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SCYTHIANS
Black Sea
ARMENIA
Antioch
Damascus
Dura-Europos
Babylon
Euphrates
Tigris
Nile
ARABIA
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
IRAN (PERSIA)
PARTHIANS
Merv
Bukhara
KUSHAN EMPIRE
BACTRIA
AFGHANISTAN
FERGHANA
Samarkand
Kashgar
Khotan
TARIM BASIN
XINJIANG
TURKIC NOMADS
Dunhuang
ALTAI MTS.
GOBI DESERT
MONGOLS
Huang He (Yellow)
Luoyang
Chang'an
CHINA
Yangzi
TIBET
HIMALAYAS
Brahmaputra
Indus
Ganges
INDIA
Bay of Bengal
Sri Lanka
BAHRAIN
OMAN
Arabian Sea
INDIAN OCEAN
Malay Peninsula
SRIVIJAYA
Sumatra
Java
Borneo
South China Sea
PACIFIC OCEAN
JAPAN
Silk Route
Indian Ocean trade routes
Expansion of Buddhism
Original center 5th Century B.C.E.
5th Century B.C.E. to 3rd Century B.C.E.
3rd Century B.C.E. to 2nd Century B.C.E.
2nd Century B.C.E. to 10th Century C.E.

THE SILK ROAD

Archaeology and linguistic studies show that the peoples of Central Asia engaged in long-distance movement and exchange from at least the second millennium B.C.E. In Roman times the idea of the Silk Road captivated the imagination of Europeans. A trade route linking the lands of the Mediterranean with China by way of Mesopotamia, Iran, and Central Asia, the Silk Road drew together different parts of the Eurasian landmass during its first centuries of use. Historians today put great emphasis on the long distances traveled. For example, once the route was fully functioning, around 150 B.C.E., Greeks could buy Chinese silk from Parthian traders in Mesopotamian border entrepôts.

In 128 B.C.E., a Chinese general named Zhang Qian made his first exploratory journey westward across Central Asia on behalf of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty. After crossing the broad and desolate Tarim Basin north of Tibet, he reached the fertile valley of Ferghana, nestled between the Pamir and Tian Mountains, and for the first time encountered westward-flowing rivers. There he found horse breeders whose animals far outclassed any other horses he had ever seen. In China these noble animals would be deemed descendants of a heavenly horse.

Later Chinese historians looked on General Zhang Qian as the originator of overland trade with the western lands, and they credited him with personally introducing into China a whole garden of new plants and trees. Zhang Qian's own account proves that the people of Ferghana were already receiving goods from China, though probably by way of India. He saw them using canes made from a square type of bamboo that grows only in western China. Nevertheless, as leader of some eighteen imperial expeditions, Zhang Qian was an important pioneer on the more northerly route.

The keys to the opening of the Silk Road were, on the eastern end, Chinese eagerness for western products, especially horses, and on the western end, the organized Parthian state controlling the flourishing markets of Mesopotamia and culturally linked to the pastoralists of Central Asia (see Map 8.1). In between were caravan cities to support the traders and camel- and horse-breeding nomads to supply them with livestock. Central Asian trading cities—such as Kashgar, Khotan, Samarkand, Bukhara, and Merv—grew and flourished.

Chinese sources abound in references to products imported across the Silk Road. Chinese farmers adopted alfalfa, domestic grapes, pistachios, walnuts, pomegranates, sesame, coriander, spinach, and many other new crops. Chinese artisans and physicians used trade products such as jasmine oil, oak galls (used in tanning animal hides, dyeing, and ink making), sal ammoniac (for medicines), copper oxides, zinc, and precious stones.

Caravan traders going from east to west brought back from China new fruits such as the peach and the apricot, which the Romans attributed to Persia and Armenia, respectively, demonstrating the route of dissemination farther westward. Caravans also brought cinnamon, ginger, and other spices that could not be grown in the West. Above all, however, China was known for its manufactured goods—particularly silk, pottery, and paper—all of which eventually were adopted or imitated in western lands, starting with Iran.

Chinese pottery figurines of pack camels and figurines from the Parthian period found in Mesopotamia usually show the animals carrying almost hemispherical loads hanging on either side. Assuming that the potters depicted items of special distinction, we can say that these loads most likely contained silk. Thus, despite the great di-

Map 8.1 Asian Trade and Communication Routes The overland Silk Road was much shorter than the maritime route from the South China Sea to the Red Sea, and ships were more expensive than pack animals. Moreover, China's political centers were in the north. Historians remain puzzled by the lack of Buddhist expansion westward from Afghanistan.

versity of goods exchanged by caravan across Central Asia, the traditional name of the Silk Road seems well justified.

INDIAN OCEAN TRADE

Some Chinese and western products were exchanged by sea rather than by land. Just as nomads and city traders in Central Asia played the major role in trade along the Silk Road, so a multilingual, multiethnic society of seafarers carried on most of the trade across the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. These people left few records and seldom played a visible part in the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires, but they forged increasingly strong economic and social ties between the coastal lands of East Africa, southern Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India, Southeast Asia, and southern China (see Map 8.1).

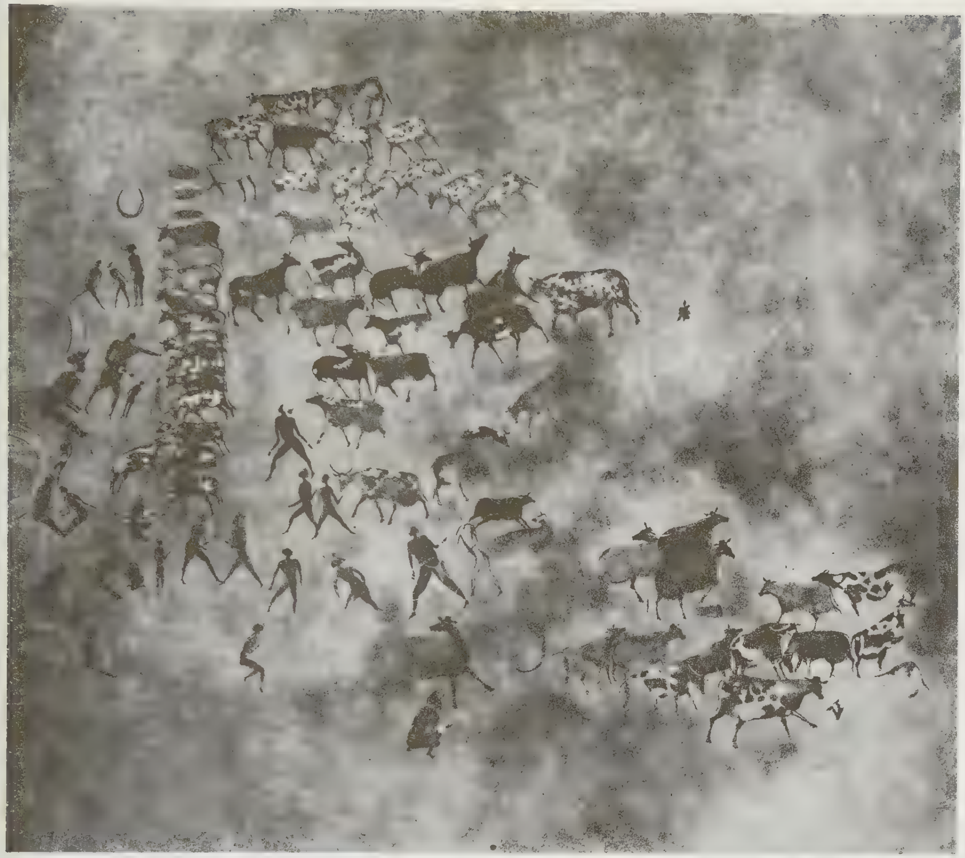
An anonymous work by a Greco-Egyptian of the first century C.E., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (that is, the Red Sea), describes ports of call along the Red Sea and down the East African coast to somewhere south of the island of Zanzibar. Then it describes the ports of southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf before continuing eastward to India, mentioning ports all the way around the subcontinent to the mouth of the Ganges River. Though the geographer Ptolemy, who lived slightly later, had heard of ports as far away as Southeast Asia, the author of the *Periplus* had obviously voyaged to the places he mentions and was not merely an armchair traveler. What he describes is unquestionably a trading *system* and is clear evidence of the steady growth of interconnections in the region during the preceding centuries.

The demand for products from the coastal lands inspired mariners. Africa produced exotic animals, wood, and ivory. The highlands of northern Somalia and southern Arabia grew the scrubby trees whose aromatic resins were valued as frankincense and myrrh. Trees on the island of Socotra near the entrance of the Red Sea produced "dragon's blood," a scarlet resin that Roman artists highly valued as a pigment. Pearls abounded in the Persian Gulf, and evidence of ancient copper mines has been found in Oman in southeast Arabia. India shipped spices and manufactured goods, and more spices came from Southeast Asia, along with pottery and other manufactured goods obtained in trade with China. In sum, the Indian Ocean trading region was one of enormous potential richness. Given the long distances and the comparative lack of islands, however, the volume of trade there was undoubtedly much lower than in the Mediterranean Sea.

The pace of communication across the Indian Ocean increased over time. By the early Islamic era of the eighth century C.E., eastern products were well known in the Middle East, Javanese and Indian communities had been established in Mesopotamia, a partially seaborne Arab expedition had conquered the lower Indus Valley, and a large colony of Arab and Persian traders was growing up in southern China. Evidence of the worship of Hindu gods by Indian traders can be found in caves in southwestern Iran, and close relations exist to this day between Arab families long settled in Singapore and Jakarta and the land of their ancestors in southern Yemen.

ROUTES ACROSS THE SAHARA

The windswept Sahara, stretching from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean and broken only by the Nile River, isolates sub-Saharan Africa from the Mediterranean world. The current dryness of the Sahara dates only to about 2500 B.C.E., however. The period of drying out that preceded that date was twenty-five centuries long and encompassed several cultural changes. During that time, travel between an only slowly shrinking number of grassy areas was comparatively easy. However, by 300 B.C.E., scarcity of water was restricting travel to a few difficult routes initially known only to desert nomads. Trans-Saharan trade over these routes at first was only a trickle, but eventually it expand-



Cattle herders in Saharan rock art These paintings, the most artistically accomplished type of Saharan art, succeeded the depictions of hunters characteristic of the earliest art. Herding societies of modern times living in the Sahel region south of the Sahara strongly resemble the society depicted here. This suggests that as the Sahara became completely arid, the cattle herders moved south and played a role in the formation of sub-Saharan African culture. (Henri Lhote)

ed into a significant stream. By 1100 C.E., the riches in gold, slaves, and tropical goods flowing northward had begun to excite the envy of the Europeans, whose desire to find the source of the Saharan trading wealth helped trigger their farflung explorations after the year 1400 C.E.

Trade Across the Sahara

Trade between two different trading systems across the Sahara, one in the south, the other in the north, developed slowly. Southern traders concentrated on supplying salt from large deposits in the southern desert to the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa. Salt is a physiological necessity in torrid climates, and natural deposits are rare outside the desert. Traders from the equatorial forest zone brought forest products, such as kola nuts and palm oil, to trading centers near the desert's southern fringe. Each received from the other, or from the farming peoples of the Sahel—literally "the coast" in Arabic, the southern borderlands of the Sahara—the products they needed in their homelands.

In the north, the main trade of Roman North Africa consisted of supplying Italy with agricultural products, primarily wheat and olives, and with wild animals for the arena in Rome. Cities near the coast, such as Carthage, Hippo in Tunisia, and Leptis Magna in Libya, were centers of exchange. Abundant ruins with mosaic pavements depicting scenes from daily life show that people living on the farms and in the towns of the interior consumed Roman manufactured goods and shared Roman styles.

This northern pattern began to change with the decline of the Roman Empire, and after the Arabs invaded North Africa in the middle of the seventh century C.E., the direction of trade shifted to the Middle East, the center of Arab rule. Because the Arab conquests were inspired by the new religion of Islam (see below) and the Christian lands of Europe constituted enemy territory, trans-Mediterranean trade diminished still more. Meanwhile, an east-west overland trade grew to compete with the coastal sea route. Many of the Arabs were members of camel-breeding tribes back in their Arabian homeland. Thus they felt a cultural kinship with those Berbers who had taken up camel pastoralism during the preceding few centuries, and they related better to the peoples of the interior than any previous conquerors had done.

A series of Berber revolts against Arab rule from 740 onward led to the appearance of several small principalities in what are today Morocco and Algeria. The rulers of these city-states on the northern fringe of the Sahara held Islamic beliefs somewhat different from those of the Arab rulers in the east, and religious differences may have interfered with their east-west overland trade and led them to look for new possibilities elsewhere. The fragmentary records that survive imply that traders from two of these city-states, Sijilmasa and Tahert, were the first to develop significant and regular trading contact with the south, in the ninth century.

Once they did look south, they discovered that gold dust was one of the products the southern nomads received in exchange for salt. The gold came from deposits along the Niger and other West African rivers. The people who panned for the gold seem not to have used it extensively and did not value it nearly as highly as did the traders from Sijilmasa. For the latter, trading salt for gold was a dream come true. They were able to provide the nomads of the southern desert, who controlled the salt sources but had little use for gold, with products not available from the south, such as copper and certain manufactured goods. Thus everyone benefited from the creation of the new trade link. Sijilmasa and Tahert became wealthy cities, the former minting gold coins that circulated as far away as Egypt and Syria. The high value placed on gold in the Mediterranean lands greatly increased the profitability of the trade at every stage.

The Kingdom of Ghana

The earliest known sub-Saharan beneficiary of the new exchange system was the kingdom of Ghana. First mentioned in an Arabic text of the late eighth century as "the land of gold," Ghana inaugurates the documentable political history of West Africa. Yet until the mid-eleventh century, few details are available about this realm, established by the Soninke people and covering parts of Mali, Mauritania, and Senegal. The Arab geographer al-Bakri (d. 1094) described it as follows:

> The city of Ghana consists of two towns situated on a plain. One of these towns is inhabited by Muslims. It is large and possesses a dozen mosques, one being for the Friday prayer, and each having imams [prayer leaders], muezzins [people to make the call to prayer], and salaried reciters of the Quran. There are jurisconsults [legal specialists] and scholars. Around the town are sweet wells, which they use for drinking and for cultivating vegetables. The royal city, called al-Ghaba ["the grove"], is six miles away, and the area between the two towns is covered with habitations. Their houses are constructed of stone and acacia wood. The king has a palace with conical huts, surrounded by a fence like a wall. In the king's town, not far from the royal court, is a mosque for the use of Muslims who visit the king on missions. . . . The interpreters of the king are Muslims, as are his treasurer and the majority of his ministers.

> Their religion is paganism, and the worship of idols. . . . Around the royal town are domed dwellings, woods and copses where live their sorcerers, those in charge of their religious cults. There are also their idols and their kings' tombs.[2]

After 1076, Ghana fell prey to a new state formed by desert nomads, the Muslim Almoravids, who ruled both sides of the desert from their newly built capital city of Marrakesh in Morocco. After little more than a decade, during which later Muslim historians assert many people in Ghana converted to Islam, Almoravid strength in the south dwindled because of demands for military manpower in the north. Although Ghana thereby regained its independence, many of its former provinces had been permanently lost, and it never recovered its former greatness. Ghana's strength had derived from its dominance of the new trading system. But with the Almoravids still powerful in Morocco, the old system could not easily be recreated.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The Indian Ocean network and, somewhat later, trade across the Sahara provided the vast region of sub-Saharan Africa with a few external contacts. The most important African network of cultural exchange from 300 B.C.E. to 1100 C.E., however, was within sub-Saharan Africa, and it led to the formation of enduring characteristics of African culture.

That a significant degree of cultural unity developed in sub-Saharan Africa is remarkable because of the many geographic obstacles to movement. With the exception of the Nile, a ribbon of green traversing the Sahara from south to north, the major river systems empty either into the South Atlantic or into the Mozambique Channel of the Indian Ocean, and rapids limit the use of these rivers for navigation.

Stretching over 80 degrees of latitude, Africa encompasses a large number of dramatically different environments, from semiarid steppes to tropical savanna, to tropical rain forest and another broad expanse of savanna, followed by more steppe and desert, to a region of temperate highlands at the southern tip—located as far south of the equator as Greece and Sicily are to its north.

Development of Cultural Unity

By the first millennium C.E., sub-Saharan Africa had become a distinct cultural region, but one that was not shaped by imperial conquest and not characterized by a shared elite culture—what some anthropologists call a "great tradition." The cultural unity of sub-Saharan Africa was especially complex because it rested on similar characteristics shared to varying degrees by myriad popular cultures, or "small traditions." In fact, sub-Saharan Africa's cultural unity is less immediately apparent than its diversity. Both students and scholars find the number and variety of the continent's social and cultural forms breathtaking. By one estimate, two thousand distinct languages are spoken on the continent, many of them corresponding to social and belief systems that have distinctive rituals and cosmologies. There are likewise numerous food production systems, ranging from hunting and gathering—very differently carried out by the Mbuti Pygmies of the equatorial rain forest and the Khoisan peoples of the southwestern deserts—to the cultivation of bananas, yams, and other root crops in forest clearings and of sorghum and other grains in the savanna lands. Pastoral societies display a similar diversity.

Such diversity is not surprising. Sub-Saharan Africa covers an area much larger than any of the other cultural regions of the first millennium C.E., and the diversity of its climate, terrain, and vegetation is more pronounced. Africans adapted to these many environments in distinctive ways. Moreover, the overall density of population was in most areas lower than in the temperate lands to the north. Thus societies and polities had abundant room to form and reform, and a substantial amount of space separated different groups. The contacts that did occur were neither so frequent nor so long lasting as to produce rigid cultural uniformity.

Another factor accounts for the persisting diversity of sub-Saharan Africa—the inability for centuries of external conquerors to penetrate the region's natural barriers and impose any sort of uniform culture. The Egyptians occupied Nubia for long periods but were blocked from going farther south by the Nile cataracts and the vast swampland in the Nile's upper reaches. The Romans sent expeditions against people living in the Libyan Sahara but could not incorporate them into the Roman world. Indeed, not until the nineteenth century did outsiders gain control of the continent and begin the process of establishing an elite culture—that of western Europe.

African Cultural Characteristics

Despite the great cultural variations, outside visitors who got to know the sub-Saharan region well in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were always struck by the broad commonalities that underlay African life and culture. Though there were many varieties of African kingdoms, kingship displayed common features, most notably the ritual isolation of the king himself. And even societies too small to organize themselves into kingdoms had distinct social categories—age groupings, fixed kinship divisions, distinct gender roles and relations, and occupational groupings. In agriculture, the common technique was cultivation by hoe and digging stick.

Commonalities also were evident in music. Africans played many musical instruments, yet underlying traditions, particularly in rhythm, made African music as a whole distinctive. Music played an important role in social rituals, as did dancing and wearing masks.

Those and other indications of underlying cultural unity have led modern observers to identify a common African quality throughout most of the region, even though most sub-Saharan Africans themselves did not perceive it. An eminent Belgian anthropologist, Jacques Maquet, has called this quality "Africanity."

Iron and the Bantu Migrations

Archaeological investigation has shown that sub-Saharan agriculture first became common north of the equator by the early second millennium B.C.E. and then spread southward, displacing hunting and gathering as a way of life. Moreover, there is botanical evidence that banana trees, probably introduced to southeastern Africa from Southeast Asia, made their way north and west, retracing the presumed migrations of the first agriculturalists.

A second dispersal involved metallurgy. Iron smelting is documented in northern sub-Saharan Africa in the early first millennium C.E. From there it spread southward to the rest of the continent, becoming firmly established in southern Africa by the year 800.

Iron does not occur naturally in metallic form, except in meteorites, and a very high temperature is necessary to extract it from ores. Thus many historians believe that the secret of smelting iron was discovered only once, by the Hittites of Anatolia (modern Turkey) around 1500 B.C.E. (see Chapter 2). Its spread from this presumed point of origin can generally be traced in Europe and Asia, but how iron smelting reached sub-Saharan Africa is not clear. So some historians suggest that Africans discovered for themselves how to smelt iron, perhaps while firing pottery in kilns. No firm evidence exists to prove or disprove this theory.

Linguistic analysis provides the strongest evidence of extensive contacts among sub-Saharan Africans in the first millennium C.E.—and offers suggestions about the spread of iron. Nearly all of the more than three hundred languages spoken south of the equator are closely related, belonging to the branch of the Niger-Kongo language family known as Bantu after the word meaning "people" in most of the languages. The distribution of the Bantu languages both north and south of the equator is consistent with a divergence beginning in the first millennium B.C.E. By comparing core words common to most of the languages, linguists have drawn some conclusions about the original Bantu-speakers, whom they call "proto-Bantu."

The proto-Bantu engaged in fishing, using canoes, nets, lines, and hooks. They lived in permanent villages on the edge of the rain forest, where they grew yams and grains and harvested wild oil palms. They possessed domesticated goats, dogs, and perhaps other animals. They made pottery and cloth. Linguists surmise that the proto-Bantu homeland was near the modern boundary of Nigeria and Cameroon, from which they trace western and eastern routes of linguistic dispersal into the equatorial rain forests to the south. Although dates for this long process are scarce, Bantu-speaking people are evident in East Africa by the eighth century C.E.

Because the presumed home of the proto-Bantu lies near the known sites of early iron smelting, migration by Bantu-speakers seems a likely mechanism for the southward spread of iron. Supplied with iron axes and iron hoes, the migrating Bantus are presumed to have hacked out forest clearings and planted crops. According to this scenario, they established an economic basis for new societies that were able to sustain much denser populations than could earlier societies dependent on hunting and gathering. Thus the period from 500 B.C.E. to 1000 C.E. saw a massive transfer of Bantu traditions and practices southward, eastward, and westward and their transformation into Pan-African traditions and practices.

THE SPREAD OF IDEAS

Ideas, like social customs, religious attitudes, and artistic styles, can spread along trade routes and through folk migrations just as agricultural and technological innovations spread. Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam (discussed in next section) all developed local customs and understandings as they spread, despite the overall doctrinal unity of each. As "great traditions," these religions linked priests, monks, nuns, and religious scholars across vast distances. The masses of believers, however, seldom considered their faith in such broad contexts. Missionary religions imported through long-distance trading networks merged with myriad "small traditions" to provide for the social and spiritual needs of peoples living in many lands under widely varying circumstances.

Spread of Buddhism

The spread of ideas in an organized way emerges as a new phenomenon in the first millennium B.C.E. From its original home in northern India in the fifth century B.C.E., Buddhism grew to become, with Christianity and Islam, one of the three most popular and widespread religions in the world (see Chapter 6). In all three cases, the religious ideas being spread were distinctive because of *not* being associated with specific ethnic or kinship groups.

King Ashoka, the Maurya ruler of India, and Kanishka, the greatest king of the Kushans of northern Afghanistan, were powerful royal advocates of Buddhism between the third century B.C.E. and the second century C.E. However, monks, missionaries, and pilgrims were the people who crisscrossed India, followed the Silk Road, or sailed the Indian Ocean to bring the Buddha's teachings to Southeast Asia, China, Korea, and ultimately Japan.

The Chinese pilgrims Faxian (died between 418 and 423 C.E.) and Xuanzang (600–664 C.E.) left written accounts of their travels. Both followed the Silk Road, from which Buddhism had arrived in China, encountering along the way Buddhist communities and monasteries that previous generations of missionaries and pilgrims had established. Less reliable accounts mention missionaries traveling to Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia, as well as to Southeast Asia. One of Ashoka's sons allegedly led a band of missionaries to Sri Lanka. Later his sister brought a company of nuns along

Textile with Buddha image from northwest China Images of the Buddha, with or without various attendants, are central in the art of all Buddhist countries. The image of the Buddha first emerged in Gandhara in northwest Pakistan around the third century B.C.E. Originally influenced by Greek artistic styles introduced by Alexander the Great, it developed many variations as Buddhism spread across the Silk Road and Indian Ocean. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

with a branch of the sacred Bo tree under which the Buddha received enlightenment. According to Buddhist tradition, she accomplished her journey by air. At the same time, there are reports of other monks traveling to Burma, Thailand, and Sumatra. Ashoka's missionaries may also have reached Tibet by way of trade routes across the Himalayas. A firmer tradition maintains that in 622 C.E. a minister of the Tibetan king traveled to India to study Buddhism and on his return introduced writing to his homeland.

Spread of Christianity

The post-Roman development of Christianity in Europe is discussed in Chapter 7. The Christian faith spread earlier in northern Africa and Asia, however. Aksum, the first Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, provides an illuminating example of the role of trade routes. In the fourth century C.E., a Syrian philosopher traveling with two youths took ship for India to acquaint himself with distant lands. Returning, they put into a port on the Red Sea occupied by Ethiopians who had had a falling out with the Romans. The Ethiopians killed everyone aboard the ship except the two boys, Aedesius—who later narrated this story—and Frumentius. They were taken before the king, who made the former his cupbearer and the latter his treasurer and secretary.

When the king died, his wife pleaded with Frumentius to take over the reins of government on behalf of her and her infant son, Ezana. Vested with such power, Frumentius sought out Roman Christians among the merchants who visited the country and urged them to establish Christian communities. It is not stated whether he converted Ezana before he reached his majority and became king. Once Ezana was in power, however, Aedesius and Frumentius were free to return to Syria. From there, Frumentius traveled to Egypt to report to the patriarch of Alexandria on the progress of Christianity in Aksum. Though Frumentius had not previously been a clergyman, the patriarch elevated him to the rank of bishop and in approximately 330 sent him back to inaugurate that post at Aksum, thus beginning the still-continuing tradition of the patriarch of Alexandria appointing the head of the Ethiopian church.

THE ORIGINS OF ISLAM

The story of Islam begins in Arabia with the Prophet Muhammad. But the dramatic growth of Islam as a political, social, and cultural community involved many peoples and had roots in developments that preceded him.

Arab conquerors in the seventh century established an empire that maintained its political cohesion for less than three centuries—long enough to sustain a massive religious conversion that turned Islam from a religion of desert Arabs into a multiethnic universal faith. Islam fostered a vibrant and productive urban culture that contrasted dramatically with the urban decline of the Latin Christian West. Islamic society developed approaches to law, piety, and social relations that differed from those of the Christians, despite the Judaic roots that both religions shared.

The Arabian Peninsula Before Muhammad

Throughout history most of the people living on the Arabian peninsula have lived in settled communities rather than as pastoral nomads. The highlands of Yemen are fertile and abundantly watered by the spring monsoon blowing northward along the East African coast. The interior mountains farther east in southern Arabia are much more arid but in some places receive enough water to support farming and village life. And small inlets along the coast favored the rise of an occasional fishing and trading community. These regions are largely cut off from the Arabian interior by the enormous sea of sand known as the "Empty Quarter." In the seventh century, most people in southern Arabia knew more about Africa, India, and the Persian Gulf than about the forbidding interior of the great peninsula and the scattered camel- and sheep-herding nomads who lived there. Exceptions to this pattern were mostly associated with caravan trading: just as the Silk Road enabled small towns in Central Asia to become major trading centers, so the trans-Arabian trade gave rise to desert caravan cities (see Voices and Visions: Saba, a Caravan City).

Mecca, a late-blooming caravan city, lies in a barren mountain valley halfway between Yemen and Syria along the Red Sea coast of Arabia. The torrid coastal plain, ill suited to caravan travel, gave Mecca a good position in the trade from Yemen to the north and east. A nomadic kin group known as the Quraysh settled in Mecca in the fifth century and assumed control of this trade. Mecca rapidly achieved a measure of prosperity, partly because it was too far from Byzantine Syria, Sasanid Iraq, and Ethiopian-controlled Yemen for them to attack. It came nowhere near to rivaling the earlier luxuries of Middle Eastern cities such as Palmyra and Petra, but some subgroups of the Quraysh became wealthy.

Mecca was also a cult center. A cubical shrine called the Ka'ba, a holy well called Zamzam, and a sacred precinct surrounding the two wherein killing was prohibited contributed to its emergence as a pilgrimage site. Some Meccans associated the shrine with stories known to Jews and Christians. They regarded Abraham (Ibrahim in Arabic) as the builder of the Ka'ba, and they identified a site outside Mecca as the location where God asked Abraham to sacrifice his son. The son was not Isaac (Ishaq in Arabic), the son of Sarah, but Ishmael (Isma'il in Arabic), the son of Hagar, cited in the Hebrew Old Testament as the forefather of the Arabs.

Muhammad in Mecca

Muhammad was born in Mecca in 570 and grew up an orphan in the house of his uncle, Abu Talib. He engaged in trade and married a widow

Saba, a Caravan City

Travelers' descriptions give a good picture of caravan cities. A geographer-historian from the first century b.c.e., Diodorus of Siculus, provides a valuable description of the Saba, in Yemen, a terminal city of the Arabian caravan route that linked the incense-producing region of southern Arabia with Jordan and Syria.

And a natural sweet odor pervades the entire land because practically all the things which excel in fragrance grow there unceasingly. Along the coast, for instance, grow balsam . . . and cassia. . . . And throughout the interior of the land there are thick forests, in which are great trees which yield frankincense and myrrh, as well as palms and reeds, cinnamon trees and every other kind which possesses a sweet odor such as these have. . . .

This people surpassed not only the neighboring Arabs but also all other men in wealth and in their several extravagancies besides. For in the exchange and sale of their wares they, of all men who carry on trade for the sake of the silver they receive in exchange, obtain the highest price in return for things of the smallest weight. Consequently, since they have never for ages suffered the ravages of war because of their secluded position, and since an abundance of both gold and silver abounds in the country, especially in Saba, where the royal palace is situated, they have embossed goblets of every description, made of silver and gold, couches and tripods with silver feet, and every other furnishing of incredible costliness, and halls encircled by large columns, some of them gilded, and others having silver figures on the capitals. . . . For the fact is that these people have enjoyed their felicity unshaken since ages past because they have been entire strangers to those whose own covetousness leads them to feel that another man's wealth is their own godsend. . . . And there are prosperous islands nearby, containing unwalled cities. . . . These islands are visited by sailors from every part and especially from Potana, the city which Alexander founded on the Indus River.

What role do imported goods play in the economy of this city? To what degree is monarchy associated with trade?

Source: Diodorus Siculus, Book III, 46–47.

named Khadija, also a member of the Quraysh, whose caravan interests he superintended. Around the year 610, Muhammad adopted the practice of meditating at night in the mountainous terrain around Mecca. A series of revelations convinced him that God (Allah in Arabic) was speaking to him.

Like most people in the ancient world, including Christians and Jews, the Arabs believed in unseen spirits: gods, desert spirits called *jinns*, demons known as *shaitans*, and others. They further believed, just as most other ancient peoples did, that certain individuals had contact with the spirit world. Some were oracles or seers; others poets, who were thought to be possessed by a jinn. Therefore, when Muhammad began to recite his sonorous rhymed revelations in public, many people believed that he was inspired by an unseen spirit even as they questioned whether that spirit was, as Muhammad asserted, the one true god.

The content of Muhammad's earliest revelations called on people to witness that one god had created the universe and everything in it, including themselves. At the end of time, their souls would be judged, their sins balanced against their good deeds. The blameless would go to paradise; the sinful would taste hellfire. All people were called to submit themselves to Allah and accept Muhammad as the last of his messengers. Those who did so were called *muslim*, meaning one who makes "submission," *islam*, to the will of God.

Because earlier messengers mentioned in the revelations included Noah, Moses, and Jesus, it was clear to Muhammad's hearers that what he was saying was in agreement with the Judaism and Christianity they already were somewhat familiar with. Yet Muhammad's revelations were distinctly different. They charged the Jews and Christians with being negligent in preserving God's revealed word, just as other peoples, such as those at Sodom and Gomorrah, to whom God had sent the prophet Lot, had rejected it outright. Thus, even though the Ka'ba, which superseded Jerusalem as the focus of Muslim prayer in 624, was founded by Abraham/Ibrahim, whom Muslims consider the first Muslim, and even though many revelations narrated stories also found in the Bible, Muhammad's followers considered his revelation more perfect than that of the Bible.

Formation of the Umma

Though conceding that Muhammad's eloquence might stem from possession by a jinn, most Meccan leaders felt that their power and prosperity would be threatened by acceptance of Muhammad as the sole agent of the one true God. They put pressure on his kin to disavow him, and they persecuted the weakest of his followers. Stymied by this hostility, Muhammad and his followers fled Mecca in 622 to take up residence in the agricultural community of Medina 215 miles (346 kilometers) to the north. This carefully planned flight, the *hijra*, marks the beginning of the Muslim calendar.

Prior to the hijra, representatives of the major kin groups of Medina had met with Muhammad and agreed to accept and protect him and his community of Muslims because they saw him as an inspired leader who could calm their perpetual feuding. Together, the Meccan migrants and major groups in Medina bound themselves into a single *umma*, a community defined solely by acceptance of Islam and of Muhammad as the "Messenger of God," his most common title. Three Jewish kin groups chose to retain their own faith. Their decision is one reason why Muslims changed the direction of their prayer away from Jerusalem and toward the Ka'ba in 624.

During the last decade of his life, Muhammad took active responsibility for his umma. The Meccan immigrants in the community were terribly vulnerable without the support of their Meccan kinsmen. Fresh revelations provided a framework for regulating social and legal affairs and stirred the Muslims to fight against the still-unbelieving city of Mecca. Sporadic war, much of it conducted by raiding and negotiation with desert nomads, sapped Mecca's strength and convinced many Meccans that God was on Muhammad's side. In 630 Mecca surrendered, and Muhammad and his followers made the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba unhindered.

Muhammad did not return to Mecca again. Medina had grown into a bustling Muslim city-state. The Jews, whom he accused of disloyalty during the war, had been expelled or eliminated. Delegations from tribes all over Arabia came to meet the new leader, and Muhammad sent emissaries back with them to teach them about Islam and collect their alms. Whether or not he planned or desired it, Muhammad's mission to bring God's message to humanity had resulted in his unchallenged control of a state that was coming to dominate the Arabian peninsula. Yet unlike preceding short-lived nomadic kingdoms, the supremacy of the Medinan state was based not on kinship but on a common faith in a single god.

In 632, after a brief illness, Muhammad died. Within twenty-four hours a group of Medinan leaders, along with three of Muhammad's close friends, determined that Abu Bakr, one of the earliest believers and the father of Muhammad's favorite wife A'isha, should succeed him. They called him the *khalifa*, or "successor," the English version of which is *caliph*. But calling Abu Bakr a successor did not clarify the capacity in which he was succeeding the Prophet. Everyone knew that neither Abu Bakr nor anyone else could receive revelations, and they likewise knew that Muhammad's revelations had made no provision for succession, or for any government purpose beyond maintaining the Muslim community, the *umma*. Indeed, some people thought the world would soon end because God's last messenger was dead.

Abu Bakr's immediate task was to reestablish and expand Muslim authority over Arabia's many nomadic and settled communities. He ordered Muhammad's secretaries to organize the revelations into a book, called the Quran, or the Recitation. Muslims regard it not as the words of Muhammad but as the unalterable word of God. As such, it is comparable not so much to the Bible, a book written by many hands over a long period of time, as to the person of Jesus Christ, who, according to Christian belief, is a direct manifestation of God.

Though theoretically united in its acceptance of God's will, the umma soon fell prey to human disagreement over the succession to the caliphate. The first civil war in Islam followed the assassination of the third caliph, Uthman, in 656. His assassins, rebels from the army, nominated to succeed him Ali, Muhammad's first cousin and husband of his daughter Fatima.

When Ali accepted the nomination to be caliph, two of Muhammad's close companions and his favorite wife A'isha challenged him. Ali defeated them, but the governor of Syria, Mu'awiya, renewed the challenge. Inconclusive battle gave way to arbitration. The arbitrators decided that Ali had been at fault in accepting the nomination. Ali rejected the arbitrators' findings, but before he could resume fighting, he was killed by one of his own supporters, who faulted him for agreeing to arbitration in the first place. Mu'awiya offered Ali's son Hasan a dignified retirement in the holy cities and thus emerged as caliph in 661.

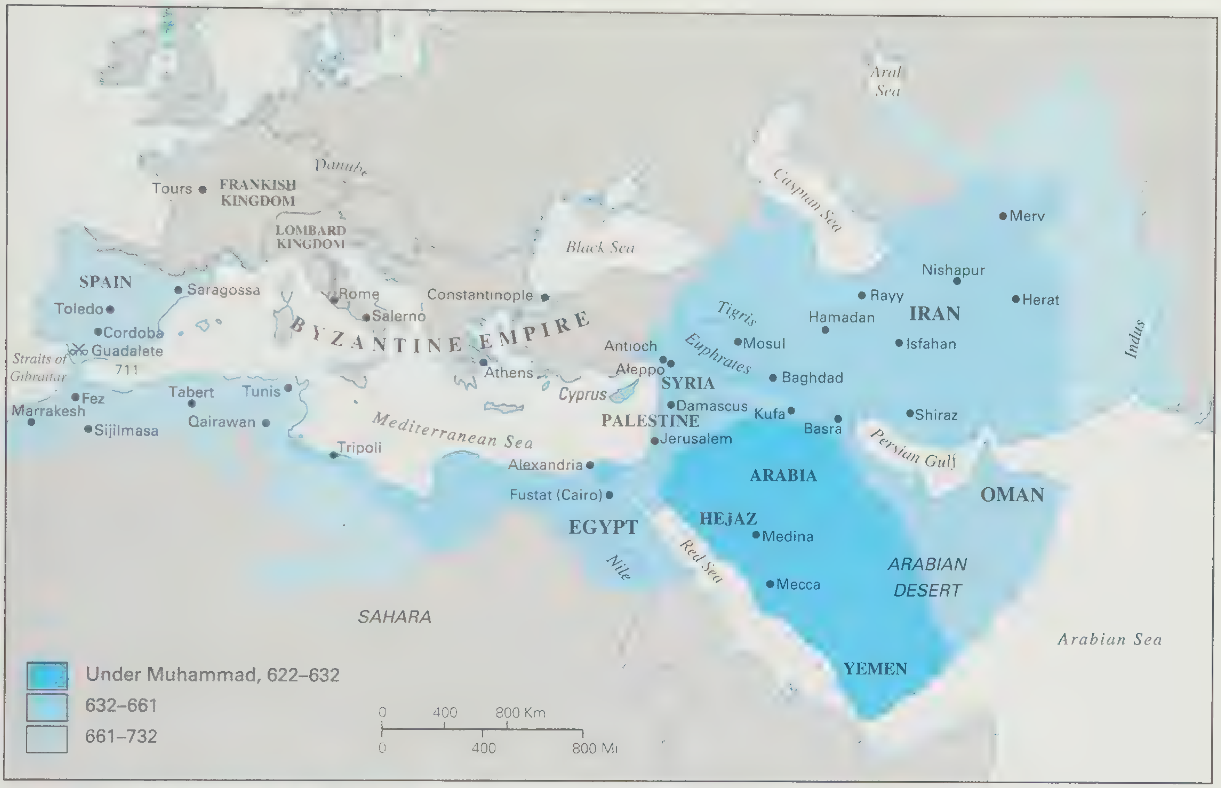
Mu'awiya chose his own son, Yazid, to succeed him and thus instituted the Umayyad dynasty. Yazid aroused opposition in 680 when he ordered the interception and killing of Hasan's brother Husain, and his family, when Husain tried to reestablish the right of Ali's family to rule. Sympathy for Husain's martyrdom was pivotal in the transformation of a political movement, the Party of Ali—in Arabic, *Shi'at Ali*, or Shi'ites for short—into a religious sect.

Several variations in Shi'ite belief developed, but Shi'ites have always agreed that Ali was the rightful successor to Muhammad and that God's choice as *Imam*, or leader of the Muslim community, at any given time is one or another of Ali's descendants. Because the Shi'ites were seldom strong enough to establish their Imams in power, their religious feelings came to focus on outpourings of sympathy for Husain and other martyrs and on messianic dreams of one of their Imams someday triumphing.

Those Muslims who thought the first three caliphs had been properly selected gradually came to be called the People of Tradition and Community—in Arabic, *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jama'a*, or Sunnis for short. As for Ali's militant followers who had abhorred his acceptance of arbitration in a matter they regarded as already determined by God, they evolved into small and rebellious Kharijite sects (from *kharaja* meaning "to secede or rebel"). These three main divisions of Islam, the last one now quite minor, still survive. Today the umma has grown to over 800 million people.

THE CALIPHATE IN POWER

Conquests carried out by the Arabs after Muhammad's death transformed the Islamic caliphate into a mighty empire. It lasted until 1923, when the secular government of the newly established Republic of Turkey voted to abolish it. During the last thousand years or so of its existence, however, it only occasionally exerted real power. By the late 800s the caliphs already were losing control as one piece after another of their huge realm broke away. Yet they always retained



Map 8.2 Early Expansion of Muslim Rule The territory brought under Muslim rule during the Arab conquests of the first Islamic century was vast. The expansion of Islam as the religion of the majority of the population was much slower. In most areas outside the Arabian peninsula, the only region where Arabic was then spoken, conversion was uncommon during the first century but accelerated during the second.

the respect of the Sunni community, and the idea of a caliphate, however unrealistic it became, remained a touchstone of Sunni belief in the unity of the umma.

Islamic Conquests

Arab conquests outside Arabia began under the second caliph, Umar (r. 634–644), possibly prompted by the first forays into Iraq. Within fifteen years Arab armies wrenched Syria and Egypt—and twenty years later Tunisia—away from the Byzantine Empire (see Map 8.2). In 711, Spain fell, and in the same year, Sind—the southern Indus Valley and westernmost region of India—succumbed to invaders from Iraq. Although a few pieces of territory were added later, such as Sicily in the ninth century, the extent of Muslim dominion remained roughly stable for the next three centuries. After that, conquest began anew in India, Anatolia, and Africa even as Islam was expanding peacefully by trade in these and other areas (see Chapter 12).

Muslim chroniclers portray the Arab conquests as manifestations of God's will. Non-Muslim historians have had a more difficult time explaining them. The speed and political cohesiveness of the Arab campaigns set them apart from the piecemeal incursions of the Germanic peoples or the Vikings. Lust for booty, a frequently offered explanation, exaggerates the idea that pastoral Arab society was naturally warlike. Greed also fails to explain the persistence of the campaigns in regions where difficult terrain slowed the conquest and booty was scarce. Yet the alternative theory—fanatical religious fervor—ignores the fact that most of the warriors had no firsthand experience of life in Medina and knew comparatively little about Islam. Moreover, non-Arab converts to Islam had a marginal role in the fighting, and certain Christian Arab kin groups were allowed to participate in the conquests without converting, as if Arab ethnicity rather than religion defined the movement.

Nor were the Arabs' adversaries powerless or fatally divided by religious quarrels as some historians have suggested. Indeed, the Byzantines successfully defended their Anatolian heartland, despite recurrent Muslim attacks, for four centuries after their loss of Syria, Egypt, and Tunisia.

The best explanation for this watershed in world history, the establishment of the caliphate through conquest as a great empire, is that the close Meccan companions of the Prophet were men of political and economic sophistication who were truly inspired by their experience of his charisma. They guided the conquests. The social structure and hardy nature of Arab society lent itself to flexible military operations, and the authority of Medina, reconfirmed during the caliphate of Abu Bakr, ensured obedience.

More important than any specific military quality, however, was the decision taken during Umar's caliphate to prohibit the Arab pastoral groups from taking over conquered territory for their own use. Umar tied army service, with its regular pay and occasional windfalls of booty, to residence in large military camps—two in Iraq, one in Egypt, and one in Tunisia. Down to the early eighth century, this policy not only kept the armies together and ready for action but preserved life in the countryside, where at least three-fourths of the population lived, virtually unchanged. Most people who became subjects of the caliphate by conquest probably never saw an Arab during their lifetimes, and only a tiny portion, in Syria and Iraq, understood the Arabic language.

Spread over the largest territorial empire ever achieved, the million or so Arabs who participated in the conquests constituted a small, self-isolated ruling minority living on the taxes paid by a vastly larger non-Arab, non-Muslim subject population. Far from requiring their conquered subjects to convert, the Arabs had little material incentive to encourage conversion; and there is no evidence of a coherent missionary effort to spread Islam during the conquest period.

The Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates

The Umayyad caliphs who came to power in 661 presided over an ethnically defined Arab realm rather than over an Islamic empire. Ruling from Damascus, they stemmed from a wealthy Meccan family that initially had opposed Muhammad. Their military forces were composed almost entirely of Muslim Arab warriors. Only gradually did they replace non-Muslim secretaries and tax officials with Muslims and introduce Arabic as the language of government. A major symbolic step was the introduction of distinctively Muslim silver and gold coins early in the eighth century.

The Umayyad dynasty fell in 750 after a decade of unrest from many quarters. As it turned out, the secret organization that coordinated the revolt against the last Umayyad caliph was loyal to the family of Abbas, one of Muhammad's uncles. The Abbasid family then held on to the caliphate until 1258, when Mongol invaders killed the last Abbasid caliph in Baghdad (see Chapter 11).

At the outset the Abbasid dynasty made a fine show of leadership and concern for Islam. Theology and religious law became preoccupations at court and among a growing community of scholars, along with interpretation of the Quran, collecting the sayings of the Prophet, and Arabic grammar. Some caliphs fought on the Byzantine frontier to extend Islam. Others sponsored ambitious projects to translate the great works of

Dome of the Rock of Jerusalem Begun in 687 with a Byzantine architectural layout, this shrine is a monument to the Muslim belief that Muhammad, riding a miraculous steed called al-Buraq, ascended to heaven on a night journey from this place. It is located on the great artificial mound where the Jewish temple was situated before its destruction by the Romans in 70 C.E. (Marvin E. Newman)

Greek, Persian, and Indian thought into Arabic, such as the writings of Aristotle and the Sanskrit book of instructive animal fables, the Panchatantra.

Government grew increasingly complex in Baghdad, the newly built capital city. As more and more non-Arabs converted to Islam, the ruling elite became more cosmopolitan. Greek, Iranian, Central Asian, and African cultural currents met in the capital and gave rise to an abundance of literary products, a process greatly facilitated by the timely introduction of papermaking from China. Arab poets neglected the traditional odes extolling life in the desert and wrote instead to praise their patrons, the drinking of wine (despite its prohibition in Islam), or other diversions of the vibrant urban scene.

The translations of Aristotle into Arabic, the founding of the main currents of theology and law, and the splendor of the Abbasid court—reflected in stories of *The Arabian Nights* set in the time of Harun al-Rashid (r. 776–809)—in some respects warrant the designation of the early Abbasid period as a "golden age." Yet the refinement of Baghdad culture only slowly made its way into the provinces. Egypt was still predominantly

Christian and Coptic-speaking in the early Abbasid period. Iran never did adopt the Arabic language as a spoken tongue. Spain (in Arabic *al-Andalus*), where an Umayyad fleeing the overthrow of his family in 750 had created an independent state, was affected by Berber, Visigothic, Jewish, and Roman traditions quite different from those in the East. And North Africa freed itself almost entirely of caliphal rule.

Moreover, the gradual conversion to Islam of the conquered population did not accelerate until the second quarter of the ninth century. But by that time most social discrimination against non-Arab converts had faded away, and the Arabs themselves—at least those living in cosmopolitan urban settings—had abandoned their previously strong attachment to kinship and ethnic identity. If the expression "golden age of Islam" implies a mass, multilingual, multiethnic society of Muslims with only minority non-Muslim elements, it existed around the end of the tenth century. By then, however, the Abbasid caliphate had lost most of its power.

Political Fragmentation

The decline of Abbasid power became evident in the second half of the ninth century when the pace of conversion to Islam was at its peak. The idea of a single government ruling an empire stretching almost a quarter of the way around the world would be hard to entertain even under modern conditions. But the Abbasids had to reckon with the fact that caravans traveled only 20 miles (32 kilometers) a day, and dispatches through the official post system usually did not exceed a hundred miles (160 kilometers) a day. News of revolts on the frontier took weeks to reach Baghdad. Military responses might take months. Economically, it was hard to centralize tax payments, which were often made in grain or other produce rather than in cash, and to ensure that provincial governors forwarded the proper amounts to Baghdad. Moreover, the minting of coins in many locations provided yet another opportunity for local strongmen to profit from seizing power.

With the massive conversion of the population to Islam, the idea that Islam might pass away or be destroyed, a long-time fear, faded. At the same time, it became increasingly apparent that a highly centralized empire meant wealth and splendor for the capital but did not necessarily serve the interests of people in the provinces. Many eighth-century revolts had been directed against Arab or Muslim domination. By the middle of the ninth century, several small states had broken away, which kept tax revenues from flowing to Baghdad and thereby increased local prosperity. It is hardly surprising that the local Muslim communities either supported such rebels or remained neutral.

Increasingly starved for funds by breakaway provinces and by a fall in revenues from Iraq itself, the caliphate entered a period of crisis and in 945 fell under the control of new rulers from the mountains of northern Iran. Led by the Buyid family, they conquered western Iran as well as Iraq and divided their territory among leading family members, each of whom ruled his own principality. After almost two centuries of glory, the sun began to set on Baghdad. The Abbasid caliph remained but was subject to the control of a Buyid prince or his lieutenant. Being Shi'ites, the Buyids had no special reverence for the Sunni caliph. But, according to their particular Shi'ite sect, the twelfth and last divinely appointed Imam had disappeared around 873 and would return as a messiah only at the end of the world. Thus they retained the caliph to help control their predominantly Sunni subjects, who regarded him as a rightful ruler. The Buyids themselves disregarded his views.

Dynamic growth in outlying provinces paralleled the caliphate's gradual loss of temporal power. In the east, the Iranian dynasty of the Samanids presided over a glittering court in Bukhara, a major city on the Silk Road (see Map 8.1). The Samanid princes patronized literature and learning much as the early Abbasids had, but the language they favored was Persian written in Arabic letters. For the first time, a non-Arabic literature rose to challenge the eminence of Arabic within the Islamic world. The new Persian poetry and belles lettres foreshadowed the world of today, in which Iran sharply distinguishes itself from the Arab world.

In Egypt a Shi'ite ruler established himself as a rival caliph in 969 after the sixty-year struggle of his family, the Fatimids, to extend their power beyond an initial base in Tunisia. His governing complex outside Fustat was named Cairo, and for the first time Egypt became a major cultural, intellectual, and political center of Islam.

Cut off from the rest of the Islamic world by the Strait of Gibraltar and, from 740 onward, by independent city-states in Morocco and Algeria, Spain developed a distinctive Islamic culture (see Map 8.2). Though historians disagree on how rapidly and completely the Spanish population converted to Islam, it seems likely that the most rapid surge occurred in the mid-tenth century. Just as in the East, governing cities was at the core of the Islamic presence in al-Andalus, as the Muslims called the regions they ruled in Spain. Converts to Islam and their descendants, unconverted Arabic-speaking Christians, and Jews joined with the comparatively few descendants of the Arab invaders to create new architectural and literary styles. In the countryside, where the Berbers preferred to settle, a fusion of preexisting agricultural technologies with new crops, notably citrus fruits, and irrigation techniques from the East gave Spain the most diverse and sophisticated agricultural economy in Europe.

The rulers of al-Andalus did not take the title *caliph* until 929. Toward the end of the tenth century, this caliphate encountered challenges from breakaway movements that eventually splintered al-Andalus into a number of small states. But political decay did not stand in the way of cultural growth. Some of the greatest writers and thinkers in Jewish history—Judah Halevi, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Abraham ibn Ezra—worked in Muslim Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sometimes writing in Arabic. At the same time, Islamic thought in Spain was attaining its loftiest peaks in Ibn Hazm's treatises on love and other subjects, the philosophical writings of Ibn Rushd (known in Latin as Averroës) and Ibn Tufayl, and the mystic speculations of Ibn al-Arabi.

Several dozen principalities came and went between the tenth and the twelfth centuries while these states were flourishing. The Samanids, Fatimids, and Spanish Umayyads are representative of the political diversity and awakening of local awareness that characterized the period of Abbasid decline. Yet drawing and redrawing political boundaries did not result in a rigid division of the Islamic world into kingdoms as was then occurring in Europe. Religious and cultural developments, particularly the rise in cities throughout the Islamic world of a social group of religious scholars known as the *ulama*—Arabic for "people with (religious) knowledge"—worked against the permanent division of the Islamic umma.

Assault from Within and Without

Outside the urban milieu, political fragmentation enabled nomadic groups to assert themselves. Trade across the Sahara had brought prosperity to northern city-states—Sijilmasa in Morocco and Tahert in Algeria—and to the kingdom of Ghana. In the mid-eleventh century, however, recently converted Berber nomads from the western Sahara overpowered these trading centers and established a kingdom that stretched from Morocco to Mali (see Chapter 12) and even penetrated into Spain. These Almoravid rulers, established in their new capital of Marrakesh, wore blue veils over their faces and retained other traits from their Saharan past. A century later, an Almohad empire supplanted the Almoravids and ruled from Tunisia to Spain from Fez, its capital, located in Morocco. In both instances, the rulers were sometimes sophisticated and urbane but depended on unruly rural warrior peoples and often resorted to harsh and intolerant measures.

More gradually, Arabs from southern Egypt slowly made their way across North Africa. Contemporary historians portray these invaders as locusts bent on destroying the agrarian-based prosperity of the region. Modern historians are still debating the actual impact of the so-called

Hilali invasions, which coincided with a shift of the North African economy toward the Mediterranean Sea. Ports and cities situated between the mountains and the coast—Tunis and Sousse in Tunisia, Tlemcen in Algeria, Marrakesh and Fez in Morocco—flourished while cities connected with the desert dwindled. Trading contact across the Mediterranean grew, and Andalusian culture influenced urban styles throughout the region. Meanwhile, agriculture languished. Trans-Saharan trade continued, but the new Muslim societies south of the desert developed in substantial isolation from the urban culture of the Mediterranean.

Syria and Iraq experienced nomadic upsurges as well. Political life along the eastern Mediterranean became increasingly fragmented. Nomad-based Arab kingdoms came and went, subjecting cities to an ever-shifting array of political forces. Here, too, coastal cities began to grow as Mediterranean trade revived. In the Tigris and Euphrates valley Shi'ite Arabs from the desert and Sunni Kurds from the mountains competed in building small principalities.

After the year 1000, Turkish nomads from the steppes and deserts north and east of the Black, Caspian, and Aral Seas filtered into more central Islamic lands. The role played by Turkish Mamluks in the decline of Abbasid power established an enduring stereotype of the Turk as a trained and ferocious warrior little interested in religion or the sophistication of urban life. This image was reinforced in the 1030s when the Seljuk family established the first Turkish Muslim state based on nomadic power. Taking the Arabic title *sultan*, meaning "power," and the revived Persian title *shahan-shah*, the Seljuk ruler Tughril Beg created a kingdom that stretched from northern Afghanistan to Baghdad, which he occupied in 1055.

Under Turkish rule, cities shrank as their agricultural hinterlands, already short on labor because of migration to the cities, were overrun by pastoralists. Irrigation works suffered from lack of maintenance in the unsettled countryside. Tax revenues fell. Cities were fought over as Seljuk princes contested for power in the twelfth century. But few Turks participated in urban cultural and religious life. Thus a gulf that had arisen between the religiously based urban society and the culture and personnel of the government deepened. When factional riots broke out between Sunnis and Shi'ites, or between rival schools of Sunni law, the government remained aloof, even when destruction and loss of life were extensive. Similarly, when princes fought for the title *sultan*, religious leaders advised citizens to remain neutral.

By the early twelfth century, unrepaired damage from floods, fires, and civil disorder had reduced old Baghdad on the west side of the Tigris to ruins. The caliphs took advantage of fighting among the Seljuks to regain some power locally and built a wall around the palace precinct on the east side of the river. Nevertheless, the heart of the city died, not to be restored to prosperity until the twentieth century. The withering of Baghdad, moreover, betrayed an even broader change in the environment: the collapse of the canal system that irrigated the Tigris and Euphrates valley. For millennia a world center of civilization, Mesopotamia suffered population losses that today still make Iraq an underpopulated country.

The Turks alone cannot be blamed for the demographic and economic misfortunes of Iran and Iraq. Too-robust urbanization strained food resources, political fragmentation reduced revenues, and the growing use of land grants (*iqta'*) to pay soldiers and courtiers also played a role. When absentee grant holders used agents to collect taxes, the inevitable result was a tendency to gouge the villagers and to take little interest in improving production, all of which weakened the agricultural base of the regime.

Just as the Seljuk Empire was beset by internal quarreling, the first crusading armies reached the Holy Land. Chapter 7 recounts the expeditions of Christian soldiers who trekked across the Balkans or sailed across the Mediterranean to fight for the cross. Though charged with the stuff of romance, the Crusades had little lasting impact on the Islamic lands. The four principalities of Edessa, Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem simply became pawns in the shifting pattern of politics already in place. Newly arrived knights were eager to attack the Muslim enemy, whom they called "Saracens." But those who had lived in the region longer, including the religious orders of the Knights of the Temple (Templars) and the Knights of the Hospital of St. John (Hospitallers), recognized that diplomacy and seeking partners of convenience among the rival Muslim princes was a sounder strategy.

The Muslims, with their impotent caliph and endemic political fragmentation, finally unified in the late twelfth century under Nur al-Din ibn Zangi and his military commander Salah al-Din, known in the West as Saladin (ca. 1137–1193). The former established a strong state based on Damascus and sent an army to terminate the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt. The latter, a nephew of the Kurdish commander of the expedition to Egypt, profited by Nur al-Din's timely death to unify Egypt and Syria and, in 1187, recapture Jerusalem from the Europeans.

Although the Christians of Spain eventually succeeded in destroying Islamic rule there (see Chapter 13), Saladin's descendants fought off all subsequent Crusades to the Holy Land. However, after one such battle, in 1250, their Turkish Mamluk troops seized control of the government, thus ending Saladin's dynasty. In 1260 these Mamluks rode east to confront a new invading force. At the Battle of Ain Jalut (Spring of Goliath), in Syria, they met and defeated an army of Mongols from Central Asia, thus stemming an invasion that had begun several decades before and legitimizing their claim to dominion over Egypt and Syria.

The Mongol invasions administered a great shock to the world of Islam. The full story of their conquests is told in Chapter 11, but the impact of their destruction of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad in 1258 and their imposition of non-Muslim rule from Iraq eastward for most of the thirteenth century bears mention here. Although the Mongols left few ethnic or linguistic traces in these lands, their initial destruction of cities, their subsequent promotion of trans-Asian trade along northerly routes instead of by way of the traditional Silk Road, and their casual disregard for urban and religious life, even after they themselves converted to Islam, hastened currents of change already under way.

ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

Though complex and unsettled in its political dimension, life in the ever-expanding Islamic world underwent a creative, supportive, and fruitful evolution in the areas of law, social structure, and religious expression. From the interlocking phenomena of religious conversion and urbanization emerged a distinct Islamic civilization.

Law and Dogma

The hallmark of Islamic civilization is the *Shari'a*, the law of Islam. Yet aside from certain parts of the Quran that conveyed specific divine ordinances—most pertaining to personal and family matters—no legal system was in place in the time of Muhammad. Only Arab custom and the Prophet's own authority offered guidance. After Muhammad died, the umma tried to conduct itself according to his *sunna*, or tradition. This became harder and harder to do, however, as those who knew Muhammad best passed away and many Arabs found themselves living in far-off parts of the conquered territories. Living in accordance with the sunna was even harder for non-Arab converts to Islam, who at first were expected to follow Arab customs they had little familiarity with.

Islam slowly developed laws to shape social and religious life. Certain basic matters are likely to have been a part of Islam from the beginning—namely, the so-called Five Pillars, all referred to in the Quran: (1) avowal that there is only one god and Muhammad is his messenger, (2) prayer five times a day, (3) fasting during the lunar month of

Ramadan, (4) paying alms, and (5) making the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during one's lifetime. The full sense of Islamic civilization, however, goes well beyond these basics.

Some Muslim thinkers argued that the best guide was the sunna of the Prophet and that the best way to understand that sunna was to collect and study the many reports in circulation, called *hadith*, purporting to describe Muhammad's precise words or deeds. Some hadith dealt with ritual matters, such as how to perform ablutions before prayer; others were simply anecdotes. A significant number provided answers to legal questions not covered by Quranic revelation, or they suggested principles for resolving such matters. By the eleventh century, most specialists on Islamic legal thought had accepted the idea that Muhammad's personal behavior was the best model for society in general, and that the hadith were therefore the most authoritative basis for Islamic law after the Quran itself.

As the importance of hadith grew, so did the branch of learning devoted to their analysis. Thousands of hadith were deemed weak and were discarded. The most reliable ones were collected into books that gradually were accorded an irrefutable status. Sunnis placed six books in this category; Shi'ites, four.

The Shari'a was built up over centuries. It embodies a vision of an umma in which all Muslims are brothers and sisters and subscribe to the same moral values. From this perspective, political or ethnic divisions are not important, for the Shari'a assumes that a Muslim ruler will abide by and enforce the religious law. In practice, this vision was often lost in the hurly-burly of political life. Even so, it was an important basis for an urban lifestyle that varied surprisingly little from Morocco to India.

Converts and Cities

A major cause of urbanization was conversion to Islam. Few converts knew Arabic, and most people were illiterate and hence unable to read the Quran. Indeed, many converts knew no more of the Quran than the few verses necessary for their daily prayers. Moreover, Muhammad had established no priesthood to define and spread the faith. Thus new converts, whether Arab or non-Arab, faced the problem of finding out for themselves what Islam was about and how they should act as Muslims. The best way to solve this problem was to congregate with other Muslims, learn their language, imitate their behavior, and gradually acquire a Muslim social identity. In many areas, the only way to do this was to migrate to an Arab governing center.

In Europe, the spread of Christianity by missionaries roaming the countryside coincided with a sharp decline of urban life. The spread of Islam was just the opposite. Cities were the centers of Islam; the countryside was slower to convert. Muhammad and his first followers had lived in a commercial city, and Islam acquired a peculiarly urban character very different from that of medieval European Christianity. Mosques in large cities were not only ritual centers but places for learning and social activities.

Without religious officials to instruct them, the new Muslims imitated Arab dress and customs and sought out for guidance individual Muslims whom they regarded as particularly pious. Inevitably, in the absence of a central religious authority comparable to a pope or patriarch, there was great local variation in the way people practiced Islam and in the collection of hadith attributed to the Prophet. That same absence of a centralized organization gave to the rapidly growing religion a flexibility that accommodated many different social situations.

By the tenth century, the growth of cities was affecting the countryside by producing an expanding market of consumers. Citrus fruits, rice, and sugar cane increased in acreage and were introduced to new areas. Cotton became a major crop in Iran and elsewhere and gave rise to a diverse and profitable textile industry. Irrigation works, too, expanded in certain areas. Diet diversified. Abundant Islamic coinage made for a largely monetized economy. Intercity and long-distance trade flourished, providing regular links between isolated districts and integrating into the region's economy the pastoral nomads who provided the necessary animals. Manufacturing expanded as well, particularly the production of cloth, metal goods, and pottery. The market economy grew under the strong influence of Islamic ethics and law. Indeed, one of the few officials specified by the Shari'a was the market inspector.

Islam, Women, and Slaves

Women rarely traveled. Those living in rural areas worked in the fields and tended animals. Urban women, particularly members of the elite, lived in seclusion and did not leave their homes without covering themselves completely. The practice of secluding women in their houses and

Slave girls from Samarra This early-ninth-century wall painting is from the harem quarters of the Abbasid palace in Samarra. Women were expected to be veiled outside the house and in the presence of unrelated men, but unveiled slave girls commonly sang, danced, and played instruments at parties. Islamic law prohibited wine, but wine songs feature prominently in Arabic poetry in this period. (Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz)

veiling them in public had already existed in earlier Arab urban society. With textual support from the Quran, these practices became fixtures of Muslim social life. Although women sometimes studied and became literate, they did so in seclusion from the gaze of men who were not related to them. Although women played an influential role within the family, any public role had to be indirect, through their husbands. Slave women were an exception. They alone were permitted to perform before men as musicians and dancers, and a man could have sexual relations with as many slave concubines as he pleased, in addition to as many as four wives.

In some ways, however, Muslim women fared better legally under the developing practices of Islamic law than did Christian and Jewish women under the practices of Christianity and Judaism. Muslim women could own property and retain it in marriage. They could remarry if their husbands divorced them, and they were entitled to a cash payment upon divorce. Although a man could divorce his wife without stating a cause, a woman was able to initiate divorce under specified conditions. Women could practice birth control. They could testify in court, although their testimony was weighed as half that of a man. And they could go on pilgrimage. Nevertheless, a misogynistic tone is sometimes evident in Islamic writings. One saying attributed to the Prophet observed: "I was raised up to heaven and saw that most of its denizens were poor people; I was raised into the hellfire and saw that most of its denizens were women."[3]

Because writings by women about women are almost unknown from this period, the status of women must be inferred from the writings of men. The Prophet's wife A'isha, the daughter of Abu Bakr, provides an example of how Muslim men appraised the role of women in society. A'isha was only eighteen when Muhammad died. She lived for another fifty years. The earliest reports stress her status as Muhammad's favorite and the only virgin he married. She was the only wife to see the angel Gabriel. These reports emanate from A'isha herself, who was an abundant source of hadith.

A'isha was especially known, however, for two episodes. As a fourteen-year-old she became separated from a caravan and rejoined it only after traveling through the night with a man who found her alone in the desert. Gossips accused her of being untrue to the Prophet, but a revelation from God proved her innocence. The other event was her participation in the Battle of the Camel, fought to prevent Ali from becoming the fourth caliph. These two episodes came to epitomize what Muslim men feared most about women: sexual infidelity and meddling in politics. As a result, even though the earliest literature dealing with A'isha stresses her position as Muhammad's favorite, his first wife, Khadija, and his daughter, Fatima, who was married to Ali, eventually surpass A'isha as ideal women. Both were portrayed as model wives and mothers, and neither aroused suspicions of sexual irregularity or political manipulation.

As the seclusion of women became commonplace in urban Muslim society, some writers recommended that men cultivate homosexual relationships, partly because a male lover was presentable in public or on a journey. Although Islam frowned on homosexuality, one ruler wrote a book in which he advised his son to follow moderation in all things and thus to share his affections equally between men and women. Another ruler and his slaveboy became models of perfect love extolled in the verses of mystic poets.

Islam allowed slavery but forbade Muslims from enslaving other Muslims or so-called People of the Book (Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians, who revered holy books respected by the Muslims) living under Muslim protection, except when slavery resulted from being made a prisoner of war. In later centuries there was a constant flow of slaves into Islamic territory from lands conquered by the Arabs in Africa and Central Asia. A hereditary slave society, however, did not develop. Usually slaves converted to Islam, and many masters then freed them as a pious deed.

The offspring of slave women and Muslim men were born free.

The Recentering of Islam

The caliphate was the original center of Islam, the concrete political expression of the unity of the umma. No formal organization or hierarchy, however, directed the process of conversion. Thus there emerged a multitude of local Islamic communities that were so disconnected from each other that numerous competing interpretations of the developing religion arose. Inevitably, the centrality of the caliphate diminished, and in the twelfth century new socioreligious institutions emerged to provide the umma with a different sort of religious center.

These developments stemmed in part from an exodus of religious scholars from Iran in response to the economic and political disintegration of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. This flow of Iranians to the Arab countries and to newly conquered territories in India and Anatolia became a flood after the Mongol invasion. As scholars fully versed in Arabic as well as in their native Persian, they were well received wherever they went, and they brought with them a view of religion developed in the urban centers of Iran. A new sort of higher religious college, a *madrasa*, thus gained sudden popularity outside Iran, where madrasas had been known since the tenth century. Scores of madrasas, many under the patronage of local rulers, were established throughout the Islamic world.

Also in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and with a strong input from Iranians, mystic fraternities known as *Sufi brotherhoods* developed. The doctrines of various Sufis varied enormously, but the common denominator was the quest for a sense of union with God through rituals and training. It soon became common for most Muslim males, particularly in the cities, to belong to at least one Sufi brotherhood.

Some Sufi brotherhoods spread to the countryside, where there was a simultaneous proliferation of local shrines and pilgrimages to the tombs of Muhammad's descendants and saintly Sufis. The pilgrimage to Mecca, too, received new prominence as a religious duty. The end of the Abbasid caliphate enhanced the religious centrality of Mecca, which eventually became an important center of madrasa education.

Altogether, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a transition from the politically volatile and socially and religiously effervescent earliest centuries of Islamic history to the later centuries, in which the weight of the fully developed Shari'a, of madrasa education, and of the Sufi brotherhoods created a more regimented, though more organized and supportive, society. The Islamic civilization that spread into Asia, Africa, and Europe after the period of the Mongols was of this later form.

CONCLUSION

The centuries surveyed in this chapter witnessed profound changes in the political, religious, social, and economic environment of the Middle East, North Africa, and Central Asia. Exchange within early long-distance trading systems worked great changes on the landscape and in people's lives, though nothing akin to the Africanity observed south of the Sahara can be attributed to the societies involved in the Silk Road, Indian Ocean, or trans-Saharan exchanges. The peoples directly involved in travel and trade were not very numerous in comparison with the agricultural populations their routes brought into contact, and their specialized lifestyles as pastoral nomads or seafarers isolated them still further. The Bantu, however, if current theories are correct, brought with them metallurgical skills and agricultural practices that permitted much denser habitation in the lands they spread to. Moreover, they themselves settled among and merged with the previous inhabitants, becoming not just the bearers of new technologies but their primary beneficiaries as well.

Islam marked the high point in the transition in the late ancient world from identity based on ethnicity and localism to identity based on religion. The concept of the umma united all Muslims in a universal community, embracing enormous diversity of language, appearance, and social custom. A scholar could travel anywhere in the Islamic world and blend easily into the local Muslim community. In some areas, however, Muslim communities had to adapt to equally powerful cultural traditions. This was particularly true in China and the lands influenced by Chinese civilization, the subject of the next chapter.

SUGGESTED READING

For readable overviews of the Silk Road see Luce Boulnois, *The Silk Road* (1966), and Irene M. Franck and David M. Brownstone, *The Silk Road: A History* (1986). Owen Lattimore gives a superb first-person account of traveling by camel caravan in the region in *The Desert Road to Turkestan* (1928).

The indispensable primary source for early Indian Ocean history is Lionel Casson, ed. and trans., *The Periplus Maris Arythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (1989). Seafaring as revealed in Arabic texts is the topic of George F. Hourani's brief book *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (1975).

Richard W. Bulliet's *The Camel and the Wheel* (1975) deals with the development of camel use in the Middle East, along the Silk Road, and in North Africa and the Sahara. For an entertaining and well-illustrated account of the discovery of Saharan rock art, see Henri Lhote, *The Search for the Tassili Frescoes: The Story of the Prehistoric Rock-Paintings of the Sahara* (1959).

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The spread of Christianity and the spread of Buddhism are enormous topics. To follow up the particular aspects treated in this chapter, see Stuart Munro-Hay, *Aksum: An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity* (1991); Xinru Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges, A.D. 1–600* (1988); Rolf A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization* (1972); Tilak Hettiarachchy, *History of Kingship in Ceylon up to the Fourth Century A.D.* (1972); and Yoneo Ishii, *Sangha, State, and Society: Thai Buddhism in History* (1986). The Chinese travelers' accounts cited are Fa-hsien [Faxian], *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399–414 A.D.), or, Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, trans. H. A. Giles (1923; reprint, 1981), and Hiuen Tsiang [Xuanzang], *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trans. Samuel Beal (1884; reprint, 1981).

Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (1990), focuses on social developments and includes the histories of Islam in India, Southeast Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, and other parts of the world. Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols. (1974), presents a critique of traditional ways of studying the Islamic Middle East while offering an interpretation based on the contributions of major intellectual and religious figures. Richard W. Bulliet, *Islam: The View from the Edge* (1994), provides, in a fairly brief book, a different approach by minimizing discussion of major political events and concentrating on the lives of converts to Islam and of the local religious notables who guided their lives. Bernard Lewis, ed. and trans., *Islam: From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, 2 vols. (1974; reprint, 1987), is an excellent selection of brief, well-introduced translations from primary historical sources.

Muslims believe the Quran is untranslatable because they consider the Arabic in which it is couched to be an inseparable part of God's message. There are numerous "interpretations" in English, however. Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, 2 vols. in 1 (1955; reprint, 1986), represents more than most an effort to capture the poetic quality of Quranic language.

Muslims prefer biographies of the Prophet Muhammad that accept the basic lines of the story as contained in the earliest Muslim sources. Non-Muslims display greater skepticism about those sources and often lean toward social and economic interpretations. Martin Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*, rev. ed. (1991), is a readable biography incorporating the Muslim point of view. The standard Western treatments have long been W. Montgomery Watt's *Muhammad at Mecca* (1953) and *Muhammad at Medina* (1956; reprint, 1981); there is a one-volume abbreviated version of those two works: *Muhammad, Prophet and Statesman* (1974).

Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia: The Arabs in the East* (1975), skillfully evokes the complicated world of early Islamic Iran and the survival and revival of Iranian national identity. Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (1979), gives a geographically and technologically oriented interpretation that provocatively questions standard ideas about Christians and Muslims in Spain.

The study of women is difficult in Islamic contexts because of the lack of sources. Denise Spellberg, *Politics, Gender, and the Islamic Past: The Legacy of 'A'isha bint Abi Bakr* (1994), provides pathbreaking guidance. Basim Musallam, *Sex and Society in Islamic Civilization* (1983), is an excellent treatment of the social, medical, and legal history of birth control in medieval Islam.

Among the numerous introductory books on Islam as a religion, a reliable starting point is Hamilton A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey*, 2d ed. (1969). For more advanced work, Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, 2d ed. (1979), skillfully discusses some of the subject's difficulties. For Sufism, the mystic tradition in Islam, see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (1975).

Islamic law, one of the most important specialized fields of Islamic studies, is well covered in Noel J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law* (1979).

Jere L. Bacharach, *A Middle East Studies Handbook*, 2d rev. ed. (1984), contains many useful reference features designed for students: outline maps, dynasty charts, a chronology, a glossary of common terms, and a table giving equivalents between dates A.H. (*anno Hegirae*, "in the year of the hijra") and dates A.D. (*anno Domini*, "in the year of the Lord"). For more detailed maps see William C. Brice, ed., *An Historical Atlas of Islam* (1981). The most complete reference work for people working in Islamic studies is *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed. (1960–).

NOTES

1. Victor H. Mair, ed., *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature* (New York, 1994), 485. Translated by Victor H. Mair.

2. J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa*, vol. 1 (New York, 1976), 120–121.

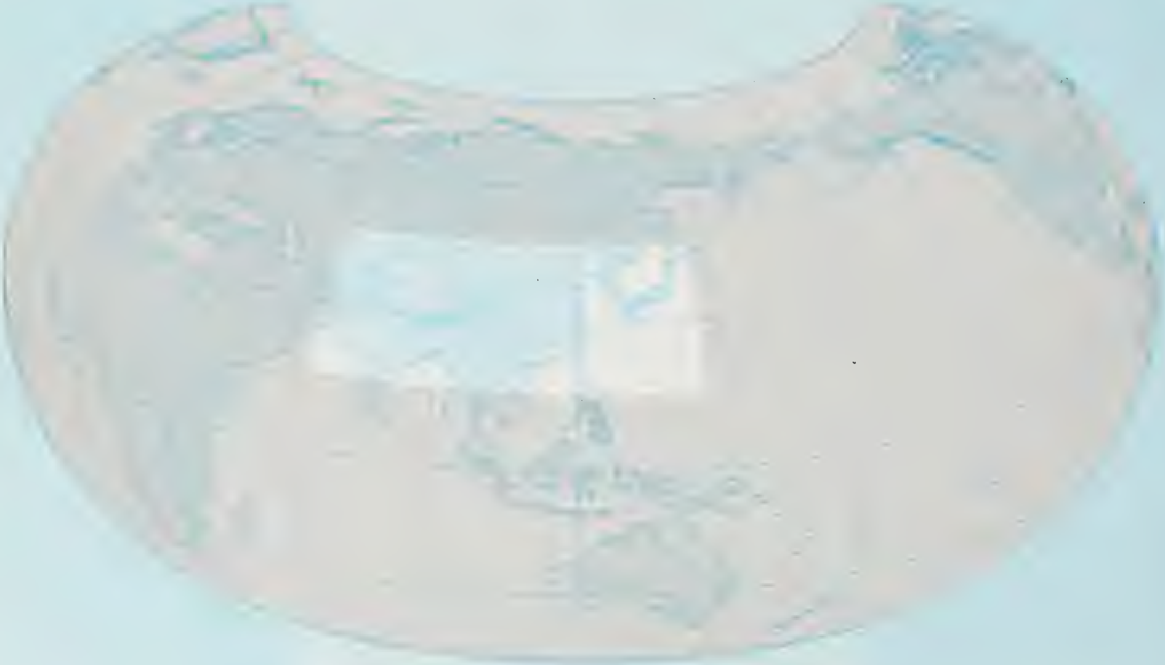
3. Richard W. Bulliet, *Islam: The View from the Edge* (New York, 1994), 87.

CHAPTER NINE

Central and Eastern Asia, 400–1200

The Tang Empire and the Power of Transmission

Localism and Specialization During the Centuries of Disunion



In the fourth century C.E. the scholar Ge Hong (281–361 C.E.) described epidemics—probably measles or smallpox—that had afflicted populations in north China. Ge described several partial remedies and then commented sharply on the circumstances under which the diseases had been introduced: "Because the epidemic was introduced . . . when Chinese armies attacked the barbarians . . . it was given the name of 'Barbarian pox.' "[1] This was a profound comment on the times. After the fall of the Han Empire in 220 C.E., the Chinese territories were divided among smaller states often at war. Diseases transmitted from one army to another could spread rapidly from the soldiers to noncombatant populations. Refugees driven from north of the Yellow River toward the south brought with them waves of infectious disease.

Ge Hong was more than a medical commentator, and the diversity of his achievements is a reminder that the turmoil of these times produced not only social dislocation and disease but remarkable discovery and innovation. Ge himself was a Daoist with strong interests in both medicine and alchemy. He combined these interests in his search for the elixir of life, and he had knowledge on topics such as hallucinogenic drugs, the prevention of rabies, and magnetism. His contemporaries knew how to refine and use the stimulant ephedrine, and they understood the basic functioning of the digestive and circulatory systems. These groups of scholars also made and recorded significant advances in metallurgy and pharmacology (thanks to their interest in alchemy) and in mathematics.

When China was reunified in the late sixth century, skills and theoretical knowledge gained in the period of disunity were collected and disseminated. The knowledge discovered in China during the third to sixth centuries led to advances in iron and steel smelting, the production of more durable and more reliable compasses, and the development of variolation (an early form of vaccination). The Sui Empire, which reunited China in 589, and the Tang Empire, which followed it (618–906 C.E.), were the greatest disseminators of knowledge and cultural influence in medieval Asia.

After the Tang Empire ended in the early tenth century, East Asia comprised a number of local kingdoms, including the Liao and Jin in northern China and Mongolia, the Song in southern China, the Tangguts to the west of China, and the countries of Tibet, Japan, Korea, Annam (the ancestor of modern Vietnam), Champa (in what is now southern Vietnam), and the Turkic khanates of Central Asia. In many of these societies, the cultural and political heritage of the Tang Empire persisted. Song China, in particular, became famous for its achievements in science, mathematics, and engineering.

THE TANG EMPIRE AND THE POWER OF TRANSMISSION

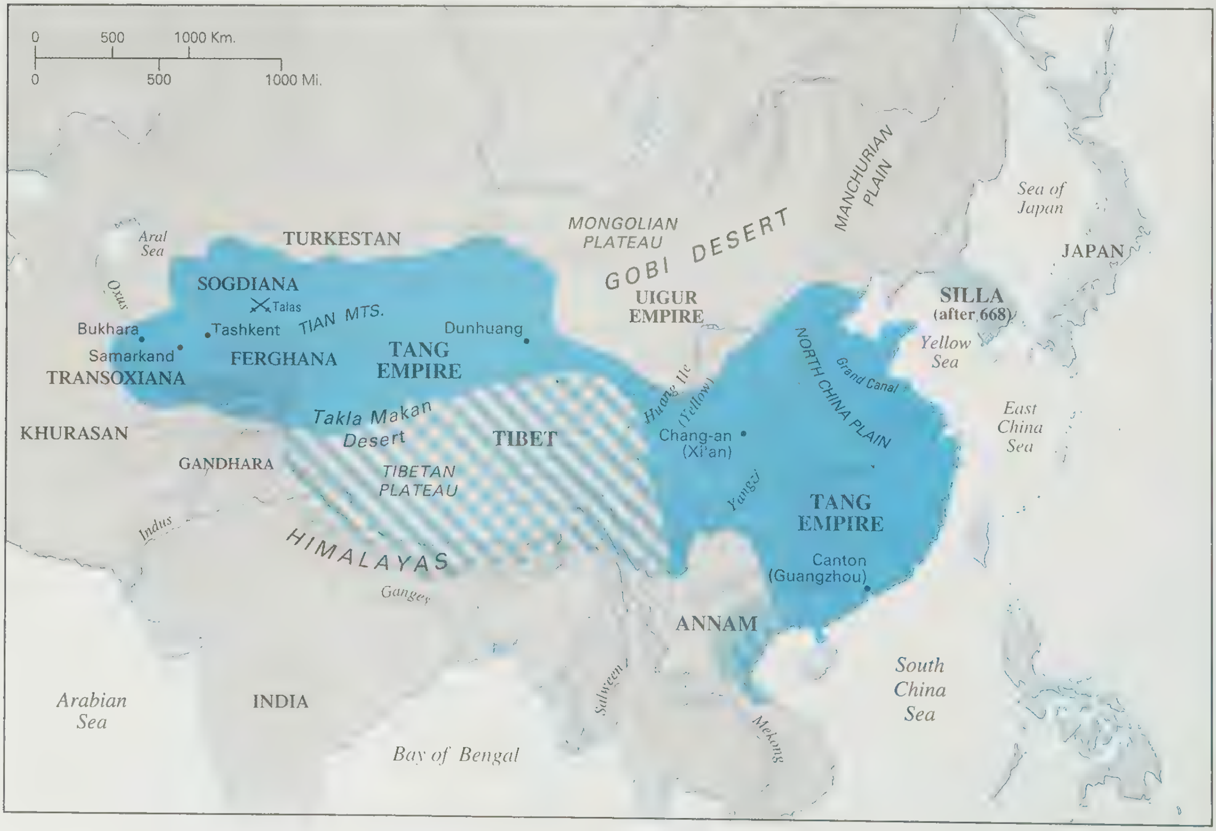
Some of the kingdoms that sprang up from the ruins of the Han Empire were run in the Chinese style, with an emperor, a bureaucracy using the Chinese language exclusively, and a Confucian state philosophy. Others were affected by the regional cultures that predominated in some parts of the former Han domain. These kingdoms often used the emperorship to support unorthodox cultural influences, primarily Buddhism. When China was later reunified under the Sui Empire at the end of the sixth century, Buddhism became an important political and cultural influence.

Reunification Under the Sui and Tang

In less than forty years the Sui Empire (among other achievements) reunified China, Korea, and parts of Southeast Asia under its rule; designed a new imperial capital near Chang'an, the old capital of the Han Empire; and built the Grand Canal, a waterway linking the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers. Although traditional histories have explained the brevity of the Sui Empire (it lasted less than forty years) in terms of its "good first emperor" Wendi and its "bad last emperor" Yangdi, the empire probably was exhausted by its extraordinary pace of expansion and its overcentralization.

In 618 the militarily powerful Li family ended the Sui and created a new empire of their own, the Tang (see Map 9.1). They maintained the eastern borders established by the Sui and expanded primarily westward into Central Asia. The Tang avoided the problem of overcentralization by allowing local nobles, gentry, officials, and religious establishments to exercise significant power. And they relied on a variety of political ideologies—not only Confucianism but also Buddhism and the Central Asian respect for the title *khan* (leader)—to legitimate their power and increase their appeal.

Map 9.1 Eastern Asia in the Tang Era The Tang Empire controlled not only China but also much of Central Asia. Tibet was closely associated with the Tang by political and marital ties. Japan, the Korean kingdom of Silla, and Annam were leading tributary states.



Chang'an at the Eastern Terminus of the Silk Road

The hub of Tang communications was its primary capital, Chang'an (modern-day Xi'an in Shaanxi province, China)—a newly designed city near the site of old Chang'an, the Han capital. Tang Chang'an was a terminus of the overland trade with Central Asia, the Middle East, Tibet, and India. During the Tang period, Chang'an was the most populous city in the world, with possibly as many as 2 million inhabitants. It was connected by well-maintained road and water transport to the rudimentary coastal towns of south China, of which Canton (Guangzhou) was most important. Chang'an was also the center for the ambassadors and students sent to the Tang capital as part of the *tributary system*, a practice, begun in Han times, in which other countries acknowledged the empire's supremacy by sending regular embassies to the capital to pay tribute. Thus Chang'an was regarded as the cultural and economic capital of eastern Asia.

Market roads, major long-distance roads, caravan routes (the Silk Road), sea routes, and canals all brought people and commerce toward Chang'an. Under the Sui and Tang, for the first time the 1,100-mile (1,771-kilometer) distance between the Yellow and the Yangzi Rivers was spanned by construction of the Grand Canal (see Map 9.1). This canal was the eastward extension of overland routes reaching Chang'an from Central Asia and other westerly points over the Silk Road (see Chapter 8). Into the markets of Chang'an came caravans of camels originating in Iran or north India, led by bearded Arab and Iranian camel drivers and bringing a variety of passengers—such as Indian monks, Turkic soldiers, Arab merchants, and enslaved female musicians and dancers. They brought tea from India, and horses, cotton, grape wine in soft leather sacks, fruits and vegetables, musical instruments, beaten gold and silver jewelry, and glassware. From Chang'an, ceramics, paper, ink, and silk were carried westward by caravans heading toward the Middle East.

Chang'an was also the terminus of the Persian Gulf trade route that began by sea in the Strait of Hormuz, landed at Canton in the south, then continued north overland. By this circuit, Chang'an was linked with the Mediterranean, East Africa, India, and Southeast Asia. These sea routes were a factor in the spread of Islam to East Asia. An uncle of Muhammad is credited with erecting the small, pagoda-like "red mosque" at Canton in the middle seventh century.

The sea route between the Middle East and Canton was also the means of transmission of bubonic plague to East Asia in the early 600s. The plague found a hospitable environment in parts of southwestern China and lingered there after the near eradication of the disease in the Middle East and Europe. The trade and embassy routes of the Tang Empire quickly became channels for transmission of plague to Korea, Japan, and Tibet in the seventh century.

Buddhism and Society

Along the trade routes of East Asia came Buddhism, which had been influential in Central Asia and northern China for centuries before the Tang Empire (see Map 8.1). Buddhism set forth a religious function for kings and emperors: to bring humankind into the Buddhist realm. Buddhists believed that protective spirits would aid the king in the governing of the state and prevent harm from coming to the people under his rule. State cults based on this idea were important in the kingdoms of Central Asia and north China during the period of disunity after the fall of the Han Empire. The Sui and the Tang inherited the cults from those kingdoms, and they spread quickly to Korea, Japan, and Tibet.

The most important Buddhist school of teaching in Central and eastern Asia was Mahayana, or "Great Vehicle," Buddhism. Like all Buddhist sects, Mahayana Buddhism considered belief in the reality of the material world to be the root of suffering. But Mahayana specifically fostered a faith in enlightened beings—*bodhisattvas*—who postponed achieving *nirvana* (eternal bliss) in order to help others achieve enlightenment. Faith in bodhisattvas led to the acceptance of many local gods and goddesses into Buddhist sainthood. In contrast to some other schools of Buddhism, Mahayana encouraged the translation of Buddhist scripture into local languages, and it accepted forms of religious practice that had little or no connection with written texts. These qualities allowed Mahayana Buddhism to assert its influence over many diverse societies and over many classes of people within those societies. The tremendous reach of Mahayana invigorated travel, language learning, and cultural exchange throughout northern India, Central Asia, and East Asia.

Precisely because of its social, cultural, and political influence, Buddhism was first an important ally of the Tang emperors and later their enemy. In 690 a woman who had married into the imperial family, Wu Zhao, seized control of the government, declared herself a female emperor, and reigned until 705. She legitimated herself by claiming she was a bodhisattva, and she favored Buddhists and Daoists over Confucianists. In the later Tang era, Emperor Wu and other powerful women such as the concubine Yang Guifei were despised by Confucian critics such as the poet Bo Zhuyi. In his poem "Everlasting Remorse" Bo lamented women's influence at the Tang court—influence that had caused "the hearts of fathers and mothers everywhere not to value the birth of boys, but the birth of girls."[2]

In 840 the state moved to crush the economic power and the influence of the Buddhist monasteries, and the Tang elites strongly reasserted Confucian ideology. The repression reflected the state's wish to decrease Buddhist interference in court politics and to increase tax revenues by repealing exemptions granted to the monasteries. The repression also reflected the elites' anxiety that Buddhism was encouraging both the dissolution of the family (as idealized by Confucians) and the empowerment of women.

The loss of cultural artifacts from the dissolution of the monasteries is incalculable, and many of the great sculptures and grottoes that survived were permanently defaced. Most of the temples and the façades built to shelter the great stone carvings from the weather were made of wood and disappeared in the fires that accompanied the suppression of Buddhism. The suppression also created a population of wandering, impoverished monks; they became a common theme in Tang and Song art and were transmitters of information they picked up on their travels. In later times monasteries were legalized again, but never again was Buddhism in China the profound social, political, and cultural force it had been in early Tang times.

Central Asia as the Crossroads of Trade

Since prehistoric times, exchanges of technology between Central Asia and the peripheries of Eurasia had brought advances in methods of transport, modes of warfare, differentiation of languages and development of written literatures, and the spread of religious ideas. The earliest religious influence was Iranian culture and religion, which left a lasting impression on the royal traditions, city architecture, and the religious character of Central Asia. Another early influence, and one well remembered in the Tang Empire, was the third century B.C.E. campaigns of Alexander the Great (see Chapter 4). In the "Alexandrias"—cities established by Alexander, including Samarkand and Gandhara—Greek remnants persisted, and from these centers Hellenic knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, and physiology was transmitted to northern India and also moved eastward into Central Asia and Tibet.

The fortunes of the Tang Empire were related to the development of Turkic power in the region extending from Siberia to the eastern borders of Iran. After the fall of the Han Empire in 220 C.E., Turkic populations began moving westward, through Mongolia, then into Central Asia. This long migration eventually took them to Anatolia and the region we now call Turkey. During the period of disunion in East Asia between the Han and the Tang Empires, Turkic rule united Central Asia. But as East Asia was reunified around 600 C.E., internal warfare weakened the Turkic control of Central Asia, and in the mid-seventh century the Turkic Empire was split in two. In part, this fracturing Turkic power allowed the Tang Empire to establish control over Central Asia. Within about fifty years, however, a new Turkic order arose, and by the early 700s much of Central Asia was under the control of a new Turkic group, the Uigurs.

As part of the Uigur Empire, Central Asia's great cities of Bukhara, Samarkand, and Tashkent (see Map 9.1)—all critical to the caravan trade—had a literate culture with strong ties to both the Middle East and China. An urban culture embracing the Buddhist classics, religious art based on the styles of northern India, and clothing, tools, and architecture revealing the mixture of East Asian and Middle Eastern styles flourished. The Uigurs were merchants and professional scribes able to transact business in the many languages spoken in the region.

In the time of the earlier Turkic empires a simple script had been used, and on occasion it was employed in Central Asia by the Tang Empire as well. But from the borders of Iran, the Sogdians introduced a running syllabic script, related to the Semitic Syriac script of the Middle East. The spread of Nestorian Christianity in Central Asia made the running syllabic script widely familiar. The Uigurs adopted it and refined it for the writing of their language (see Environment & Technology: Writing in East Asia). The new script made possible several innovations in Uigur government, including a change from a tax paid in kind (with products or services) to a money tax and, subsequently, the minting of coins. By the mid-ninth century Uigur power in Central Asia was in eclipse, but Uigur culture continued to influence urban life in the region for centuries.

After the Tang Empire reunited Central Asia with China in the early seventh century, the material culture of China was vividly affected by influences from Central Asia and the Middle East. Lively new animal motifs and colors from Iran and Central Asia brightened the ceramics, painting, and silk designs of the Tang period, and life-size sculpture became common. Working people no longer wore robes but adopted pants, which horse-riding Turks from Central Asia had introduced. Pastimes now included polo, also introduced from Central Asia and strongly promoted by the Tang court (which, in accord with Central Asian tradition, allowed noblewomen to compete). A host of stringed instruments were imported over the Silk Road, along with the folk melodies of the Central Asian peoples.

China also influenced the Middle East across the Central Asian connection—not only through trade but also through warfare. Chinese technicians captured by Muslim armies in the middle 700s took to the Middle East their knowledge of papermaking, woodblock printing, ironworking, and ceramics. In ensuing centuries, knowledge of the crossbow and of gunpowder also filtered westward from East Asia. These technologies profoundly changed the societies of the Middle East and Europe.

Fragmentation of the Tang

The Tang order was destroyed by the very forces that were essential to its creation and maintenance. The campaigns of expansion in the seventh century left the empire large and powerful but dependent on local military commanders and on a complex tax collection system. A series of ruinous westward campaigns ended in 751 at the Battle of the Talas River, near Samarkand. There, a combined army of Arabs, Turks, and Tibetans defeated Tang forces. In 755 the rebellion of An Lushan, a Sogdian general close to the Tang imperial family and supported by Yang Guifei, an influential concubine, broke out. In a few years it was suppressed, but the price was the creation of independent military governors whose power grew steadily to the end of the Tang period. These governors practically assumed control of the empire when it was engulfed by the Huang Chao peasant rebellion of 880.

When the Tang Empire ended in 906, a set of smaller states succeeded it. Each of them controlled considerable territory, and some of them

ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

Writing in East Asia, 600–1200

Chinese ideographic writing—script based on the depiction of ideas rather than the representation of sounds (syllabic or phonetic script)—was widespread throughout East Asia by the reunification of China in the late sixth century under the Sui Empire. Many of the peoples of East Asia attempted to adapt the characters to the writing of their own languages, which were not related to Chinese in grammar or in sound.

In Korea and in Japan, Chinese characters were often simplified and associated with the sounds of the Korean or Japanese languages. For instance, the Chinese character *an,* meaning "peace" (Figure 1), was pronounced *an* in Japanese and was familiar as a Chinese character to Confucian scholars in the Heian period. But others besides scholars simplified the character and began to use it to write the Japanese sound *a* (Figure 2). With a set of more than thirty of these syllabic symbols adapted from Chinese characters, any Japanese word could be written, complete with all its grammatical inflections. It was with a syllabic system of this sort that Murasaki Shikibu wrote the novel *The Tale of Genji* around 1000 C.E.

A more complex change occurred in northern Asia. The Kitans, who spoke a language related to early Mongolian, developed an ideographic system of their own, inspired by Chinese characters. For instance, the Chinese character *wang* (Figure 3), meaning "king, prince, ruler," was changed slightly to represent the Kitan word for "emperor" (Figure 4) by adding an upward stroke, representing a "superior" ruler. Because the system was ideographic, we do not know exactly how this Kitan word was pronounced. But following the same ideographic logic, a further innovation was the Kitan character for "God" or "Heaven" (Figure 5)—the symbol for "rule," with a top stroke added, meaning the "ultimate" ruler or power. Though inspired by Chinese characters, the Kitan characters could not be read by any who were not educated in them.

Though the Chinese ideographic writing system was powerful and well served the needs of the Chinese elite to nearly the present day, peoples speaking unrelated languages were continually experimenting with the Chinese invention to produce new ways of expressing their own cultures. The result was the emergence of several sound-based writing systems in East Asia, some of them still being deciphered today.

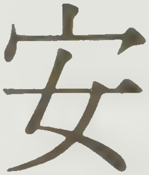


Figure 1

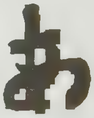


Figure 2

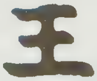


Figure 3

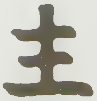


Figure 4

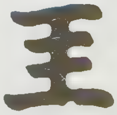
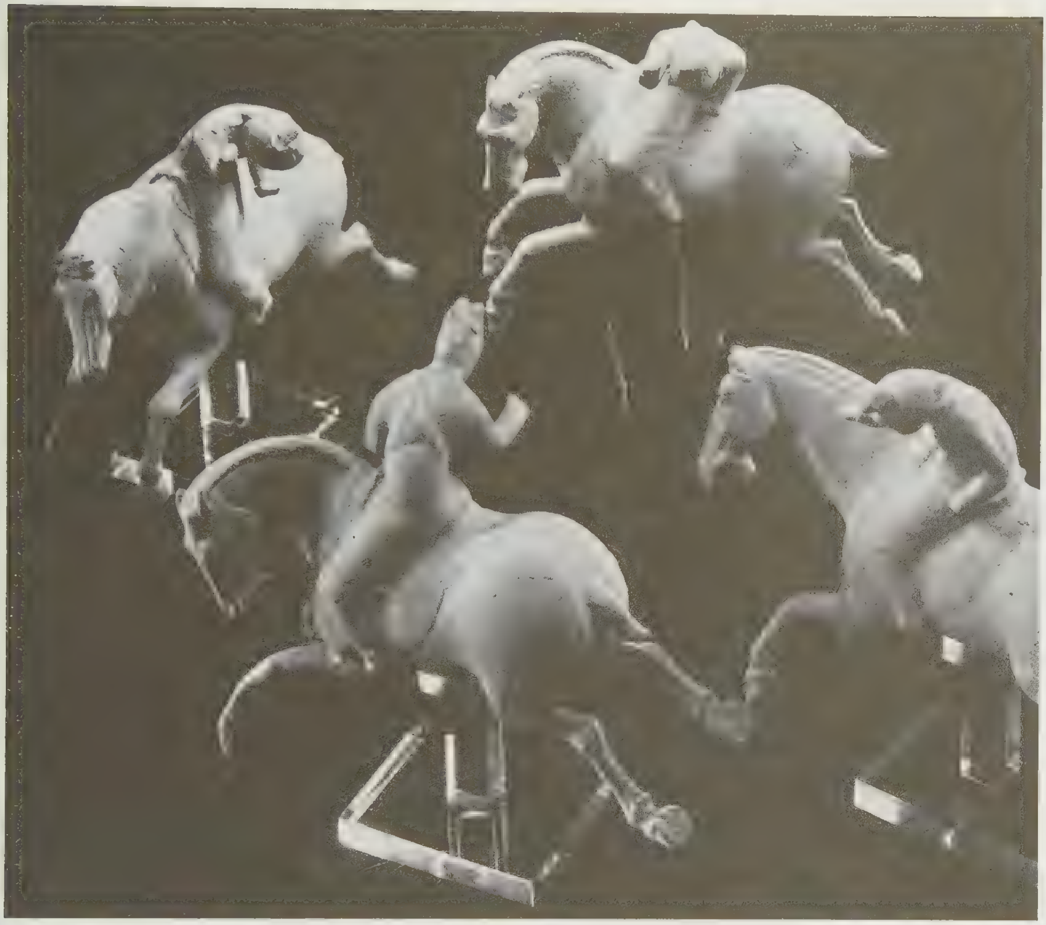


Figure 5



Tang women playing polo The Sui and Tang Empires were strongly influenced by Central Asian as well as by Chinese traditions. As in many Central Asian cultures, women in Tang China were likely to exercise greater influence in the management of property, in the arts, and in politics than women in Chinese society at later times. They were not excluded from public view, and noblewomen could even compete at polo. The game, widely known in Central Asia from a very early date, combined the Tang love of riding, military arts, and festive spectacles. (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri [Purchase: Nelson Trust])

had lasting historical influence. But none could match the capacity of the Tang for integrating the economic and cultural interests of vastly disparate territories or for transmitting knowledge across huge distances. In the ensuing three centuries East Asia was fragmented, and its communication with Europe and the Middle East was crippled. Important artistic styles, technical advances, and philosophical developments emerged in East Asia, but the particular brilliance that had resulted from the cosmopolitanism of the Tang was not seen again for centuries.

LOCALISM AND SPECIALIZATION DURING THE CENTURIES OF DISUNION

In the aftermath of the Tang, new states emerged and competed to inherit the legacy of the dissolved empire. By the end of the tenth century, an empire adopting the name Song was established in central China. The Song state struggled under enormous military demands, and Song elite society rejected what it considered "barbaric" or "foreign" influences from Central and South Asia. Korea and Japan forged strong political and cultural ties with Song China, and some states of Southeast Asia, relieved that the military power of the Tang no longer threatened them, entered into friendly relations with the Song court. The allied societies of East and Southeast Asia formed a Confucian milieu in which goods, resources, and knowledge were vigorously traded.

Emergence of East Asia: Rice and Confucianism

In Korea, Japan, and Annam, Song China found societies that, like itself, were overwhelmingly agricultural. Throughout East Asia, rice was being widely disseminated, and the cultivation of rice fit well with Confucian social ideology. Tending the young rice plants, irrigating the rice paddies, and managing the harvest required the coordination of considerable numbers of village and kin groups and reinforced the Confucian emphasis on hierarchy, obedience, and self-sacrifice, which was increasingly important in East Asian societies. Those values were instilled into the minds of ordinary people through popular education and indoctrination by members of the elite.

Since Han times, the spread of Confucianism through East Asia had been strongly associated with the spread of the Chinese system of writing. In all these countries, the elite learned to read Chinese and the Confucian classics. Literate Koreans used Chinese characters to write the Korean language even before China was reunited under the Tang Empire. This method was later adopted in Japan, and a similar technique was developed independently in Annam (see Environment & Technology: Writing in East Asia).

During the Han Empire, the small kingdoms of Korea were distinguished for their knowledge of the horse, their strong hereditary elites, and their shamanism. But they quickly absorbed Confucianism and Buddhism, both of which they transmitted to Japan. Examinations in Korea (unlike those in China) never were able to influence the social structure. The hereditary elites remained strong and in the early 500s made the system of inherited status—the "bone ranks"—permanent in the leading state of Silla. Professional training was limited to the ranks of scribes, translators, bookkeepers, and some artisans.

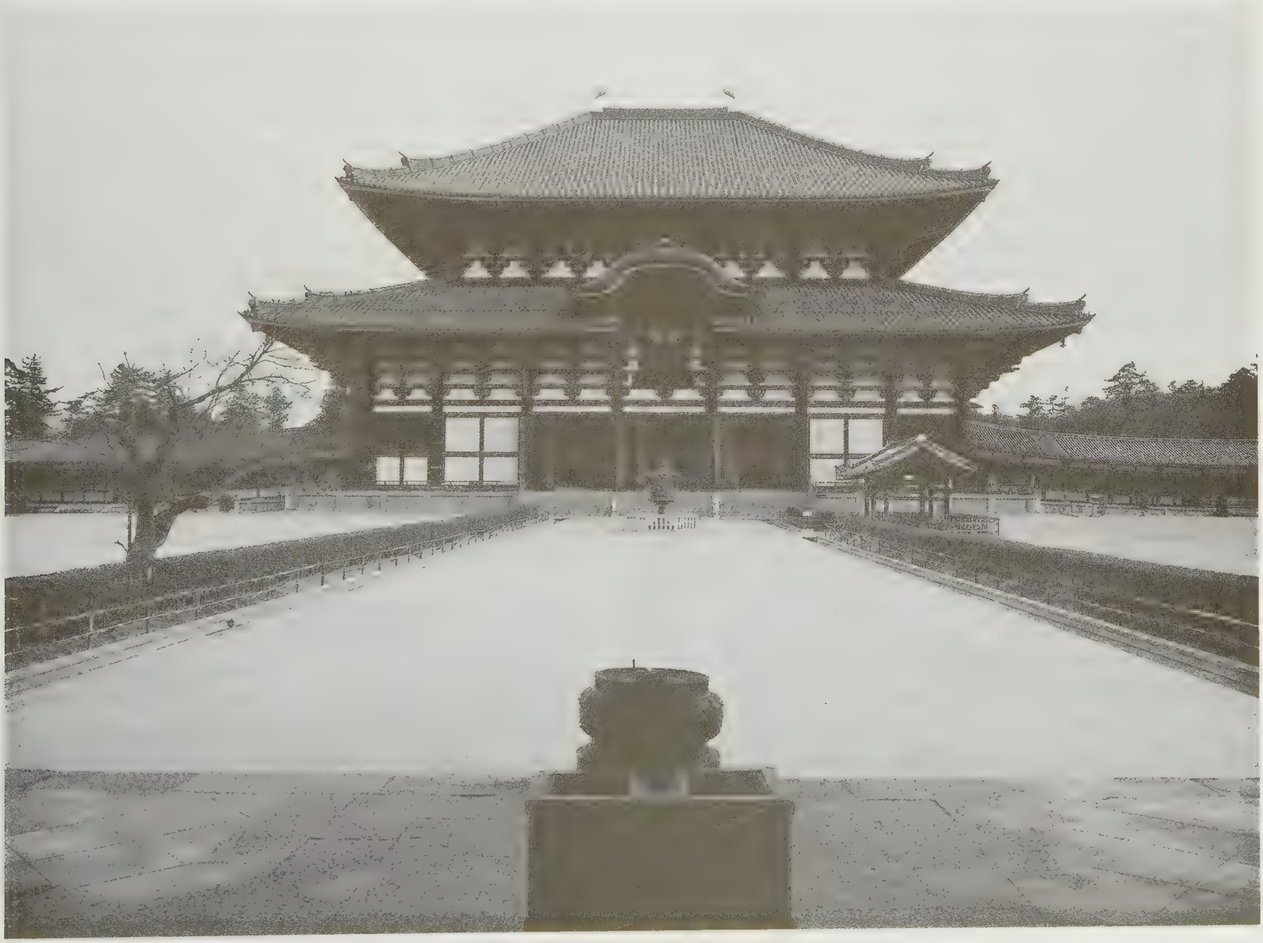
The same hereditary specialization applied to woodblock printing in Korea, which was introduced during the Tang period. The oldest surviving example of Chinese characters printed from wood blocks comes from Korea and is dated to the middle 700s. Korean printers rapidly made their own advances in printing techniques, and by Song times China was benefiting from Korean experiments with movable type.

Immediately after the fall of the Tang in the early 900s, a coup in the leading Korean kingdom led to establishment of a new dynasty, the Koryo, from which the modern name "Korea" is taken. The Koryo governed the peninsula, as a state friendly to China, until the fourteenth century (see Chapter 11). The Koryo kings were patrons of Buddhism, and among their outstanding achievements are superb printed editions of Buddhist texts.

Japan's earliest history, like Korea's, is first known from Chinese records. The first description, dating from the fourth century C.E., tells of an island at the eastern edge of the world, divided into hundreds of small countries and ruled over by a shamaness named Himiko or Pimiko. The unification of central Japan appears to have occurred in the fourth or fifth century C.E. in a new central government at Yamato, on the central plain of Honshu Island.

By the middle of the seventh century the Yamato regime in Japan had assumed many of the features of the Chinese government, with which it was in direct contact through embassies to Chang'an. There was a legal code, an official variety of Confucianism, a strong state interest in Buddhism, and within a century a complex system of state documentation, including the production of a massive history in the Confucian style. The Japanese mastered Chinese architectural science and styles so well that Japan's ancient cities of Nara and Kyoto have been invaluable for the study of Chinese-style wooden buildings that have vanished from China.

The Great Buddha Hall The central hall in the enormous Todaiji temple complex near Nara, in Japan, is the largest wooden building in the world. It housed the gigantic statue of the Buddha of light, the object of an "eye-opening" ceremony in 752, when a priest from India painted eyes onto the statue, completing it. The Todaiji complex was ruined in the civil war that led to establishment of the Kamakura shogunate in the late 1100s, but reconstruction began soon afterward. Today, the Todaiji is a monument to Nara civilization and to the Chinese influence that shaped its architecture. (Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY)



There were also significant departures from Chinese practice. Chinese buildings and some street plans were reproduced in Japan, but Chinese city walls were not. Central Japan of the seventh and eighth centuries (unlike central China) was not a site of constant warfare, so Japanese cities were built without fortifications. Chinese Confucianism emphasized the importance of the Mandate of Heaven for legitimating the government, but there was no need for the Mandate of Heaven in Japan. The *tenno*, or hereditary head of state—often called "emperor" in English—was a member of the line that had ruled Japan continuously since the beginning of its known history. And by the seventh century the Japanese regarded him as a direct descendant of the sun-goddess Amaterasu, who they believed created Japan and the Japanese people. Because there had been no dynastic changes in Japan, there was no need of the Mandate of Heaven to justify such a change.

The royal line continued in Japan because only in exceptional cases did the emperors wield any real political power. Control was in the hands of a prime minister and of the leaders of the native religion, which in later times was called *Shinto*, the "way of the gods." This distinct outlook was also preserved in historical writing that, unlike the Confucian style, emphasized the authority of myths and religious ideas.

At the time of the Tang Empire, members of an ancient family, the Fujiwara, were the leading priests, bureaucrats, and warriors in Japan. They controlled power in the country and assumed responsibility for protecting the emperor. The Fujiwara elevated men of Confucian learning over the warriors, who generally were illiterate. Japanese noblemen spent their time reading the Chinese classics, appreciating painting and poetry, and refining their sense of wardrobe and interior decoration. To engage in their highly aesthetic way of life, the nobles of the Fujiwara period had to entrust responsibility for local government, policing, and tax collection to the warriors in their employ. By the late 1000s a small number of the warriors had become wealthy, cultivated, and very powerful, and the nobility's control over these ambitious and violent men began to weaken. By the middle 1100s the capital was engulfed in a civil war.

A literary epic, the *Tale of the Heike*, later commemorated the heroic losers in this first clash of warrior clans and celebrated the rise of a new elite culture based on military values. The standing of the Fujiwara family at court was destroyed as nobles hurried to accommodate the new warlords. The emperor, too, had to acknowledge them as his protectors. The new warrior class (in later times called *samurai*) in coming years absorbed some of the values of the Fujiwara aristocracy, but the age of the civil elite in Japan was ending.

Annam, like Korea, had been under Chinese influence since the time of the Qin Empire. Rice-based agriculture made this area well suited to integration with southern China. The early Annamese were perhaps ahead of the Chinese in their use of draft animals in farming, in their metalworking, and in their mastery of certain forms of ceramics. With the collapse of Han military control in Southeast Asia in the third century C.E., Annam became vulnerable to aggression from the south. Not until the eighth century did the Tang Empire restabilize Annam as an outpost of Chinese elite culture. Confucian bureaucratic training revived, and Mahayana Buddhism was given pride of place among the varied religious influences in the region. When the Tang Empire was destroyed at the beginning of the tenth century, Annamese elites decided to continue a government resembling the early Tang. Annam maintained good relations with Song China but as an independent country.

Elite Life in East Asia

Perhaps because of the incessant military troubles of the Song period, Song elite culture idealized civil pursuits. In the social hierarchy the civilian man outranked the military man, and a classical revival occurred in the Song period. In the aftermath of the rejection of Buddhism in China, speculative philosophy flourished, and the rationalist school of neo-Confucianism predominated.

Nevertheless, the elites adopted some folk practices, and popular sects of Buddhism remained vigorous in the Song period. The most remarkable of these sects was Chan Buddhism (in Japan known as *Zen* and in Korea as *Sŏn*). Inspired by varieties of Buddhist belief introduced under the Tang dynasty, it taught that salvation was possible through mental discipline alone.

Under the Song, the examination system for officials assumed the form it retained for nearly a thousand years. Introduced during the Tang period, it was a dramatic departure from the tradition of the Han Empire, when officials were hired and promoted on the basis of recommendations. The written examinations were intended to recruit the most talented men for government service, whether their backgrounds were prestigious or humble. But in practice it was generally men from wealthy families who did well in the examinations. Preparation for the examinations was so time-consuming that peasant boys, who spent their days working the fields with their families, could rarely compete.

The social implications of the examinations were stronger, for Song society was less bound by hereditary class distinctions than Tang society had been. Many men from the gentry and merchant classes who hoped to enter government service spent much of their adult lives studying for and taking the examinations. Through study and testing, men established life-long bonds that they could use to advantage. Success in the examinations brought good marriage prospects, hope of a high salary, and enormous prestige. Failure, however, could bankrupt a family and ruin a man both socially and psychologically.

In the Song period many men from gentry families—the powerful landholding classes below the aristocracy—chose not to compete in the examinations even if they were well educated. They saw that agriculture and commerce could be extremely rewarding, for patterns of landholding in rice-growing areas promoted the concentration of ownership in the hands of comparatively few, very wealthy, people.

The concentration of landownership in southern China reflected the type of agriculture practiced. Northern China is dry, and the soil is sandy. Millet, beans, and wheat grew well there and could be cultivated by individual families. In the south of China, rivers are more plentiful, and the land is more adaptable to the cultivation of rice. Productive rice growing demands large concentrations of land and labor and generally requires village or family cooperatives to work together. In the south, small landowners lost out and had to sell their land to larger ones.

Under these conditions, well-off farmers tended not to divide their property among multiple sons, a practice also widespread in Korea, Japan, and Annam. Brothers lived together and worked the fields, and the family remained cohesive as long as its lands and yields grew. One or two brothers could take charge of managing the land. Other brothers could become merchants, selling the family's rice or raw silk in nearby towns. In China, still other brothers might prepare for the official examinations and increase the family's influence through government service.

Women, Commerce, and Private Wealth

Song China is renowned for achievements in speculative philosophy, in technology, in the arts, and in the creation of a highly urbanized commercial economy. But not everyone's lot in life improved during the period, and for women the Song era marked the beginning of a long period of cultural subordination, legal disenfranchisement, and social restriction. This outcome was consistent with the backlash against Buddhism and elevation of Confucianism that began under the Tang and intensified under the Song. It also was closely tied to the economic and status concerns of the gentry and rising merchant classes.

Merchants were away from their homes for long periods of time, and many maintained more than one household. As women were obliged to assume some responsibility for the management of their husbands' property in their absence, they were systematically deprived of the right to have and control property of their own. Laws relating to dowries were changed in the Song period so that a woman's property automatically passed to her husband, and women were forbidden to remarry if their husbands divorced them or died.

Confucianism could be interpreted to require the absolute subordination of women to men, so it became fashionable to educate girls in gentry or noble families just enough to read simple versions of Confucian philosophy, edited to emphasize the lowly role of women. The most dramatic change in the status of Chinese women, however, resulted from footbinding. When the foot is bound, the toes are forced under and toward the heel, the bones eventually break, and the woman cannot walk on her own. This practice first appeared among dancing slave women of the Tang court and was not widespread in China before the Song period. In families of the gentry and nobles, footbinding typically began when a girl was between five and seven years old. In many less wealthy families girls had to work until they were older, so footbinding began later, perhaps even as late as their teen years.

Protests, most strongly voiced by many literate men, condemned this maiming of innocent girls and the general uselessness of the practice. Nevertheless, bound feet became a powerful status symbol in rapidly changing Song society, and by the year 1200 footbinding was firmly entrenched among elites. Among working women in general and among the native peoples of what is now southern China, footbinding was unknown. Women in these classes and cultures enjoyed considerably more independence than did elite women.

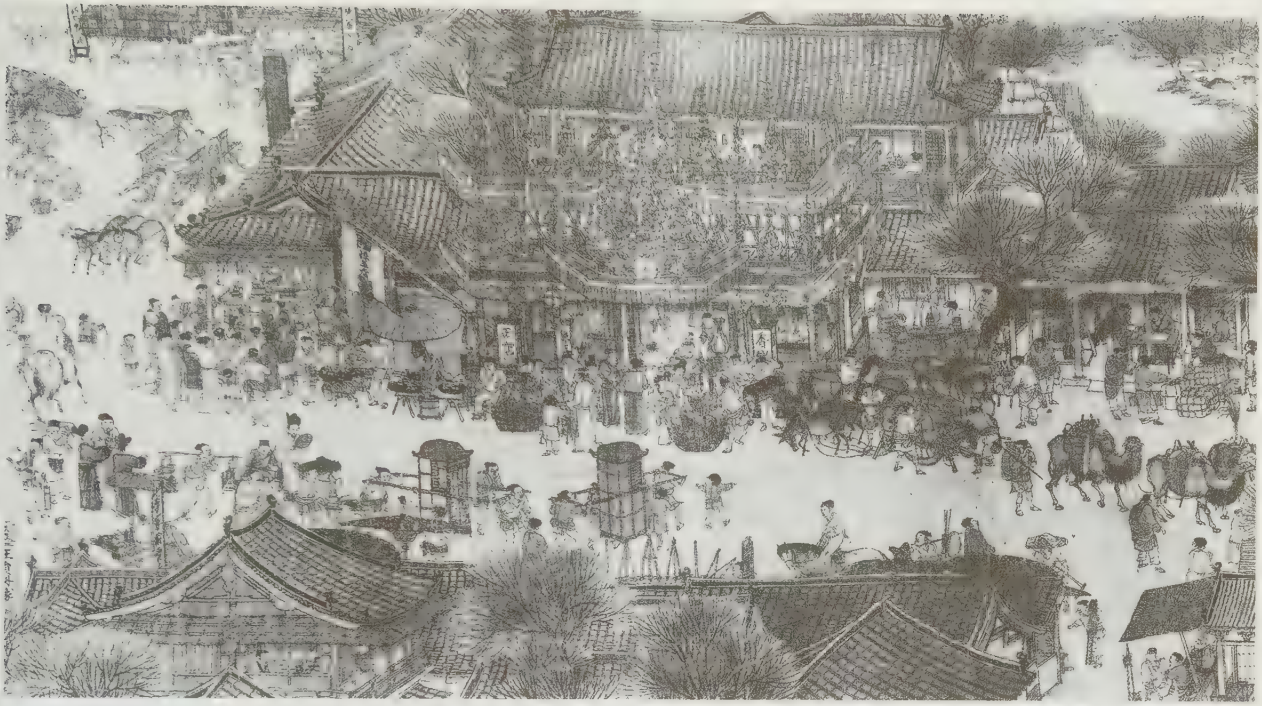
Despite the importance of Confucian influence in East Asian societies, footbinding did not spread beyond China. In medieval Korea, strong lineage alliances allowed women to retain a role in the negotiation and disposition of property. Japan, like China, valued a limited amount of education for elite women. In Annam, before the arrival of Confucianism from China, it appears that women enjoyed higher status than women in China, perhaps because of the need for the whole community—both women and men—to participate in wet-rice cultivation. The Trung sisters of Annam, who lived in the second century C.E. and led local farmers in resistance against the invading forces of the Han Empire, have been revered for almost two thousand years as national symbols in Vietnam and as local heroes in southern China. They represented a memory of when women were visible and active in community and political life.

During the twelfth century the total population of the Chinese territories rose above 100 million for the first time. Increasing numbers of people were living in large towns and cities. The Northern Song capital at Kaifeng and the Southern Song capital at Hangzhou probably did not exceed a million people by very much, but they were the largest cities in the world at the time, as Chang'an had been earlier, and they dwarfed all other cities in East Asia.

In the Song cities, multistory wooden apartment houses were common, and the narrow streets—sometimes little more than 4 or 5 feet wide (1.2 or 1.5 meters)—were often impassable. The crush of people made expertise in the management of waste and the water supply and in firefighting necessities. Song cities were also adept at controlling rodent and insect infestations and thus kept the bubonic plague isolated in certain rural pockets for most of the period.

To handle the growth of regional and national trade, Song merchants and traders developed institutions of credit. "Flying money"—paper money redeemable for silver or gold in another city—made possible the transportation of goods without cumbersome guarantees and allowed the rise of an industry based on banking and usury. The idea of credit had been introduced during the Tang but, like many other innovations, was not widely applied until the Song.

Economic growth under the Song was so rapid that the government could not maintain the huge monopolies and strict regulation that had been traditional in China before the Song period and was hard-pressed to gain the revenue it needed. Some government functions, such as tax collection, were sold off to privateers. The result was exorbitant rates for services and much heavier tax burdens on the common people. But the privatization of the economy also created new



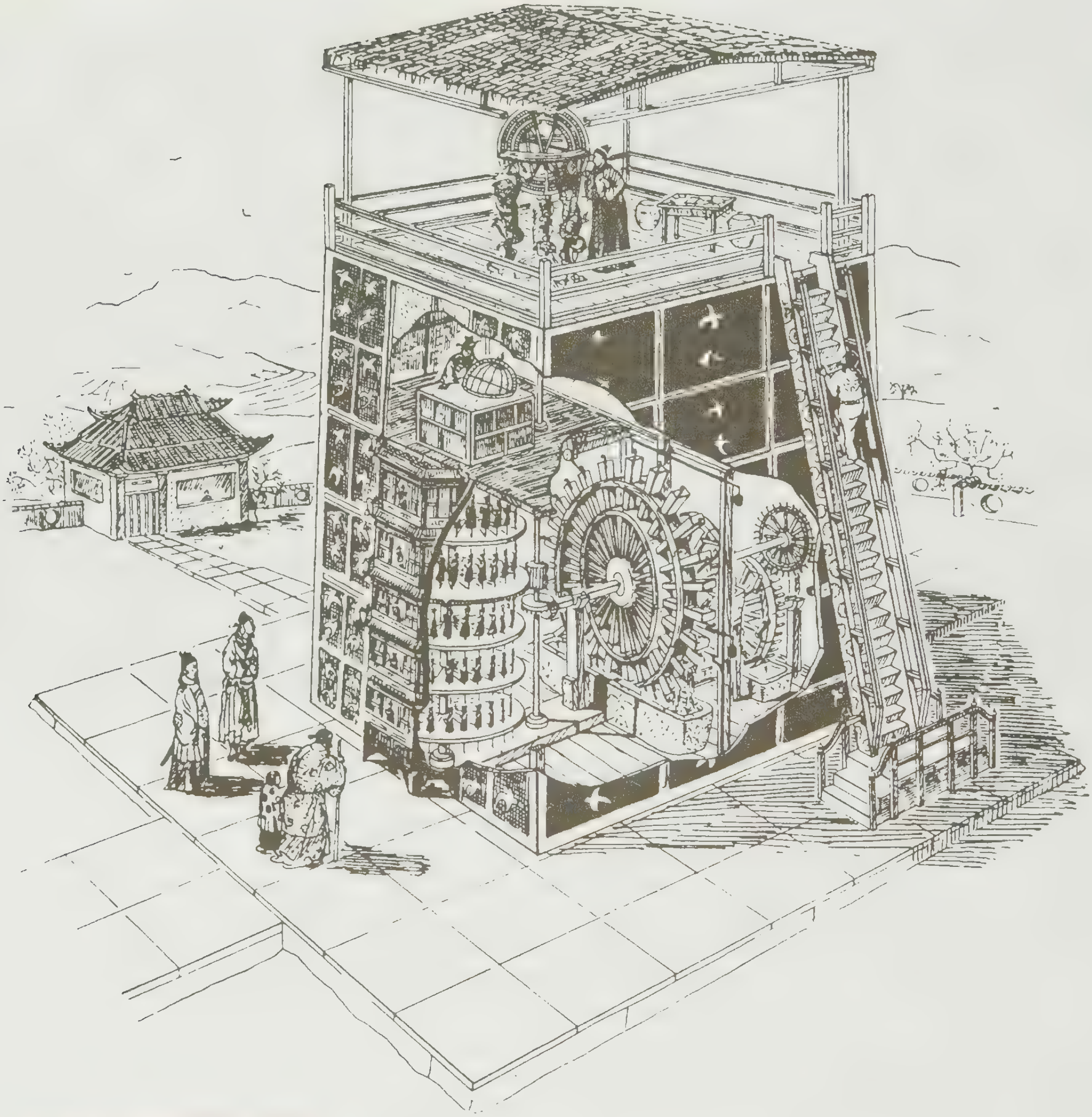
Going up the river Song cities hummed with commercial and industrial activity, much of it concentrated on the rivers and canals linking the capital Kaifeng to the provinces. This detail from the scroll painting *Going Upriver at the Qingming [Spring] Festival*, shows only a tiny portion of the panorama that the great scroll represents. Zhang Zeduan, who completed the painting sometime before 1125, was a master at the depiction of daily life, and this scroll is one of the most important sources of information on the activities of working people. Here, the open shop fronts and tea houses are clearly displayed, a camel caravan departs, goods are offloaded from donkey carts, a scholar rides loftily (if gingerly) on horseback above the crowd, and sedan chair carriers transport shaded women of wealth. (The Palace Museum, Beijing)

opportunities for individuals with capital to engage in businesses that previously had been state monopolies. Merchants and artisans as well as gentry and officials could make their fortunes, and urban life was transformed by the elite's growing taste for fine cloth, porcelain, exotic foods, larger houses, and exquisite paintings and books.

The Song Technological Explosion

Technological innovations introduced in Tang times were widely applied in the Song period. Iron plows, uncommon in Europe until the beginning of the nineteenth century, were a tremendous boost to farming. New crops, such as cotton (brought to northern China from Central Asia) and quick-ripening rice (brought into southern China from Champa), were planted. Improvements in printing technology made information about seed selection, double cropping, soil preparation, and mechanization widely accessible.

Song scholars were absorbed in the study of measurement and observation. This interest was a consequence of the migration of Indian and West Asian mathematicians and astronomers to China during the Tang period. Song mathemati-



Su Song's astronomical clock Song expertise in observational astronomy later made great contributions to integrated Eurasian knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, and calendar making. The gigantic clock built at Kaifeng between 1088 and 1092 joined these skills with an equally dramatic aspect of Song achievement: engineering. The team overseen by Su Song combined an observation platform with an armillary sphere. The sphere was automatic, powered by chains attached to the water-driven central mechanism shown here. Also motored from the central wheel were rotating Buddhas in a small pagoda, and devices to display the daily, monthly, and annual time. All the technologies of Su Song's clock tower had been known in China for some time but had not been combined into a public display. The clock tower was the inspiration for the large mechanical clocks in churches and towers that appeared in medieval Europe a few centuries later. (Courtesy, Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*) cians are the first known to have used fractions, which they originally employed to describe the phases of the moon. On the basis of their lunar observations, Song astronomers constructed a very precise calendar. As an outgrowth of their work in astronomy and mathematics, Chinese scholars made significant contributions to timekeeping and the development of the compass.

The Song technological explosion that gave rise to these and other advances was stimulated not only by a vibrant and expanding economy but also by military pressure. East Asia in general, and Song China in particular, were under constant military pressure from the fundamentally nomadic northern empires. The Song defended the empire with an infantry-based army, which made up for its strategic disadvantages with its enormous size. Although the Song Empire was less than half the size of the Tang Empire, it maintained an army four times as large, about 1.25 million men. For military leadership, the Song employed men educated specially for the task, tested them on military subjects, and paid them regular salaries.

In addition to meeting the cost of the military, Song rulers made annual, large tribute payments to the Liao, who ruled a tremendous northern expanse from Siberia to Central Asia. In some years, military expenditures consumed as much as 80 percent of the Song government budget—a burden that threatened to crush the state. Thanks to the advances in printing, the government attempted to alleviate some of its financial troubles by distributing paper money, the first of its kind. But the result was severe inflation, and eventually the government attempted to meet its expenses with new taxes, monopolies, and financial incentives to merchants. The only real solution to Song financial problems would have been peace, which was not achieved until after the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century.

The volume of Song mining and iron production (which again became a government monopoly in the eleventh century) was huge. Song engineers became skilled at high-temperature metallurgy. They produced steel weapons of unprecedented strength through the use of enormous bellows, often driven by water wheels, to superheat the molten ore. Mass-production techniques made casting and assembly more efficient. Song defensive works also incorporated iron, which was impervious to fire or concussion. Bridges and small buildings were made of iron, and so was body armor mass-produced for soldiers in small, medium, and large sizes.

The Song also experimented with projectiles that could destroy groups of men and horses. The explosive properties of gunpowder were well known in China. Gunpowder was used to propel flaming arrows into oncoming cavalry, and in the 1100s the Song introduced a new and terrifying weapon: shells launched from Song fortifications to explode in the midst of the enemy, sending out shards of iron.

CONCLUSION

The fragmentation of Asia that followed the end of the Tang Empire in 906 allowed the emergence of regional cultures that experimented with and in many cases improved the cultural, military, architectural, and scientific technologies whose transmission Tang rule had facilitated. In Song China, the application of technological knowledge introduced during the Tang years transformed society. The results were privatization of commerce; production of larger ships and exploitation of long-distance sea trade; rapid advancement in the iron, steel, and porcelain industries; increased productivity in agriculture; the colonization of new regions; and deeper exploration of ideas about time, cosmology, and mathematics. China, however, was not self-reliant. Like its East Asian neighbors—Korea, Japan, and Annam—China was enriched by the mutual sharing of improvements in agriculture, ceramics, and printing.

At the same time, the relatively small scale of political organization and attendant inability to amass military resources left most of East

Asia vulnerable to attack from a large and well-organized force. The test of the local systems arising in Asia from the tenth century on arrived in the early thirteenth century. Some of the states survived, most were swept away in the persisting, systematic conquests of the Mongols, described in Chapter 11.

SUGGESTED READING

There are many good books on the history and cultures of Central Asia. Rene Grousset's *The Empire of the Steppes: A History of Central Asia* (1988) is a classic text. It can be profitably supplemented by selected chapters from Denis Sinor, ed., *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (1990). On the transport technologies of early Central Asia see Richard Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (1975).

Arthur Wright's *The Sui Dynasty* (1978) is a readable narrative about the reunification of China in the sixth century. The Tang Empire is the topic of a huge literature, but for a variety of enduring essays see Arthur F. Wright and David Twitchett, eds., *Perspectives on the T'ang* (1973).

There is comparatively little literature on the Central and northern Asian empires that succeeded the Tang. But for a classic text see Karl Wittfogel and Chia-sheng Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao* (1949). On the Jurchen Jin see Jin-sheng Tao, *The Jurchens in Twelfth Century China* (1976); and on the Tangguts see Ruth Dunnell, *Buddhism and the State in Eleventh-Century Xia* (1996).

On the Song there is a large volume of material, particularly relating to technological achievements. For an introduction to the monumental work of Joseph Needham see his *Science in Traditional China* (1981). For a large and now classic thesis on Song advancement (and Ming backwardness) see Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past* (1973), particularly Part II.

On the history of Korea see Andrew C. Nahm, *Introduction to Korean History and Culture* (1993). An excellent introduction to Japanese history is Paul H. Varley, *Japanese Culture*, 3d ed. (1984). Ivan Morris's *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan* (1979) is a classic introduction to the literature and culture of Fujiwara Japan at the time of the writing of Murasaki Shikibu's novel *The Tale of Genji.* For Annam see Keith Weller Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (1983).

NOTES

1. Edited quotation from William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1976), 118. McNeill, following his translator, has mistaken Ge Hong as "Ho Kung" (pinyin romanization "He Gong").

2. Quoted in David Lattimore, "Allusion in T'ang Poetry," in A. Wright and D. Twitchett, eds., *Perspectives on the T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 436.

CHAPTER TEN

Peoples and Civilizations of the Americas, to 1500

Mesoamerica, to 800 C.E.

Mesoamerica, from 800 to 1500 • Northern Peoples

Andean Civilizations

The Maya kingdoms of Tikal and Uaxactún were located less than 12 miles (19 kilometers) apart. Led by their kings and great nobles, the armies of the two kingdoms met often in battle to secure captives for the gods. War and sacrifice held a central place in the Maya social order, but war seldom threatened the survival of dynasties or territorial boundaries. These limits were overturned on January 16, 378 C.E., when Great-Jaguar-Paw, king of Tikal, decisively defeated the forces of Uaxactún.

The battle began in the traditional way: the opposing armies shouted challenges and insults across the grassy plain that separated them. Filled with anger by these taunts, individual warriors broke ranks and rushed to engage their tormentors. As individuals and small groups struggled with clubs and stabbing spears, subdued warriors were dragged away from the battle for later sacrifice.

After hours of hand-to-hand combat, many warriors had been wounded but only a few had been killed or taken captive. It was then that Smoking-Frog, war leader of Tikal's forces and kinsman of the king, ordered a reserve force hidden in the nearby forest to attack. These warriors were armed with atlatls, a device for throwing obsidian-tipped spears long distances (obsidian is a hard, glassy volcanic rock). Used before by the Maya for hunting large game, the atlatl was an efficient killing weapon that transformed the battlefield. Uaxactún's forces had no response. When his massed counterattack collapsed under repeated volleys of spears, the king of Uaxactún and the remnants of his army fled the battlefield.

Customary preparations for war had failed the royal house of Uaxactún. Days of fasting, prayers, and rituals had not won for Uaxactún the support of the gods. Elaborate war regalia and carefully painted faces had not protected the king and his nobles. Their courage and skill were no match for the weapons and tactics of Tikal. In the aftermath of defeat, the ancient lineage of Uaxactún was extinguished by ritual sacrifice. Tikal's war leader, Smoking-Frog, and his heirs would reign in their place. New technology had altered warfare and geopolitics in the Maya world. War for the first time in the Americas was associated with the conquest and subordination of a rival dynasty.[1]

For more than ten thousand years peoples in the Western Hemisphere lived in nearly total isolation from the rest of the world. While technological innovations passed back and forth among the civilizations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, the peoples of the Americas faced the challenges of the natural environment on their own.[2] Enormous cultural diversity existed in the ancient Americas. In Mesoamerica (Mexico and northern Central America) and in the Andes, indigenous peoples developed some of the world's most productive and diversified agriculture. They also built great cities that rivaled in size and beauty the capitals of the Chinese and Roman Empires. In the rest of the hemisphere, indigenous peoples adapted combinations of hunting and agriculture to maintain a wide variety of settlement patterns, political forms, and cultural traditions. These cultural traditions, as well as the civilizations of Mesoamerica and the Andes, experienced cycles of expansion and vitality followed by contraction and reorganization as they were challenged by environmental changes, population growth, class conflict, and warfare.

MESOAMERICA, TO 800 C.E.

Located between the large landmasses of North and South America, Mesoamerica includes central and southern Mexico and most of Central America north of the isthmus of Panama. In the centuries before 1000 C.E. it sustained a coherent and dynamic regional culture that produced the most highly urbanized civilizations of the Americas. Mesoamerica has three distinct ecological zones, each hosting a great variety of plant and animal life. The hot and humid plains along the Gulf of Mexico coast are bordered to the west by the temperate areas of the coastal foothills and fertile basin of the central mesa (tableland). These regions are surrounded by semiarid high mountains. Differences in rainfall, temperature, and soil create micro environments where early agriculturalists produced both staples and specialized products for trade with neighbors. Within these ecological niches, Mesoamerican societies developed specialized agricultural technologies and exploited useful minerals like obsidian and chert (flintlike quartz) to make sharp tools and weapons.

Development of Cultural Unity

Although powerful imperial states sometimes controlled large areas of Mesoamerica, the area was never united politically. Instead, cultural traditions unified Mesoamerica. Important regional differences were always present, but in agriculture, religion, political organization, art, architecture, and sport, shared characteristics were found throughout the region.

The economic basis of Mesoamerican culture was agriculture. Maize, squash, and beans were supplemented by foods such as avocados, tomatoes, cacao (chocolate beans), chilies, and amaranth (an edible flowering plant). As populations grew and political institutions gained the power to mobilize labor for collective tasks, the environment was transformed. In the lowlands of the Gulf coast and along lake shores of the central mesa, labor was organized to construct raised fields and drainage canals to reduce the threat of flooding during the rainy season. Similar efforts terraced the coastal foothills and the mountains of the interior to slow erosion and increase the amount of land available for planting. In semiarid regions massive irrigation works, reservoirs, and aqueducts allowed farmers to grow food on marginal lands. Even in heavily forested regions fire and seed selection altered the distribution of plant varieties to favor those most useful to nearby populations.

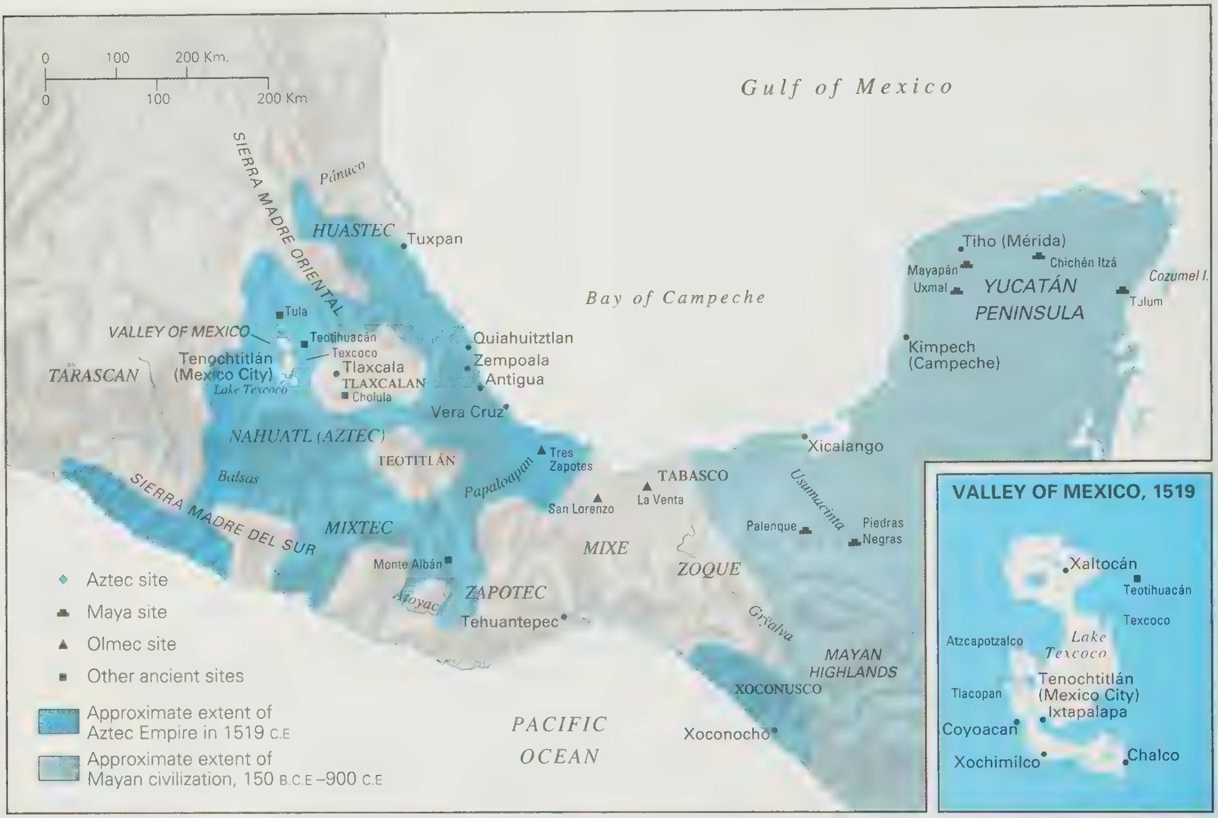
Nearly all Mesoamerican peoples believed that their gods had dual (male/female) natures. A form of kingship that melded religious and secular powers and roles was also common. Kings, priests, and shamans were assumed to have the power to transform themselves into powerful supernatural beings through bloodletting rituals and the use of hallucinogens. Images of men transformed into jaguars were common decorative motifs. Warfare and the sacrifice of prisoners reflected ritual needs and a general belief that bloodletting was central to the survival and well-being of human society.

Other shared characteristics included monumental sculpture, a number system based on 20, the development of both ritual and solar calendars, and writing. There also were similarities in urban planning. High temple pyramids, the residences of elite families, and ball courts dominated Mesoamerican cities. The ball game was played with a solid rubber ball on steep-sided courts. In some cases elite captives were forced to play this game before they were sacrificed.

These cultural attributes were shared by linguistically distinct local cultures organized in most cases as independent political states. In Mesoamerica cultural exchange depended more on long-distance trade and well-developed markets than on political integration or military expansion. Technologies, beliefs, and ritual practices were exchanged along with subsistence goods and the valuable products of skilled artisans who worked with jade, shell, and feathers.

The Olmecs

The Olmecs flourished between 1200 and 400 B.C.E., roughly the period of the golden age of Athens. The major Olmec centers were located



Map 10.1 Major Mesoamerican Civilizations, 1000 B.C.E.–1519 C.E. From Tenochtitlán, their island capital, the Aztecs militarily and commercially dominated a large region. Aztec achievements were built on the legacy of Olmec, Maya, and other earlier civilizations.

along the tropical Bay of Campeche coast between Vera Cruz and Tabasco (see Map 10.1).

The Olmecs made extensive use of raised fields. They dug drainage canals and used the excavated mud to build up planting areas. This technology enabled them to farm intensively and produce the surpluses needed to sustain large-scale construction and craft specialization in their urban centers. Little is known about the political structure of Olmec civilization, but it is clear that there was no Olmec empire. The Olmecs' influence depended more on their control of rare and desirable commodities, like jade and colored clays, and on the apparent appeal of their religious practices than on political control. Some scholars have suggested that the Olmecs' jaguar-god was the precursor to the important rain deity found in all the later cultures of Mesoamerica. Jaguars and men being transformed into jaguars were common Olmec decorative motifs.

The architectural and artistic accomplishments of the Olmecs were extraordinary given the absence of the wheel and draft animals (oxen, horses, burros). Their greatest artistic achievements were in jade carving. Figurines, necklaces, and ceremonial knives of jade are common in elite burials. The best-known monuments of Olmec culture, however, are colossal carved stone heads as big as 11 feet (3.4 meters) high. Because each head is unique, most archaeologists believe that the heads portray individual rulers.

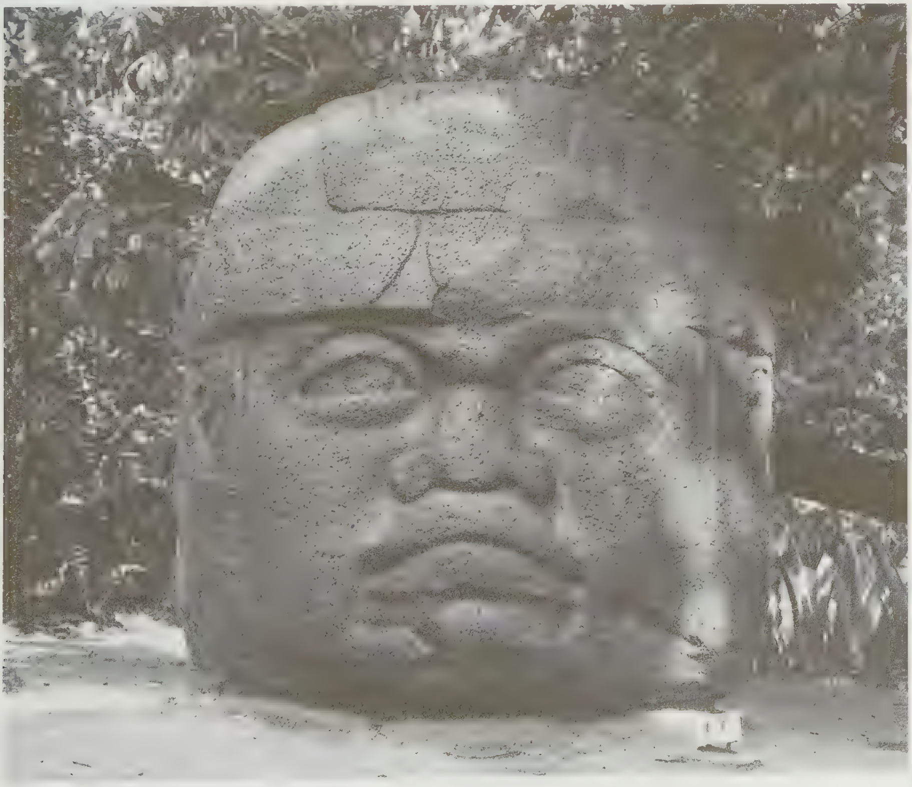
The Olmecs played a crucial role in the early development of writing and astronomy, and they devised a calendar. It is likely that the ritual ball game that eventually was played throughout Mesoamerica originated with the Olmecs.

Olmec achievements in sculpture, stonework, writing, and astronomy laid the groundwork for developments in the "Classic" period of Mesoamerican civilization (ca. 250 to 800 C.E.). The legacy of the Olmecs is most visible in the Maya lands to the south.

The Maya: A Classic Mesoamerican Civilization

Building on the legacy of the Olmecs, the Maya established their initial society on Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula about 100 C.E. and by 600 had developed an impressive civilization in the region that today includes Guatemala, Honduras, Belize, and southern Mexico (see Map 10.1). Given the difficulties imposed by a tropical climate and fragile soils, the cultural and architectural achievements of the Maya were remarkable. They shared a single culture but were never

Olmec head Giant heads sculpted from basalt are a widely recognized legacy of Olmec culture. Sixteen heads have been found, the largest approximately 11 feet (3.4 meters) tall. Experts in Olmec archaeology believe the heads are portraits of individual rulers, warriors, or ballplayers. (Georg Gerster/Photo Researchers, Inc.)



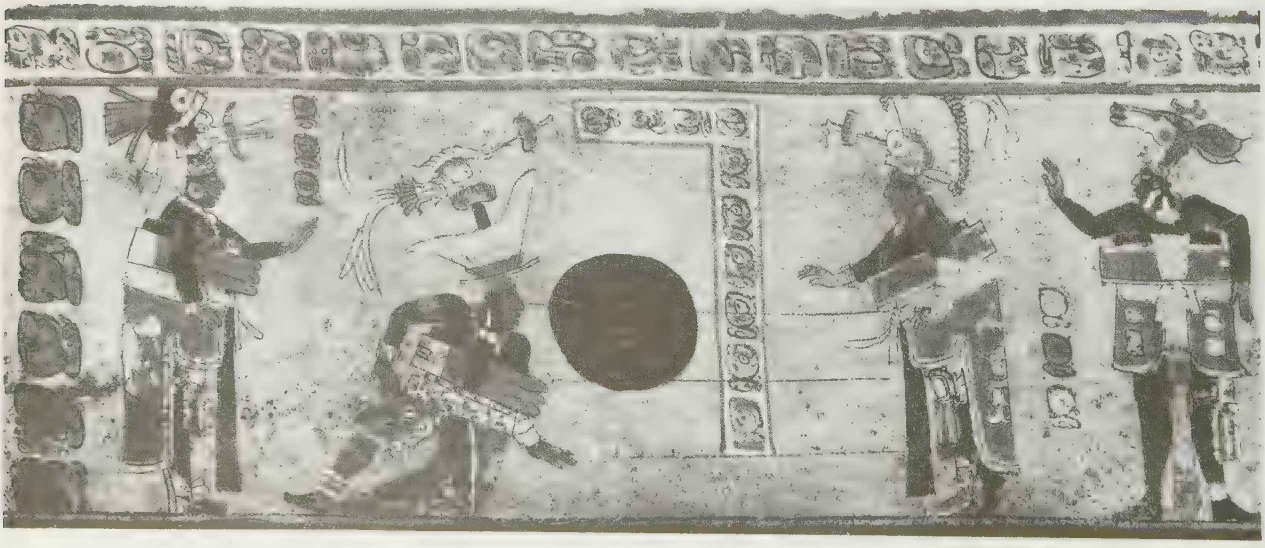
unified politically. Instead, rival kingdoms led by hereditary rulers struggled with each other for regional dominance, much like the Mycenaean-era Greeks (see Chapter 2).

The high population levels of the Classic period of Mesoamerican civilization required intensive forms of agriculture. Maya living near major urban centers increased crop yields by draining swamps and building elevated fields. They used irrigation in areas with long dry seasons, and they terraced hillsides in the cooler highlands. Nearly every household planted a garden to provide condiments and fruits to supplement dietary staples. Maya agriculturalists also managed nearby forests, favoring the growth of the trees and shrubs that were most useful to them, as well as promoting the conservation of deer and other semitame animals.

Maya city-states proliferated during the Classic period. Each city concentrated religious and political functions and controlled groups of smaller dependent cities and a broad agricultural zone. Classic Maya cities, unlike earlier sites, had dense central precincts dominated by monumental architecture. These political and ceremonial centers were commonly positioned to reflect the movement of the sun and Venus. Open plazas were surrounded by high pyramids and by elaborately decorated palaces often built on high ground or on constructed mounds. The effect was to awe the masses drawn to these centers for religious and political rituals.

The Maya loved decoration. Nearly all of their public buildings were covered with bas-relief and painted in bright colors. Religious allegories, the genealogies of rulers, and important historical events were the most common motifs. Beautifully carved altars and stone monoliths were erected near major temples. This monumental architecture was constructed without the

Mesoamerican ball game Archaeologists have found evidence from Guatemala to Arizona of an ancient ball game played with a solid rubber ball on slope-sided courts shaped like the capital letter T. Among the Maya the game was mythologically associated with creation and thus had deep religious meaning. There is evidence that some players were sacrificed. In this scene, found on a ceramic jar, players in elaborate ritual clothing, which includes heavy, protective pads around the chest and waist, play with a ball much larger than the ball actually used in games. In some representations, balls were drawn so as to suggest a human head. (Dallas Art Museum/Justin Kerr)



aid of wheels—no pulleys, wheelbarrows, or carts—or metal tools. Masses of men and women aided only by levers and stone tools cut, carried, pushed, and pulled construction materials into place.

The Maya cosmos consisted of three layers connected along a vertical axis that traced the course of the sun. The earthly arena of human existence held an intermediate position between the heavens, conceptualized by the Maya as a sky-monster, and a dark underworld. A sacred tree rose through the three layers; its roots were in the underworld, and its branches reached into the heavens. The temple precincts of Maya cities physically represented essential elements of this religious cosmology. The pyramids were sacred mountains reaching to the heavens. The doorways of the pyramids were portals to the underworld.

Rulers and other members of the elite served both priestly and political functions. They decorated their bodies with paint and tattoos and wore elaborate costumes of textiles, animal skins, and feathers to project both secular power and divine sanction. Kings communicated directly with the supernatural residents of the other worlds and with deified royal ancestors through bloodletting rituals and hallucinogenic trances. Scenes of rulers drawing blood from lips, ears, and penises are common in surviving frescoes and on painted pottery.

Even warfare, like the battle between Tikal and Uaxactún described at the beginning of the chapter, was infused with religious meaning and elaborate ritual. Battle scenes and the depiction of the torture and sacrifice of captives were frequent decorative themes. Typically, Maya military forces fought to secure captives rather than territory. Days of fasting, sacred ritual, and rites of purification preceded battle. The king, his kinsmen, and other ranking nobles actively participated in war. Elite captives were nearly always sacrificed; captured commoners were more likely to be enslaved.

Only two women are known to have ruled Maya kingdoms. At Palenque, Kan'anal-Ik'al ruled from 583 to 604 C.E., and Sak-K'uk ruled from 612 to 615 C.E. Maya women of the ruling lineages did play important political and religious roles, however. The consorts of male rulers participated in bloodletting rituals and in other important public ceremonies, and their noble blood helped legitimate the rule of their husbands. Although Maya society was patrilineal (tracing descent in the male line), there is evidence that some male rulers traced their lineages bilaterally (in both male and female lines) and emphasized the female line if it held higher status. Much less is known about the lives of the women of the lower classes, but scholars believe that they played a central role in the household economy, maintaining essential garden plots and weaving, and in the management of family life.

Building on what the Olmecs had done, the Maya made important contributions to the development of the Mesoamerican calendar and to mathematics and writing. Their interest in time and in the cosmos was reflected in the complexity of their calendric system. Each day was identified by three separate dating systems. Like other peoples throughout Mesoamerica, the Maya had a calendar that tracked the ritual cycle (260 days divided into 13 months of 20 days) and a solar calendar (365 days divided into 18 months of 20 days, plus 5 unfavorable days at the end of the year). The concurrence of these two calendars every 52 years was believed to be especially ominous. The Maya, alone among Mesoamerican peoples, also maintained a continuous "long count" calendar, which began at a fixed date in the past that modern scholars identify as 3114 B.C.E., a date that the Maya likely associated with creation.

These calendric systems and the astronomical observations on which they were based depended on Maya contributions to mathematics and writing. Their system of mathematics incorporated the concept of the zero and place value but had limited notational signs. Maya writing was a form of hieroglyphic inscription that signified whole words or concepts as well as phonetic cues or syllables. Aspects of public life, religious belief, and the biographies of rulers and their ancestors were recorded in deerskin and bark-paper books, on pottery, and on the stone columns and monumental buildings of the urban centers. In this sense every Maya city was a sacred text.

Between 800 and 900 C.E. many of the major urban centers of the Maya were abandoned or destroyed, although a small number of Classic-period centers survived for centuries. In some areas decades of urban population decline and increased warfare preceded this collapse. Some experts have argued that the destruction of Teotihuacán, a Classic-period city in central Mexico, about 750 C.E. disrupted trade, thus undermining the legitimacy of Maya rulers. Other scholars suggest that growing population pressure led to environmental degradation and falling agricultural productivity. This environmental crisis, in turn, might have led to class conflict and increased levels of warfare as desperate elites sought to acquire additional agricultural land through conquest. Although little evidence has been found, some scholars have proposed that epidemic disease and pestilence were the prime causes of the catastrophe. Most probably, a combination of factors ended the Classic period.

MESOAMERICA, FROM 800 TO 1500

The division between the Mesoamerican Classic period and later—postclassic—periods is arbitrary. There is no single explanation for the collapse of many of the major Maya centers and other Classic centers in central Mexico. These events occurred over more than a century. In fact, important Classic-period civilizations, such as Cholula in the Valley of Puebla, survived unscathed, and essential Classic cultural characteristics persisted. Similarities in religious belief and practice, in architecture and urban planning, and in social organization link the Classic and later periods.

There were, however, some important differences. The population of Mesoamerica expanded after the Classic period, and the resulting pressures led to another intensification of agricultural practices and to increased warfare. The governing elites of the major postclassic states—the Toltecs and the Aztecs—responded to these harsh realities by increasing their armies and developing political institutions to facilitate their control of the large and culturally diverse territories they acquired through conquest.

The Toltecs

The Toltecs created a powerful conquest state and extended their influence from the area north of modern Mexico City to Central America. Established about 968 C.E., Tula, the Toltec capital, was constructed in a grand style and dominated central Mexico (see Map 10.1). Its public architecture featured colonnaded patios and numerous temples. Toltec decoration had a more warlike and violent character than the decoration of earlier Mesoamerican cultures. Nearly all Toltec public buildings and temples were decorated with representations of warriors or with scenes suggesting human sacrifice.

Sometime after 1000 C.E., a struggle between elite groups identified with rival religious cults undermined the Toltec state. According to legends that survived among the Aztecs, Topiltzin—one of the rulers and a priest of the cult of Quetzalcóatl—and his followers bitterly accepted exile in the east, "the land of the rising sun."

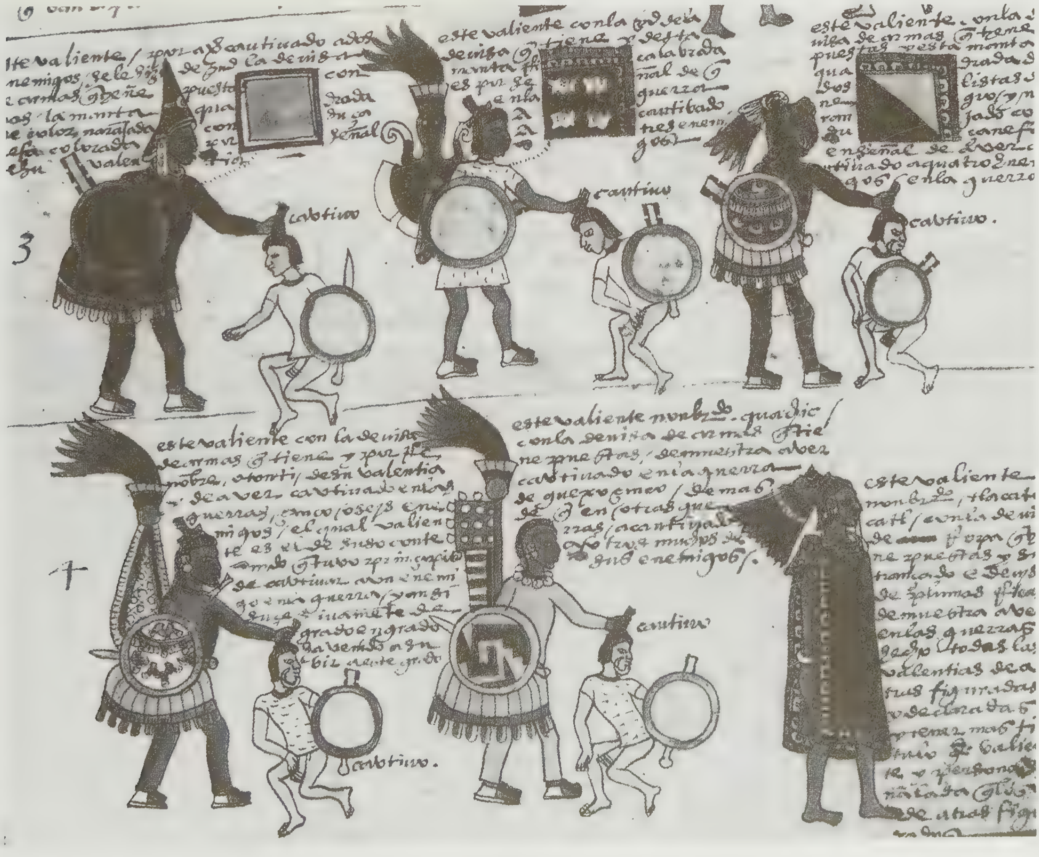
The Toltec state began to decline after the exile of Topiltzin, and around 1168 C.E. northern invaders overran Tula. After its destruction, a centuries-long process of cultural and political assimilation produced a new Mesoamerican political order based on the urbanized culture and statecraft of the Toltecs. Like Semitic peoples of the third millennium B.C.E. interacting with Sumerian culture, the new Mesoamerican elites were drawn in part from the invading cultures. The Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico became the most important of these peoples.

The Aztecs

The Mexica, more commonly known as Aztecs, were among the northern peoples who pushed into central Mexico in the wake of the collapse of Tula. Once settled, they grafted onto their clan-based social organization elements of the political and social practices they found among the urbanized agriculturalists of the valley. As their strength grew, they relocated to small uninhabited islands near the shore of Lake Texcoco and began the construction of their twin capitals, Tenochtitlán and Tlateloco, around 1325 C.E.

From this strong point, they became valued mercenaries of the region's dominant political power, Azcapotzalco. Military successes allowed the Aztecs to seize control of agricultural land along the lake shore. Taking advantage of the increased economic independence and greater

Costumes of Aztec warriors In Mesoamerican warfare individual warriors sought to gain prestige and improve their status by taking captives. This illustration from the sixteenth-century Codex Mendoza was drawn by an Amerindian artist. It shows how the Aztecs used distinctive costumes to acknowledge the prowess of warriors. These costumes indicate the taking of two (top left) to six captives (bottom center). The individual on the bottom right shown without a weapon was a military leader. As was common in Mesoamerican illustrations of military conflict, the captives, held by their hair, are shown kneeling before the victors. (The Bodlelan Library, Oxford, Ms. Arch. Selden. A.I. fol. 64r.)



political security that resulted from this expansion, they transformed their political organization by introducing a monarchical system similar to the system in more powerful neighboring states. In Aztec society, kinship-based clans steadily lost influence to monarchs and hereditary aristocrats. As the power of the nobility grew and the authority of the clans declined, class distinctions became more important.

Territorial conquest allowed the warrior elite of Aztec society to seize land and peasant labor as spoils of war (see Map 10.1). In time, the royal family and aristocracy held extensive estates that were cultivated by slaves and landless peasants. Some commoners achieved some social mobility through success on the battlefield or by entering the priesthood, but the highest social ranks were always reserved for hereditary nobles.

Despite their declining influence, clans continued to play important roles in Tenochtitlán and Tlateloco. Clan members maintained a common ritual life in the capital and accepted civic responsibilities such as caring for the sick and elderly. Clan members also fought together as military units. But the clans' historical control over common agricultural land and other scarce resources, such as fishing and hunting rights, was diminished.

By 1500 C.E., Aztec society was characterized by great inequalities in wealth and privilege. The kings and aristocracy legitimated their new ascendancy by creating elaborate rituals and ceremonies to separate themselves from the commoners. A Spaniard who participated in the conquest of the Aztec Empire remembered his first meeting with the Aztec ruler Moctezuma II (r. 1502–1520): "many great lords walked before the great Montezuma [Moctezuma II], sweeping the ground on which he was to tread and laying down cloaks so that his feet should not touch the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared look him in the face."[3] Commoners lived in small dwellings and ate a limited diet of staples. Members of the nobility lived in large, well-constructed two-story houses and consumed a diet rich in animal protein and flavored by condiments and by chocolate and other expensive imports. The elite also were set apart by their rich dress and jewelry. Even marriage customs in the two groups were different. Commoners were monogamous; nobles, polygamous.

The Aztec state met the challenge of feeding an urban population of approximately 150,000 by efficiently organizing labor to expand agricultural land. The construction of a dike more than 5½ miles (9 kilometers) long by 23 feet (7 meters) wide to separate the fresh and saltwater parts of Lake Texcoco was the Aztecs' most impressive land reclamation project. Once constructed, the dike allowed a significant extension of irrigated fields and the construction of chinampas. Sometimes called "floating gardens," *chinampas* were narrow, built islands anchored by trees and created by heaping lake muck and waste material on beds of reeds. One expert has estimated that the project consumed 4 million person-days to complete. Aztec chinampas contributed maize, fruits, and vegetables to the markets of Tenochtitlán. Tribute from conquered peoples also helped relieve some of the pressure of Tenochtitlán's growing population. Tribute payments of maize, beans, and other foods satisfied approximately one quarter of the Aztec capital's food requirements. The Aztecs also demanded cotton cloth, military equipment, luxury goods such as jade and feathers, and sacrificial victims as tribute. Other goods they acquired by trade.

A specialized class of merchants controlled long-distance trade. Given the absence of draft animals and wheeled vehicles, this commerce was dominated by lightweight and valuable products like gold, jewels, feathered garments, cacao, and animal skins. Merchants also provided essential political and military intelligence for the Aztec elite. Although merchants became wealthy and powerful as the Aztecs expanded their empire, they were denied the privileges of the high nobility and feared to publicly display their affluence.

Like commerce everywhere in Mesoamerica, Aztec commerce was carried on without money and credit. Barter was facilitated by the use of cacao, quills filled with gold, and cotton cloth as standard units of value to compensate for differences in the value of bartered goods. Aztec expansion facilitated the integration of producers and consumers in the central Mexican economy. As a result, the markets of Tenochtitlán and Tlateloco offered a rich array of goods produced from as far away as Central America and what is now the southwestern border of the United States.

The Aztecs succeeded in developing a remarkable urban landscape. The combined population of Tenochtitlán and Tlateloco and the nearby cities and hamlets of the surrounding lake shore was approximately 500,000 by 1500 C.E. The island capital was designed so that canals and streets intersected at right angles. Three causeways connected the city to the lake shore. Startled by the size and orderliness of Tenochtitlán, the Spaniards compared it favorably to the largest cities in Spain.

Religious rituals dominated public life in Tenochtitlán. Like the other cultures in Mesoamerica, the Aztecs worshiped a large number of gods. Most of their gods had both male and female personas. The Aztecs' major contribution to the religious life of Mesoamerica was the cult of Huitzilopochtli, the southern hummingbird. As the Aztec state grew in power and wealth, the importance of this cult grew as well. Eventually, Huitzilopochtli became associated with the sun. It was believed that he required a diet of human hearts to sustain him in his daily struggle to bring the sun's warmth to the world. A great twin temple devoted to Huitzilopochtli and to Tlaloc, the rain-god, dominated Tenochtitlán, symbolizing the two bases of the Aztec economy: war and agriculture.

The Aztecs preferred war captives as sacrificial victims, but large numbers of criminals, slaves, and people provided as tribute by dependent regions were also sacrificed. Human sacrifice had been practiced since early times in Mesoamerica. The Aztecs transformed this religious ritual by dramatically increasing its scale. There are no reliable estimates for the total number of sacrifices, but the numbers clearly reached into the thousands each year, some say as high as 20,000 per year. In 1487, the rededication of the temple of Huitzilopochtli alone was celebrated by the sacrifice of more than 10,000 victims. Clearly this form of violent public ritual had political consequences and was not simply the celebration of religious belief. Some scholars have emphasized the political nature of this rising tide of sacrifice. Because sacrifices were carried out in front of large crowds that included leaders from enemy and subject states as well as the masses of Aztec society, a political subtext must have been clear: rebellion, deviancy, and opposition were extremely dangerous.

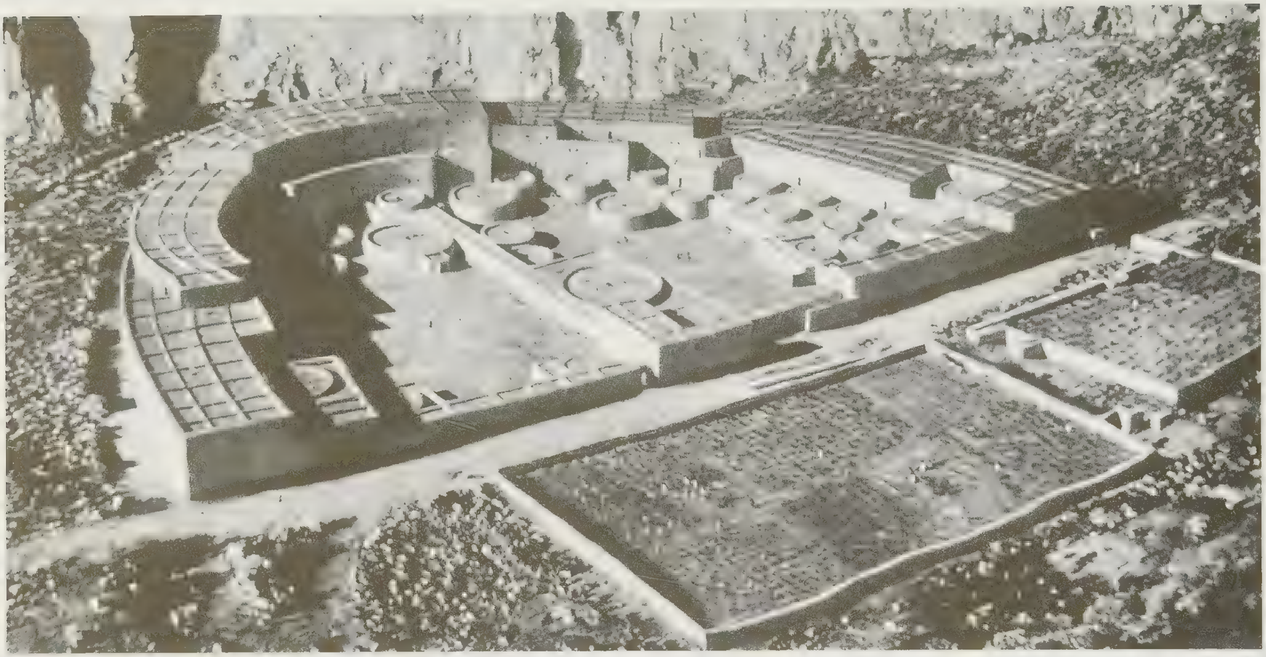
NORTHERN PEOPLES

By the end of the Classic period in Mesoamerica, around 800 C.E., important cultural centers had appeared in the southwestern desert region and along the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys of what is now the United States. In both regions improved agricultural productivity and population growth led to increased urbanization and more complex social and political structures.

Southwestern Desert Cultures

Archaeologists use *Anasazi*, a Navajo word meaning "ancient ones," to identify a number of dispersed, though similar, desert cultures located in what is now called the Four Corners region of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. Between 450 and 750 C.E. the Anasazi peoples' successful adaptation of maize, beans, and squash permitted the formation of larger villages and led to an enriched cultural life centered on underground ritual structures called *kivas*. The Anasazi may also have used kivas for weaving and pottery making. They produced pottery decorated in geometric patterns, learned to weave cotton cloth, and, after 900 C.E., began to construct large multistory residential and ritual centers.

Pueblo Bonito, one of the largest Anasazi communities, was located in Chaco Canyon in what is now northwestern New Mexico. Eight large



Pueblo Bonito At the height of its power, around 1100 C.E., Pueblo Bonito was the center of an extensive religious and commercial network. This multistory structure included small apartments for individual families, storage chambers, and many subterranean rooms called kivas. The Anasazi believed that humans emerged from within the earth. By locating much of their religious life in the kiva, they reconnected themselves to this mythical point of origin. (CGI/Pathway Productions)

communities were built in the canyon and four more on surrounding mesas, suggesting a regional population of approximately 15,000. Smaller villages were also located in the region. Each town contained hundreds of contiguous rooms arranged in tiers around a central plaza. Social life and craft activities were concentrated in small open plazas or common rooms. Men often left the village to hunt, trade, and maintain irrigation works. Women shared in agricultural tasks and were specialists in many crafts. They also were responsible for food preparation and child care. If the practice of modern Pueblos—cultural descendants of the Anasazi—is a guide, houses and furnishings may have belonged to the women, who formed extended families with their mothers and sisters.

The abandonment of the major sites in Chaco Canyon in the twelfth century most likely resulted from a long drought that undermined the culture's fragile agricultural economy. Nevertheless, Anasazi continued in the Four Corners region for more than a century after the abandonment of Chaco Canyon. Although the Anasazi disappeared before the arrival of Europeans, the Pueblo peoples of the Rio Grande Valley and Arizona live in multistory villages and worship in kivas today.

Mound Builders: Hopewell and Mississippian Cultures

The Hopewell culture, centered in the Ohio River Valley beginning around 100 C.E., was a mound-building culture based on traditional hunting and gathering supplemented by limited agriculture of locally domesticated seed crops. Most, but not all, of the Hopewell mounds contain burials. Items found in these graves indicate a hierarchical society with an elite distinguished by its access to rare and valuable goods, such as river pearls and copper jewelry, and, in some cases, to female and male retainers who apparently were sacrificed to accompany a dead chief into the afterlife. As was true of the earlier Olmec culture of Mexico, the abandonment of major Hopewell sites around 400 C.E. has no clear environmental or political explanation.

Hopewell technology and mound building continued in smaller centers that were linked to the development of the Mississippian culture (700–1500 C.E.). These urbanized chiefdoms developed from the accumulated effects of small increases in agricultural productivity, the adoption of the bow and arrow, and the expansion of trade networks. An improved economy led to population growth, the building of towns, and social stratification. In the larger towns a central plaza is surrounded by large platform mounds. Major towns were trade centers where people bartered essential commodities, such as flint used for weapons and tools.

The Mississippian culture reached its highest stage of evolution with the development of Cahokia, located near the modern city of East St. Louis, Illinois. At the center of this site was the largest mound constructed in North America, a terraced structure 100 feet (30 meters) high and 1,037 by 790 feet (316 by 241 meters) at the base. The core area of elite housing and temples was ringed by areas where commoners lived. At its height in about 1200 C.E., Cahokia had a population of about 30,000—about the same number of people as the great Maya city Tikal.

ANDEAN CIVILIZATIONS

Geography played a greater role in directing the development of human society in the Andes than in any other area of the Americas. Much of the region's mountainous core is at altitudes that at first glance might seem too high for agriculture and human habitation. The arid coastal plain also posed difficult challenges. Yet Amerindian peoples in this area produced socially complex and politically advanced societies. Perhaps the very harshness of the environment compelled the development of the administrative structures and supporting social and economic relationships that were central features of Andean civilization.

Cultural Response to Environmental Challenge

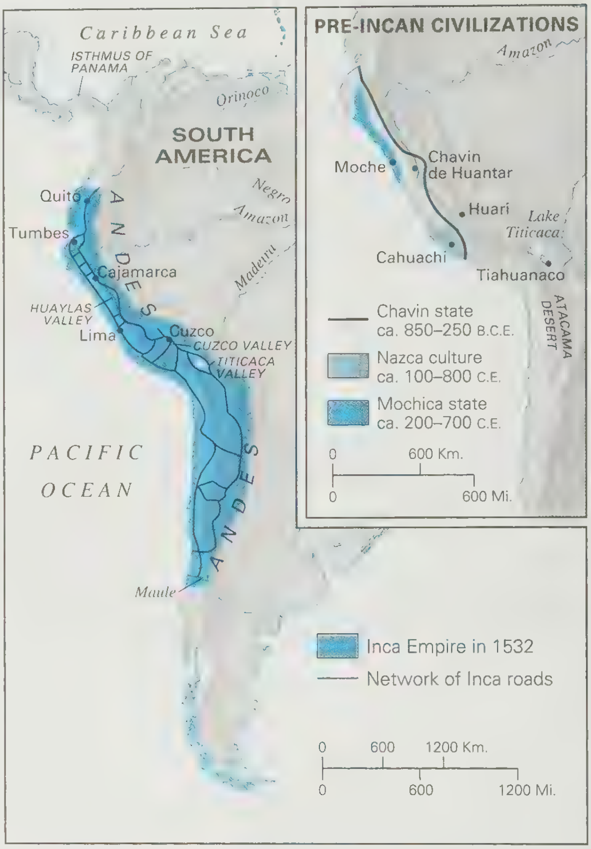
The Andean peoples were able to overcome the challenges of their environment through the effective organization of human labor. Their remarkable collective achievements were organized without writing, although a system of knotted colored cords, *quipus*, was used to aid administration. Large-scale drainage and irrigation works and the terracing of hillsides to control erosion and provide additional farmland led to an increase in agricultural production. Andean peoples also undertook road building, urban construction, and even textile production collectively.

The sharing of responsibilities began at the household level. But it was the clan, or *ayllu*, that provided the foundation for Andean achievement. Members of an ayllu held land communally. All members claimed descent from a common ancestor, but all members were not necessarily related. Ayllu members thought of each other as brothers and sisters and were obligated to aid each other in tasks that required more labor than a single household could provide. These reciprocal obligations provided the model for the organization of labor and the distribution of goods at every level of Andean society. Just as individuals and families were expected to provide labor to kinsmen, members of an ayllu were expected to provide labor and goods to their hereditary chief.

With the development of territorial states ruled by hereditary aristocracies and kings after

1000 B.C.E., these obligations were organized on a larger scale. The *mit'a,* or rotational labor obligation, required members of ayllus to work the fields and care for the herds of llamas and alpacas owned by religious establishments, the royal court, and the aristocracy. Mit'a laborers also built and maintained roads, bridges, temples, palaces, and large irrigation and drainage projects. Mit'a workers produced textiles and goods essential to ritual life such as beer made from maize and coca (dried leaves chewed as a stimulant and now also a source of cocaine). Once developed, the mit'a system remained an essential part of the Andean world for more than a thousand years. Work within this culture was divided along gender lines, but the work of men and women was interdependent. Hunting, military tasks, and government were reserved for men. Women had numerous responsibilities in agriculture and the home.

The ayllu was intimately tied to a uniquely Andean system of production and exchange. Coastal regions produced maize, fish, and cotton. Mountain valleys contributed quinoa (the local grain), plus potatoes and other tubers. From the higher elevations came the wool and meat of llamas and alpacas; from the Amazonian region, coca and fruits. Ayllus sent out colonies to exploit the resources of these ecological niches. The colonists remained linked to their original region and kin group by marriage custom and ritual. Historians commonly refer to this system of controlled exchange across ecological boundaries as *vertical integration,* or *verticality.*



Map 10.2 Andean Civilizations, 900 B.C.E.–1432 C.E. Andean peoples made complex social and technological adaptations to the environmental challenges posed by an arid coastal plain and high interior mountain ranges. Irrigation systems, the domestication of the llama, metallurgy, and shared labor obligations helped provide a solid economic foundation for powerful, centralized states. In 1532, the Inca Empire stretched from modern Chile in the south to Columbia in the north.

Chavín and Moche

Chavín was the first major urban civilization in South America. Its capital, Chavín de Huántar, was located at 10,300 feet (3,139 meters) in the eastern range of the Andes north of the modern city of Lima (see Map 10.2). Between 900 and 250 B.C.E., a period that roughly coincides with the Olmec culture of Mesoamerica, Chavín became politically and economically dominant in a densely populated region that included large areas of the coastal plain. Chavín de Huántar's location at the intersection of trade routes connecting the coast with populous mountain valleys provided an initial advantage. Military force may have spread its influence. The enormous scale of the capital and the dispersal of Chavín pottery styles, religious motifs, and architectural forms over a wide area suggest that Chavín imposed some form of political integration and trade dependency on its neighbors.

At Chavín the essential characteristics found in later Andean civilizations were all present. The architectural signature for these civilizations was a large complex of multilevel platforms, usually packed earth or rubble faced with cut stone or *adobe* (sun-dried brick made of clay and straw). The construction was superior to that of the Ohio Valley mound builders. These platforms (like those in the Ohio Valley) held small buildings used for ritual purposes and residences for the elite. There is strong evidence of class differences and the growing authority of a chief or king. Platforms were decorated with relief carvings of serpents, condors, jaguars, and human forms.

Recent investigations suggest that warfare disrupted trade and led to the collapse of Chavín around 200 B.C.E. Nevertheless, the material culture, statecraft, architecture, and urban planning associated with Chavín continued to influence the Andean region for centuries.

Some four centuries later, around 200 C.E., the Mochica arose and dominated Peru's north coastal region until 700 C.E. from a capital, Moche, located near the modern Peruvian city of Trujillo (see Map 10.2). Archaeological evidence indicates that the Mochica developed an extensive network of canals and aqueducts that connected Moche's fields with water sources as far away as 75 miles (121 kilometers). These hydraulic works were maintained by mit'a labor imposed on commoners and subject peoples. Textile production, long-distance trade, and subsistence were all supported by large herds of llamas, used for transporting goods as well as for wool and food. Evidence from murals and decorated ceramics suggests that Moche was a highly stratified theocratic society controlled by priests and war leaders. The organizational requirements of the Mochica irrigation system promoted class division and ultimately gave political control to a small group. Hierarchy was then reinforced by military conquests of neighboring regions.

Commoners devoted most of their time to subsistence farming and to the payment of labor dues owed to their ayllu and to the elite. They lived in one-room buildings clustered in the outlying areas of cities and in the surrounding agricultural zone. The high quality of Mochica metallurgy, textiles, and ceramics indicates the presence of a skilled artisan class involved full-time in their crafts.

Tiahuanaco and Huari

Two powerful civilizations developed in the Andean highlands after 500 C.E. At nearly 13,000 feet (3,962 meters) on the high treeless plain near Lake Titicaca in modern Bolivia stand the ruins of Tiahuanaco (see Map 10.2). Initial occupation may have occurred as early as 400 B.C.E., but significant urbanization began only after 200 C.E.

The urban center of Tiahuanaco was distinguished by the scale of its construction and by the high quality of its stone masonry. Laborers moved massive stones and quarried blocks many miles to construct a large terraced pyramid, walled enclosures, and a reservoir—projects that probably required the mobilization of thousands over several years. Tiahuanaco's artisans produced gigantic human statuary; the largest example, a stern figure with a military bearing, is cut from a single block of stone 24 feet (7 meters) high.

Little is known of the social structure or daily life of this civilization, but it is clear that Tiahuanaco was a highly stratified society ruled by a hereditary elite. Most women and men devoted their time to agriculture and the care of llama herds. However, the presence of specialized artisans is evident in the construction of public buildings and in locally produced ceramics. The distribution of these ceramics to distant places suggests the presence of a specialized merchant class as well.

The contemporary site of Huari was located about 450 miles (751 kilometers) to the northwest of Tiahuanaco near the modern Peruvian city of Ayacucho. The site was larger than Tiahuanaco, measuring nearly 4 square miles (10 square kilometers). A massive wall surrounded the city center, which was the site of a large temple and numerous multifamily housing blocks. Less-concentrated housing for commoners was located in a sprawling suburban zone. Unlike most other major urban centers in the Andes, Huari's development appears to have occurred without central planning.

Huari was distinguished by the small scale of its monumental architecture and the near absence of cut stone masonry in the construction of both public and private buildings. Huari ceramic style was also different from that of Tiahuanaco. This difference has allowed experts to trace Huari's expanding power to the coastal area and to the northern highlands. Huari's military expansion occurred at a time of increasing warfare throughout the Andes. Both Tiahuanaco and Huari declined to insignificance by about 1000 C.E., perhaps as a consequence of military conflict. Their political legacy was inherited by the Inca.

The Inca

In little more than a hundred years, the Inca developed a vast imperial state, which they called *Tawantinsuyu*, "the Land of Four Corners." By 1525 the empire had a population of more than 6 million inhabitants and stretched from the Maule River in Chile to northern Ecuador and from the Pacific coast across the Andes to the hot country of the upper Amazon and, in the south, into Argentina (see Map 10.2). In the early fifteenth century the Inca were one of many competing military powers in the southern highlands. Centered in the valley of Cuzco, the Inca at first were organized as a chiefdom based on reciprocal gift giving and the redistribution of food and textiles. Then strong and resourceful leaders consolidated political authority in the early fifteenth century and undertook an ambitious campaign of military expansion.

The Inca state, like earlier highland powers, was built on traditional Andean social customs and economic practices. Tiahuanaco had extended the traditional use of colonists to incorporate distant resources. The Inca built on this legacy by adding more distant territories through military conquest and by increasing the scale of forced exchanges. A larger and more professional military was crucial to this process. Unlike the peoples of Mesoamerica, who distributed specialized goods by developing markets and tribute relationships, Andean peoples used state power to broaden and expand the vertical exchange system that had permitted ayllus to exploit a range of ecological niches.

Like earlier highland civilizations, the Inca were pastoralists. Inca prosperity and military strength depended on vast herds of llamas and alpacas, sources of food and clothing as well as transport for goods. Both men and women cared for the herds. Women were primarily responsible for weaving; men were drivers in long-distance trade. This pastoral tradition provided the Inca with powerful metaphors that helped to shape their political and religious beliefs. They believed that both the gods and their ruler shared the obligations of the shepherd to his flock—an idea akin to Old Testament references to "The Lord is my Shepherd."

The collective efforts of mit'a laborers made the empire possible. Cuzco (the imperial capital), the provincial cities, the royal court, the imperial armies, and the state's religious cults all rested on this foundation. This system also created the material surplus that provided the bare necessities for the old, weak, and ill of Inca society. Each ayllu contributed approximately one-seventh of its adult male population to meet these collective obligations. These draft laborers served as soldiers, construction workers, runners to carry messages along post roads, and craftsmen. They also drained swamps, terraced mountainsides, filled in valley floors, built and maintained irrigation works, and built storage facilities and roads. Nearly 13,000 miles (20,930 kilometers) of road that facilitated military troop movements, administration, and trade indicates the scale of their achievements.

Imperial administration was superimposed on existing political structures and on established elite groups. Hereditary chiefs at the level of the ayllu carried out administrative and judi-

Acllas

An aclla *was a young virgin selected by representatives of the Inca ruler to serve the cult of the Sun or to be given as a marriage partner and concubine to the ruler himself or to Inca and other favored nobles. These young women were commonly chosen for their beauty from among the daughters of local rulers of defeated territories. They lived within the closely guarded walls of convent-like buildings in the large towns of the empire; their days were dedicated to religious observances and the production of fine textiles.*

Selection came to be seen as a special sign of favor that strengthened the legitimacy and political authority of the woman's family. Close association with imperial power enhanced a family's social prestige but also weakened its traditional cultural position in the defeated community. With the passage of time, the interests of imperial and conquered elites melded. Assigning women from conquered regions as wives and concubines was essential to this process.

The following account was written in the early seventeenth century (after the Spanish conquest) by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, a member of a high-ranking noble family. In this text, the word Inca *refers both to the people and to their ruler. Though expressing pride in the indigenous past, Guaman Poma's description of ancient images of gods as "idols" suggests the depth of cultural change among Amerindian people after the conquest.*

During the time of the Incas certain women, who were called *acllas* or "the Chosen," were destined for lifelong virginity. Mostly they were confined in houses and they belonged to one of two main categories, namely sacred virgins and common virgins.

The so-called "virgins with red cheeks" entered upon their duties at the age of twenty and were dedicated to the service of the Sun, the Moon, and the Day-Star. In their whole life they were never allowed to speak to a man.

The virgins of the Inca's own shrine of Huanacauri were known for their beauty as well as their chastity. The other principal shrines had similar girls in attendance. At the less important shrines there were older virgins who occupied themselves with spinning and weaving the silk-like clothes worn by their idols. There was a still lower class of virgins, over 40 years of age and no longer very beautiful, who performed unimportant religious duties and worked in the fields or as ordinary seamstresses.

There was yet another class of aclla or "chosen," only some of whom kept their virginity and others not. These were the Inca's (the ruler of the Inca people) beautiful attendants and concubines, who were drawn from noble families and lived in his palaces. They made clothing for him out of material finer than taffeta or silk. They also prepared a maize spirit of extraordinary richness, which was matured for an entire month, and they cooked delicious dishes for the Inca. They also lay with him, but never with any other man.

Thus chastity was greatly prized in our country. It was the Inca who received our girls from the Sun and who allotted them, always as virgins, to his subjects. Until that time the man did not know the woman nor the woman the man. The man might be in Quito or Chile and might be assigned a woman from quite a different region but a contract of marriage was made with the help of the woman's brother.

What qualities were most valued in the selection of acllas? What categories of acllas are described? What were the lives of the chosen women like? What does this description of the relationship of the Inca ruler with the acllas tell us about how the Inca ruler was viewed?

Source: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Letter to a King: A Peruvian Chief's Account of Life Under the Incas and Under Spanish Rule,* ed. and tran. Christopher Dilke (New York: Dutton, 1978), 84–86.

cial functions. As the Inca expanded, they generally left local rulers in place and controlled the risk of rebellion by means of military garrisons and a thinly veiled system of hostage taking (see Voices and Visions: Acllas).

Conquests magnified the authority of the Inca ruler and led to the creation of an imperial bureaucracy drawn from his kinsmen. The royal family claimed descent from the Sun, the primary Inca god. Members of the royal family lived in palaces maintained by armies of servants. The lives of the ruler and members of the royal family were dominated by political and religious rituals that helped to legitimate their authority. Among the many obligations associated with kingship was the requirement to extend imperial boundaries by warfare. Thus each new ruler began his reign with conquest.

Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital, had a population of about 150,000 in 1520. In 1530, at the height of Inca power, Cuzco had a population of under 30,000. Nevertheless, Cuzco was a remarkable place. The Inca were highly skilled stone craftsmen: their most impressive buildings were constructed of carefully cut stones fitted together without mortar. Cuzco was laid out in the shape of a giant puma (a mountain lion). At the center, each ruler built a palace when he ascended to the throne. Also in the center were the major temples. The richest was the Temple of the Sun. Sheets of gold lined its interior, and golden representations of llamas and corn decorated its patio. The ruler made every effort to awe and intimidate visitors and residents with a nearly continuous series of rituals, feasts, and sacrifices. Sacrifices of textiles, animals, and other goods sent as tribute dominated the city's calendar. The destruction of these valuable commodities, and a small number of human sacrifices, helped give the impression of splendor and sumptuous abundance that legitimated the ruler's claimed descent from the Sun.

Inca cultural achievement rested on the strong foundation of earlier Andean civilizations. We know that astronomical observation was a central concern of the priestly class, as in Mesoamerica; the Inca calendar, however, is lost to us. All communication other than oral was transmitted by the quipus borrowed from earlier Andean civilizations. In weaving and metallurgy, Inca technology, building on earlier regional developments, was more advanced than Mesoamerican. Inca craftsmen produced utilitarian tools and weapons of copper and bronze as well as decorative objects of gold and silver. Inca women produced textiles of extraordinary beauty from cotton and the wool of llamas and alpacas.

Although the Inca did not introduce new technologies, they did increase economic output and added to the region's prosperity. The conquest of large populations in environmentally distinct regions permitted the Inca to multiply the productive potential of traditional forms of production and exchange. But the growth of imperial economic and political power was purchased at the cost of reduced equality and local autonomy. The imperial elite was almost cut off from the masses of society, living in richly decorated palaces in Cuzco or other urban centers. Even members of the provincial nobility were held at arm's length by the royal court, subject to execution if they dared to look directly at the ruler's face.

The Inca Empire was in crisis on the eve of the Spanish conquest. In 1525 Huayna Capac, the Inca ruler, died, and two of his sons began a bloody struggle for the throne. The ambitions and rivalries that divided professional military leaders from the elite of Cuzco, the resentments of conquered peoples, and the problems associated with governing a state spread over more than 3,000 miles (4,830 kilometers) of mountainous terrain magnified the destructive consequences of the succession struggle, which are related in Chapter 14.

CONCLUSION

The indigenous societies of the Western Hemisphere developed unique technologies and cultural forms in mountainous regions, tropical rain forests, deserts, woodlands, and arctic regions. In Mesoamerica, North America, and the Andean region, societies of hunters and gatherers and urbanized agricultural societies produced rich religious and aesthetic traditions, useful technologies, and effective social institutions. Once established, these cultural traditions proved very durable.

The Aztec and Inca Empires controlled extensive and diverse territories with populations numbering in the millions. The capital cities of Tenochtitlán and Cuzco were great cultural and political centers that displayed some of the finest achievements of Amerindian technology, art, and architecture. Both states were based on conquests and were ruled by powerful hereditary elites who depended on the tribute of subject peoples.

The Aztec and Inca Empires were created militarily, their survival depending as much on the power of their armies as on the productivity of their economies or the wisdom of their rulers. As the Western Hemisphere's long isolation drew to a close in the late fifteenth century, powerful neighbors or internal revolts challenged these empires. Previously, the collapse of a civilization was followed by a long period of adjustment and the creation of new indigenous institutions. But with the arrival of Europeans (see Chapter 14), this cycle of crisis and adjustment was transformed, and the future of the Amerindian peoples became linked to the cultures of the Old World.

SUGGESTED READING

Atlas of Ancient America (1986) by Michael Coe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Dean R. Snow is a useful compendium of maps and information. In *Prehistory of the Americas* (1987) Stuart Fiedel provides an excellent summary of the early history of the Western Hemisphere. *Canada's First Nations* (1992) by Olive Patricia Dickason traces the history of Canada's indigenous peoples to the modern era.

Eric Wolf provides an enduring synthesis of Mesoamerican history in *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (1959). Linda Schele and David Freidel summarize the most recent research on the classic-period Maya in their excellent *A Forest of Kings* (1990). The best summary of Aztec history is Nigel Davies, *The Aztec Empire: The Toltec Resurgence* (1987).

Chaco and Hohokam (1991), ed. Patricia L. Crown and W. James Judge, is a good summary of research issues.

Richard W. Keatinge, ed., *Peruvian Prehistory* (1988), provides a helpful introduction to the scholarship on early Andean societies. John Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inca State* (1980), and Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (1987), are challenging, important works on Peru before the arrival of Columbus in the Western Hemisphere. Frederich Katz, *The Ancient Civilizations of the Americas* (1972), offers a useful comparative perspective on ancient American developments.

NOTES

1. This summary follows closely the narrative offered by Linda Schele and David Freidel in *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya* (New York: Morrow, 1990), 145–153.

2. Before 1492 the inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere had no single name for themselves. They had neither a racial consciousness nor a racial identity. Identity was derived from kin groups, language, cultural practices, and political structures. There was no sense that physical similarities created a shared identity. Racial consciousness and racial identity were imposed on America's original inhabitants by conquest and by the occupation of their lands by Europeans after 1492. All of the collective terms for these first American peoples are tainted by this history. *Indians, Native Americans, Amerindians, first peoples,* and *indigenous peoples* are among the terms in common usage. In this book the names of individual cultures and states are used wherever possible. *Amerindian* and other terms that suggest transcultural identity and experience are used most commonly for the period after 1492.

3. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, translated with an introduction by J. M. Cohen (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 217.

PART FOUR

Interregional Patterns of Culture and Contact, 1200–1500

Between 1200 and 1500, cultural and commercial contacts intensified across wide expanses of Eurasia, Africa, and the Indian Ocean. The Mongols established vast empires in Eurasia, greatly stimulating trade and cultural interaction. Muslim influence grew as well—through religious conversion, through the founding of new empires in West Africa, India,

Technology

Wind and water mills and iron and copper mining spread in China, Middle East, Europe

Sailors use dhows to ply monsoon winds of Indian Ocean

1100s–1200s—Mathematics and astronomy spread from Islamic world to Europe

1300–1450—Invention of cannon spreads from East Asia to Middle East and Europe

1300–1500—Use of movable type spreads in East Asia and Europe

1400s—Improved firearms and rise of infantry in Europe

1403–1433—Chinese imperial voyages through Southeast Asia and Indian Ocean

1454—Gutenberg Bible printed in Europe

1498—Portuguese complete sea route to India

Environment

West Africans clear fields in rain forest

1200–1500—Between 1200 and 1350, Chinese population falls from above 100 million to 60 million or 70 million; rises above 100 million by 1500

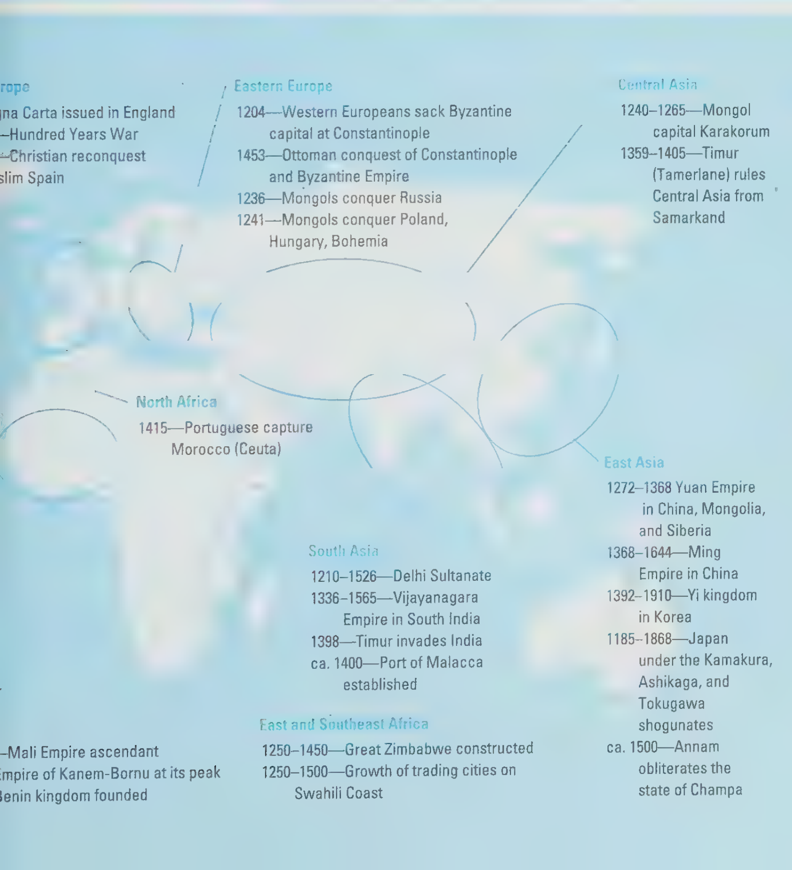
1340–1450—Bubonic plague spreads from southwest China westward across Eurasia; urban populations in Europe fall as much as 30 percent

and the Balkans, and through the extension of trading networks among the Indian Ocean states and across the Sahara. In the Latin West, strong European kingdoms began maritime expansion in the Atlantic, creating direct ties with sub-Saharan Africa.

Interregional contact depended on the exclusive networks of trade—on both land and sea—that by the 1200s had come into existence in several parts of Eurasia and Africa. Trade on the Silk Road became even more vigorous under the Mongol empires, and men and women of many classes and occupations traveled it. From 1200 to 1500, the Mediterranean continuously served as a focus of commercial exchange for the peoples of Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. At the other end of Eurasia, both China and Japan sent regular trade missions to Southeast Asia, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Underlying the greatest maritime network, however, was the Indian Ocean, where Hindu, Muslim, Jewish, Malay, Chinese, and other merchants engaged in a vigorous and profitable trade. Indeed, Chinese fleets occasionally ranged as far as the Middle East and eastern Africa.

Between 1200 and 1500, new and more complex links developed between the cultural regions. The earliest of these were achieved by the Mongols, who united under Genghis Khan in the early thirteenth century. Later in the century a Mongol Empire spread over Eurasia from Poland to Korea.

After a long period of stagnation or very slow growth, the population of the world shot up from about 200 million in 600 C.E. to over 350 million between 1200 and 1500. Scholars believe this phenomenon may reflect climatic changes as well as improved political stability before about 1250 in China and Europe, where the greatest increases took place. The factors that halted this



rope

na Carta issued in England
–Hundred Years War
–Christian reconquest
slim Spain

Eastern Europe

1204—Western Europeans sack Byzantine capital at Constantinople
1453—Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and Byzantine Empire
1236—Mongols conquer Russia
1241—Mongols conquer Poland, Hungary, Bohemia

Central Asia

1240–1265—Mongol capital Karakorum
1359–1405—Timur (Tamerlane) rules Central Asia from Samarkand

North Africa

1415—Portuguese capture Morocco (Ceuta)

East Asia

1272–1368 Yuan Empire in China, Mongolia, and Siberia
1368–1644—Ming Empire in China
1392–1910—Yi kingdom in Korea
1185–1868—Japan under the Kamakura, Ashikaga, and Tokugawa shogunates
ca. 1500—Annam obliterates the state of Champa

South Asia

1210–1526—Delhi Sultanate
1336–1565—Vijayanagara Empire in South India
1398—Timur invades India
ca. 1400—Port of Malacca established

East and Southeast Africa

1250–1450—Great Zimbabwe constructed
1250–1500—Growth of trading cities on Swahili Coast

–Mali Empire ascendant
mpire of Kanem-Bornu at its peak
enin kingdom founded

Society

1220s–1260—Mongol conquests of northern China, Russia, and Iran
1295—Beginning of Il-khan conversion to Islam
1450–1500—Peasant rebellions and decline of serfdom in western Europe
1470s—Civil war in Japan results in rise of new class of warrior-commanders

Culture

1100–1300—Universities founded in Europe
After 1140—Gothic architecture in Europe
Bronze art at Ife and Benin in Nigeria
Islam spreads in Anatolia, sub-Saharan Africa, China, India, and Southeast Asia
1298—Publication of Marco Polo's *Travels*
1325–1354—Travels of Ibn Battuta
1368—Ming Empire reestablishes the examination system and state Confucianism in China
1378–1415—Great Schism in Western Christianity
1450–1500—Reunification of Mongolia with dominance of Tibetan Buddhism

population growth are better known. At the end of the 1200s, the Chinese population stood at about 100 million. In the following century that population declined by a third or more as a result of warfare, disease, and the disruption of agriculture during Mongol conquest and rule. In Europe, rapid population growth peaked at about 80 million around 1300. This produced a heavy strain on the environment before the bubonic plague—also a result of the contacts created by the Mongol campaigns—swept away millions of malnourished people. By 1500, however, the populations of both China and Europe were back to their former peaks.

The rise and fall of the Mongol empires interacted with the rise of political powers elsewhere in Eurasia. Especially worth noting are the Turkic Muslims. Turkic war leaders from what is now Afghanistan created an imperial capital at Delhi, overwhelming the many small states that had dotted north and central India before the 1200s. During the 1300s the Ottoman Turks took advantage of the weakness of the Christian Byzantine Empire to establish their rule over western Anatolia and the southern Balkans. In the late 1300s, the invasions of India and Iran by the Central Asian conqueror Timur (Tamerlane) shattered the Delhi sultanate and stopped the growth of Ottoman power. Only after the decline of Timur's empire in the 1400s could the Ottomans reconstitute their dominion.

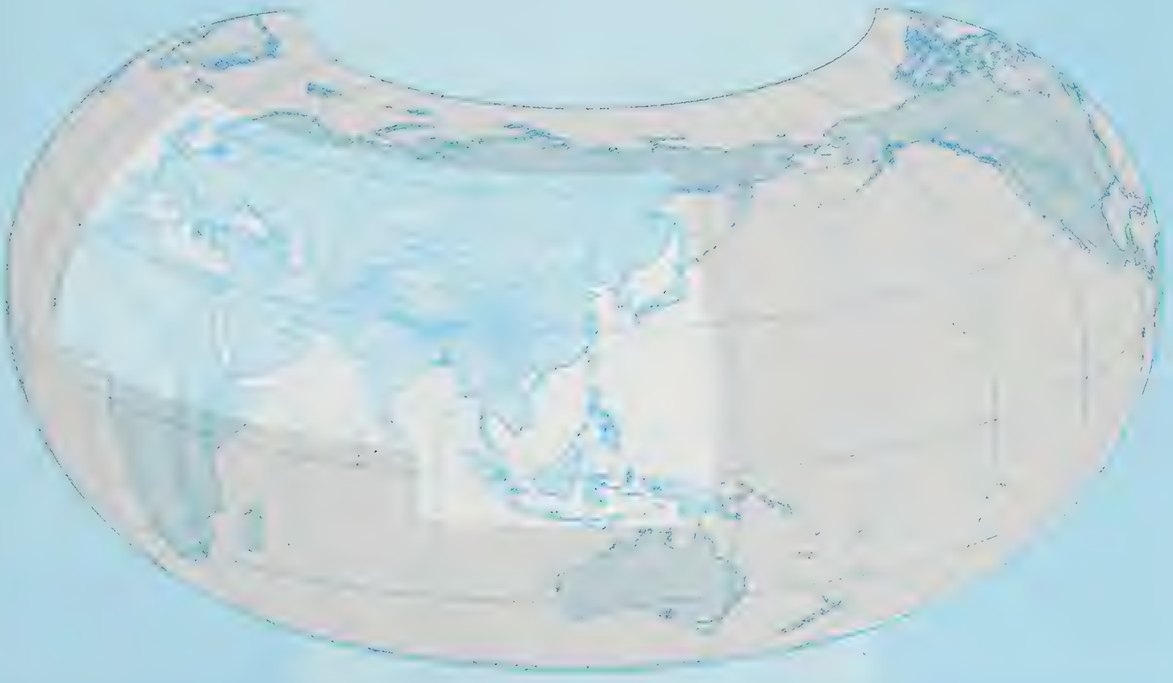
At the end of the fifteenth century a new commercial and political force entered the Indian Ocean from western Europe. Seeking new routes to the riches in the lands bordering the Indian Ocean and in China, a Portuguese fleet rounded the southern tip of Africa and continued on to India in 1498.

Expansions amplified the transmission of technologies. Printing, compasses, crossbows, gunpowder, and cannons and firearms all originated in Asia, and the Mongol conquests hastened their spread westward. Gunpowder eased the expansion of both the Ottomans and the regional powers of Europe. The Portuguese circumnavigating Africa also used state-of-the-art navigational and sailing technology. The armed, trade-oriented, resource-hungry empires emerging in Europe would take to the seas, bringing to the peoples of Africa, Asia, and America unprecedented technological and economic challenges.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Eurasia, 1200–1500

Central Asia in the Thirteenth Century • The Fall and Rise of Islam
National Definition in Response to the Mongols • The Shaping of Eastern Eurasia
Social Change and National Definition in East Asia



When Temüjin was a boy, his father was murdered by a rival group. Though Temüjin's mother tried hard to feed and shelter him (and to protect him from dogs, which he feared), she could not find a safe haven for him. At the age of fifteen Temüjin sought a place for himself in the care of Toghoril, leader of the Keraits. Among the many warring confederations of Mongolia, the Keraits were Turkic-speakers who used the Uigur writing system and had a strong interest in both the Christian and the Buddhist religions. During his years with the Keraits, Temüjin learned much that would be fundamental to the power and the scope of the empire he would someday build: the charisma of personal strength, courage and intelligence, the importance of religious breadth and tolerance, the necessity to show no mercy to determined enemies, and the versatility of the cultural and economic institutions of Central Asia.

When, in 1206, Temüjin was acknowledged as Genghis Khan (r. 1206–1227), or supreme leader (later "Great Khan") of the Mongols and their allies, he counted among his followers adherents of all the major religions of the Middle East and East Asia, as well as speakers of many of the region's languages. All were able to guide him in finding ways to make his rule more effective among and more appealing to the diverse civilizations of Eurasia.

By 1250 the segmented empire created under the successors of Genghis Khan stretched from Poland to Korea and from Siberia to Burma. The empire was partially reconstituted more than half a century after its demise by the self-proclaimed heir of Genghis, Timur (Timur-i lang, Tamerlane), who on his deathbed in 1405 was dreaming of a second Mongol subjugation of China. In the aftermath of this last unification of Eurasia, the outlines of the nations of the early modern period—Iran, Russia, China, among others—emerged.

The unity of Eurasia achieved under the Mongol Empire speeded transmission of the specialized skills developed in many parts of the world in the preceding centuries. Trade routes improved, markets expanded, and a demand for products grew in both the Middle East and East Asia. As a result, goods, ideas, skills, and people steadily moved from one side of the Eurasian landmass to the other, often by means of the Silk Road, which ran from northern Iran across Central Asia to northern China (see Map 8.1).

Despite modern awareness of the importance of the Mongol period in the development of the later medieval world, the association of the Mongols with death, gore, and suffering is nearly overwhelming. Bloody encounters, involving levels of slaughter previously unknown in some parts, accompanied most of the Mongol conquests. The rapid movement of Mongol soldiers, their equipment, and their captives opened the way to the spread of virulent diseases. In the Middle East and China, Mongol rulers reduced the status of the traditional political and cultural elites or excluded them from state service, thereby forcing a change in the values and practices of government. In the Middle East, Russia, and East Asia generally, resentment of the Mongol occupation gave rise to aggressive nationalist feelings, which in subsequent centuries brought grief to cultural minorities and to many neighboring states.

CENTRAL ASIA IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Large federations of nomads had dominated the steppes and deserts of Central Asia many times since the beginnings of recorded history. The Scythians, the Xiongnu (the nomadic rivals of the Han Empire), Turks, and

Kitans all preceded the Mongols. The environment, economic life, cultural institutions, and political traditions of the steppes and deserts all contributed to the rise and contraction of empires. Thus the rise of the Mongols can be attributed at least as much to the long-term trends and particular pressures in Central Asia as to any special abilities of Genghis Khan and his followers.

Effect of Nomadism on Political and Social Organization

Nomadism is a way of life forced by a scarcity of resources. To find pastures and water for their livestock, nomadic groups are continually on the move. In times of ecological stress such as drought, conflicts with other nomadic groups seeking the same resources increase. The result is the extermination of small groups, the growth of alliances, and frequent outmigration from groups that have grown too large. Historians believe that such a period of environmental stress afflicted northern Eurasia around 1000 C.E. and contributed to the dislocations and conflicts out of which the Mongols eventually emerged.

Mobility affected the Mongols' political organization. The independence of Mongol individuals and their families forced decision making to be public, and many people voiced their views. Even at the height of a military campaign nomad warriors and their families sometimes struck off on their own if they disagreed with a leader's decision. The political structures of all the Central Asian empires were designed to accommodate the conflicting centralizing and decentralizing forces of traditional nomadic life. Mongol groups had strong hierarchies, but the leader—the *khan*—was always required to have his decisions ratified by a council of the leaders of powerful families.

Competition for resources reinforced slavery and tribute in Central Asia. Some individuals evidently entered into slavery willingly, to avoid starvation. Slaves were valuable for their labor and as currency. Weak groups secured land rights and protection from strong groups by providing them with slaves, livestock, weapons, silk, or cash. Many powerful groups (such as the one to which Genghis Khan's father belonged) found that they could live almost entirely off tribute, so they spent less time and resources on herding and more on the warlike activities that would secure greater tribute. As each group grew in numbers and in wealth, its political institutions became more complex. Federations arose based on an increasing number of alliances among groups, almost always expressed in arranged marriages between the leading families (Temüjin's own marriage was arranged at the age of eight). Because of the relationship between marriage and politics, women from prestigious families were often tremendously powerful in negotiation and management and, when things became violent, were just as likely as men to suffer assassination or execution.

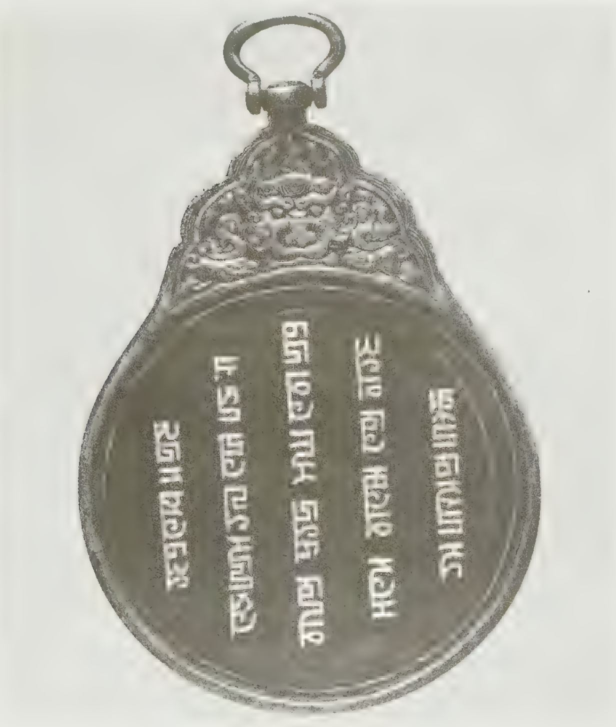
It was impossible for a large nomadic group to be completely independent forever. Trade with sedentary cultures—agricultural societies such as Iran and China—was necessary for the acquisition of iron, wood, cotton and cotton seed, silk (the favored dress of the Central Asian elites), vegetables, and grains. Many nomads learned the value of having permanent settlements for the farming of grains and cotton, as well as for the working of iron, and they established their own villages. The result was extensive frontier regions where nomadic peoples and agricultural peoples created pluralistic societies in which farming, animal husbandry, ironworking, and long-distance trade were all important activities. But when policy changes or economic difficulties within the sedentary societies obstructed trade, nomads frequently resorted to raiding or even to large-scale invasion to obtain what they needed.

Trade and Technology

The dependence of Central Asian nomads on trade with sedentary societies benefited both groups. Because of their specialized way of life, nomads were important contributors to the industries of the cultural cores. Cotton, wool, leather, and many breeds of horses are among the products that nomadic peoples introduced to eastern Eurasia.

Iron was important in nomadic Central Asia. It was used in bridles and stirrups, in wagons, and in weapons. Nomads did not develop large mining enterprises, but they eagerly acquired iron implements in trade and then reworked them to suit their own purposes. The Mongols retained the traditional Central Asian reverence for the qualities of iron and the secrets of ironworking. Temüjin, Genghis Khan's personal name, meant "blacksmith," and several of his prominent followers were sons of blacksmiths. The name of a later conqueror, Timur, meant "iron" in Turkish.

Paisa The Mongol Empire that united Eurasia in the middle 1200s provided good roads and protection for the movement of products, merchants, and diplomats. Individuals traveling from one culture area to another often encountered new languages, laws, and customs. The *paisa* (from a Chinese word for "card" or "sign"), with its inscription in Mongolian, proclaimed to all that the traveler had received the ruler's permission to travel through the region. Europeans later applied the practice to travel through their small and diverse countries. The *paisa* was thus the ancestor of our modern passports. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, neg. #257002)



Movement and Cultural Diversity

Central Asian nomads aided in the spread of Manichaeism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism across Eurasia. It was not unique, on the steppe, to find within a single family individual believers in all of those religions, in combination with traditional shamanism (ancient practices by which special individuals visited and influenced the supernatural world). This plurality of religious practice reflected the fact that Central Asian nomads did not always associate ideas about rulership with ideas about religion. Since very early times, Central Asian societies had been permeated by the idea of world rulership by a khan, who, with the aid of his shamans, would speak to and for an ultimate god, represented in Central Asia as Sky or Heaven. It was believed that this universal ruler, by virtue of his role as the speaker for Heaven, would transcend particular cultures and dominate them all.

This idea may have derived from Iranian influences. It was extremely important in the rise of the Mongols. It permitted them to appeal to any and all religions to legitimate their rule. And it authorized the Great Khan to claim superiority over all religious leaders. Genghis Khan at first patronized only the Mongol shamans. Soon, however, he seemed to listen to the arguments of Buddhists, Daoists, Christians, and Muslims, all of whom believed they were about to convert the Great Khan and his family to their beliefs.

Unification of Eurasia and Overland Exchange

Religious zeal, hopes for power and wealth, and curiosity drew learned men, religious leaders, and merchants over long distances to the Mongol courts. These journeys produced travel literature that gives us vivid insights into the Eurasian world of the thirteenth century. These books left an image of the inexhaustible wealth of the Mongols, and of Asia generally, that sparked in Europe a desire to find easier routes to Asia for trade and conquest.

The steady stream of knowledge between Europe and the Middle East was widened by Mongol policy and occasionally by Mongol competition. For instance, when Mongols in Russia granted a special trade charter to merchants from Genoa, Mongols in the Middle East granted a similar privilege to traders from Venice. It was this policy that brought Marco Polo, his uncles, and many others across Eurasia (see Map 11.1).

There were also great dangers in the exchange. Bubonic plague—the Black Death—traveled from southwestern China, across Central Asia, to Crimea and on to Europe and Egypt. Typhus, influenza, and smallpox traveled with the plague. The combination of these and other diseases created what is often called the "great pandemic" of 1347–1352. The human and cultural damage that resulted was far greater than any of the direct consequences of the Mongol military conquests.

THE FALL AND RISE OF ISLAM

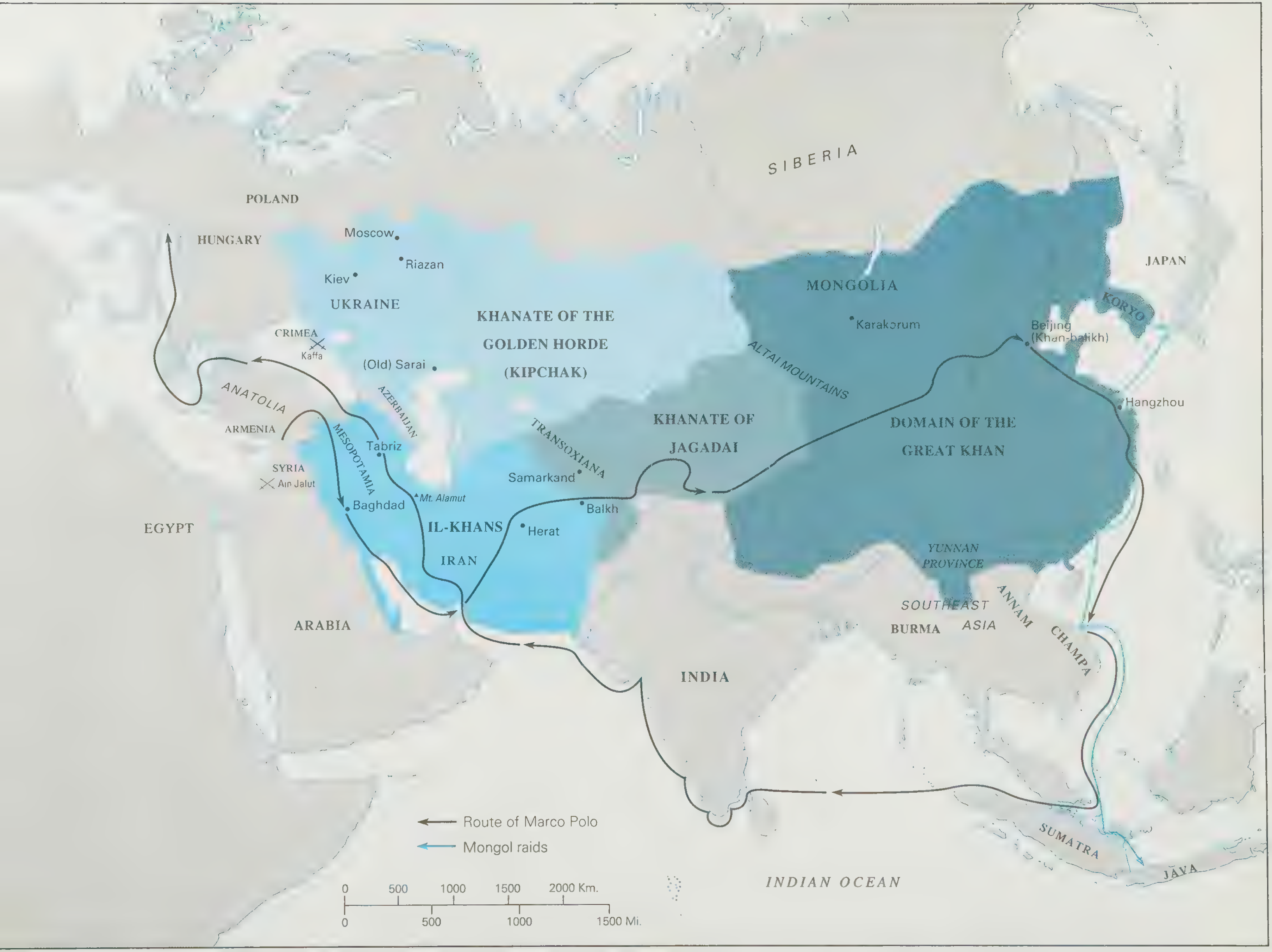
Shortly after being acclaimed the Great Khan in 1206, Genghis began to carry out his plan to convince the kingdoms of Eurasia to surrender tribute to him. The ensuing two decades saw the bursting forth of Mongol aggression in nearly all directions.

Mongols and Muslims

By 1260 the Mongols under Genghis's grandson Hulegu (ca. 1217–1265) controlled parts of Armenia and all of Azerbaijan, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Iran. The rulers of this regime became known as Il-khans, or "secondary" khans, subordinate only to the Great Khans in Mongolia. The role of Muslims in the Mongol conquest of the region known as Transoxiana was critical. There is evidence that some members of the Mongol imperial family were believers in Islam before the Mongol assault on the Middle East, and Mongols frequently relied on Muslims as advance men and intermediaries. In addition, certain of the Il-khans showed favoritism toward some Muslim groups.

In the same way that the Mongols utilized Muslim resentment against nonbelievers in their conquest of cities in Central Asia, they utilized Christian resentment of Muslim rule in their seizure of some cities in Syria (where Christians were a large group), forcing the conversion of mosques to churches. The Muslim world was shocked by the murder of the last Abbasid caliph in 1258. In accordance with Mongol customs for the execution of high-born persons, he was rolled in a rug and trampled to death by horses, to prevent his blood from spilling on the ground.

At the time that Hulegu was leading the Mongol armies into Iran and Iraq, other Mongols were conquering southern Russia, north of the Caspian Sea. By the 1260s the Mongol leader in Russia had declared himself a Muslim and announced his intention to avenge the last caliph. He claimed the Caucasus, the region between the Black and Caspian Seas, through which the Mongols of Russia could gain direct access to the Il-khan territories—particularly to the Il-khan capital at Tabriz in Azerbaijan. The conflict was the first between the Mongol domains, and the fact that one of the parties was avowedly Muslim led the leaders of Europe to believe that they


SIBERIA
POLAND
HUNGARY
Moscow
Riazan
Kiev
UKRAINE
KHANATE OF THE GOLDEN HORDE (KIPCHAK)
CRIMEA
Kaffa
(Old) Sarai
AZERBAIJAN
ANATOLIA
ARMENIA
SYRIA
Ain Jalut
MESOPOTAMIA
Tabriz
Baghdad
Mt. Alamut
IL-KHANS
IRAN
TRANSOXIANA
Samarkand
Balkh
Herat
KHANATE OF JAGADAI
ALTAI MOUNTAINS
MONGOLIA
Karakorum
DOMAIN OF THE GREAT KHAN
Beijing (Khan-balikh)
Hangzhou
KORYO
JAPAN
YUNNAN PROVINCE
SOUTHEAST ASIA
BURMA
ANNAM
CHAMPA
SUMATRA
JAVA
INDIA
EGYPT
ARABIA
INDIAN OCEAN
Route of Marco Polo
Mongol raids
0 500 1000 1500 2000 Km.
0 500 1000 1500 Mi.

could enlist the other party, the Il-khans, to drive Muslims out of the contested religious sites in Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. Before the Europeans could realize their plan of allying with the Mongols, however, the new Il-khan, Ghazan (1271–1304), declared himself a Muslim in 1295.

The public stance of the Il-khans as Muslims radically changed the relationship of state and religion in the Middle East. The Il-khans, like all the other rulers of the large Middle Eastern states since the time of Muhammad, declared themselves the protectors and advocates of Islam. They ordered all Mongols in their realm to convert to Islam, and they ordered the Il-khan legal code brought into agreement with the principles of Islam.

Technologies of Conquest

The Mongols were particularly creative in the use of cavalry, and they exploited the special properties of the Mongol bow, which could shoot arrows one-third farther (and were significantly more difficult to pull) than Middle Eastern or European bows. In battle, mounted Mongol archers shot their arrows from a distance to destroy the ranks of enemy marksmen, then rode their swift horses virtually without challenge into sword, lance, javelin, and mace combat against enemy infantry.

The Mongols besieged walled cities with flaming arrows, then with enormous projectiles—frequently also on fire—hurled from catapults. City populations faced the prospect of immediate slaughter if they opened their gates to fight, or slow starvation followed by slaughter if they did not. But the invaders offered their prospective victims food, shelter, and protection if they surrendered without a fight. The terrible bloodletting that the Mongols inflicted on some cities in their early conquests gave staggering force to these appeals, and throughout the Middle East the Mongols found populations willing to acknowledge their overlordship in return for life.

Map 11.1 Mongol Domains in Eurasia, ca. 1300 After the death of Genghis Khan in 1227, the empire was broken into four large parts for his descendants: the Il-khans (founded by Hulegu) in the Middle East, the Golden Horde (founded by Batu) in southern Russia, the Jagadai khanate (founded by Genghis's son) in Central Asia, and the Yuan Empire (founded by Khubilai) in eastern Asia. (From John K. Fairbank, et al., *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation*, Revised Edition, p. 172. Copyright © 1989 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Used by permission.)

Muslims and the State

The original strategy of the Il-khans was to extract wealth from the country by peaceful means whenever possible but in any case to extract the maximum. This goal was most efficiently achieved through taxation, and in many of their domains the Mongols became masters of extraction. The short-term results for the government were good, for with a minimum of bureaucratic overhead the state collected large amounts of grain, cash, and silk. But the long-term results were different. The exorbitant rates to which the countryside was subjected drove many landowners into debt and servitude and prevented the reinvestment necessary to maintain productivity. Because many taxes were paid in kind, the price of grain rose so much that the government had difficulty in procuring supplies for the soldiers. As a consequence the state was forced to appropriate land to grow its own grain.

After the death of Ghazan, the Il-khans experienced a slow decline like the decline of Mongol regimes elsewhere. The extraction of revenues from the population for the support of the Mongol military elite caused widespread unrest and resentment. Mongol nobles competed fiercely for the decreasing revenues, and fighting among Mongol factions destabilized the government. In the mid-fourteenth century, the Mongols of the Golden Horde came down through the Caucasus into the western regions of the Il-khan empire and soon into the Il-khan's central territory, Azerbaijan. The Golden Horde aided in the dismemberment of the Il-khan empire and briefly occupied its major cities.

Mongol warfare The Mongols were in a long line of Central Asian conquerors who mastered the art of shooting arrows from a galloping horse. They were renowned not only for their mobility but for the unusual distance and accuracy their archers could attain. The distinctive compound bow of the Mongols was more difficult to pull but much deadlier than the bows of Chinese or European archers. In combination with the advantage of using this deadly weapon from a speeding horse, the bow allowed the Mongols to overcome conventional infantry. (Courtesy, Edinburgh University Library)

As the power of the Il-khans in the Middle East and of the Mongols in Russia weakened in the fourteenth century, a new power emerged in Central Asia, where the Mongol rulers were descendants of Genghis's son Jagadai (d. 1242). Under the leader Timur (1336–1405), the Jagadai khanate drew on the political traditions of the Mongols and on Islam. The campaigns of Timur in western Eurasia were even more brutal than earlier Mongol campaigns had been, and by the late fourteenth century much of the Middle East was again united under a single ruler. Timur was the last great Central Asian conqueror. After his time Central Asia was no longer the crossroads of Eurasia.

Art and Science in Islamic Eurasia

Thanks partly to the wide-ranging cultural exchange fostered by the Mongols, the Il-khans and Timurids (descendants of Timur) presided over a brilliant period in Islamic civilization. Rashid al-Din, Ghazan's prime minister, completed the first attempt at a history of the world. It contains the earliest known general history of Europe, based on information from European monks. Editions of Rashid al-Din's world history were often richly illustrated with pictures adapted from European paintings to depict European persons or events and from Chinese paintings to depict Chinese people or events. In this way, the principles of watercolor composition and portraiture in China—where watercolor painting was extremely well developed—were introduced into Iran. Reproduction and distribution of Rashid al-Din's work spread throughout Eurasia knowledge of the arts and histories of the lands under Mongol rule.

The multitalented Nasir al-Din Tusi was interested in history, poetry, ethics, and religion, but his outstanding contributions were in mathematics and cosmology. He drew on the work of the great poet and mathematician of the Seljuk period, Omar Khayyam (1038?–1131), to lay the foundations for complex algebra and trigonometry.

Central Asian empires—particularly those of the Uigurs and the Seljuks—had excelled in their sponsorship of observational astronomy and the making of calendars. Under the Il-khans, Maragheh, in Azerbaijan, became a center for the prediction of lunar and solar eclipses. Astrolabes, armillary spheres, three-dimensional quadrants, and other instruments in use there were much more precise than those used earlier.

In the 1200s, Europeans were still using the clumsy Roman numerals to do their calculations. Leonardo of Pisa (also called Fibonacci, the discoverer of Fibonacci's Numbers) adapted the "Arabic" numerals of the Middle East and in this way introduced columnar calculation and the zero. With this technology, Europeans were finally able to participate again in the study of complex mathematics, astronomy and astrology, music theory, and logic—scholarship that began in the ancient Greek world and was advanced in Islamic and Indian civilizations.

NATIONAL DEFINITION IN RESPONSE TO THE MONGOLS

After the Mongol conquest, the volume of safe, reliable overland trade throughout Eurasia stimulated the growth of many of the commercial cities of Iran and Iraq. But the countryside, subjected to extensive damage in the conquest, sporadically continuing violence, and crushing taxes, suffered terribly.

Distinctive cultural changes occurred under the Il-khans and Timurids. Both empires were inclined to promote the use of the written Iranian language, often in connection with popular or secular forms of writing such as poetry, epic writing, and songs. Similarly, both showed a strong interest in popular religious practices, especially Sufism, the mystical form of Islam.

After 1500 the Safavids established a new regime in Iran. They were not Iranian; they were part of the ongoing westward migration of Turkic peoples that began before the Mongols and continued after them. Nevertheless, they were able to position themselves against the Mongols and Timurids using nationalist sentiments—about the Iranian language, popular religion, the geographical unity of Iran itself—to unite the population. Similar dynamics were at work in Russia, where the Mongols ended the dominance of Kiev and encouraged the rise of Moscow.

Russia and Rule from Afar

The Kievan region came under Mongol domination in 1240, when Genghis's grandson Batu (d. 1255) established the regime known as the "Golden Horde" (see Map 11.1). It was a collection of small khanates, many of which survived when others died out at the end of the 1300s.

The Mongols liked to place their capitals at the ends of the overland caravan routes. But in Russia only the region at the mouth of the Volga River could be connected to the steppe networks. Therefore the Mongols of the Golden Horde settled well to the south and west of their Russian domains, at Sarai, north of the Caspian Sea. As part of their rule-from-afar, the Mongols allowed great privileges to the Orthodox Church, which aided in reconciling the Russian population to their distant masters. Old Church Slavonic was revived, Russian chronicle-writing remained vigorous, and Russian scholars shunned Greek even though the khans of the Golden Horde gave their blessing to renewed contacts with Constantinople. The Golden Horde also enlisted Russian princes to act as their agents (primarily their tax collectors and census takers) and frequently as their ambassadors to the court of the Great Khans in Mongolia.

Mongol domination strongly affected urban development and population movement in Russia. Because the Mongols favored both Novgorod and the emerging town of Moscow, these towns eclipsed devastated Kiev as political, cultural, and economic centers, and people moved northward, away from the Mongol pasture lands in the southwest. This movement led to the opening of new agricultural land far north of the Caspian Sea. During the 1300s, Moscow emerged as the new center of Russia and control of Moscow meant control of the entire country.

Russia endured grim reminders of the Mongol presence for many years. Some regions of southern Russia, particularly Crimea, remained breeding grounds for the bubonic plague long after caravans protected by the Mongols introduced the disease. In the late Kievan period, Ukraine was a fertile and well-populated region. But under Mongol rule, Ukraine underwent a severe loss of population. The Mongols repeatedly crossed the region in their campaigns against eastern Europe and continually raided it to discipline villages that were slow to hand over tax payments.

Good evidence suggests, however, that the structure of local government in Russia did not change significantly under Mongol domination. On the regional level, the princely families continued to compete for dominance as they had in the past. The Mongols were merely an additional factor in those struggles. In the late 1400s Ivan III, the prince of Moscow (r. 1462–1505), established himself as an autocratic ruler. Before Ivan, the Russian title *tsar* (from "caesar") was given only to the foreign rulers (whether the emperors of Byzantium or the Turkic khans of the steppe) who dominated the disunited principalities of Russia. After being free of Mongol dominion, Russian leaders themselves adopted the title to indicate that Russia should be ruled by Russians and not from afar. This nationalistic response was not unlike other reactions occurring in regions that for a time came under Mongol rule.

Social Change and Centralization in Europe

Communications between the Il-khans and Constantinople gave Europe a second doorway (Spain provided the first) to the scientific and philosophical achievements of Islamic culture. However, there were more direct consequences of the Mongol Empire for Europe. One was a shift in the power balances in the Middle East. Another was the invasion of Europe by Mongol forces in the late 1230s and the 1240s.

The division of the western part of the Mongol Empire between the Golden Horde and the Il-khans had a parallel in the division of Europe at the same time between the political forces of the papacy and the forces of the Holy Roman Emperor and hereditary ruler of the German territories, Frederick II (r. 1212–1250) of the Hohenstaufen family. Frederick was sympathetic to Muslim culture. When the pope threatened him with excommunication unless he participated in the Crusades waged by Europeans to capture religious sites in Palestine and Syria, Frederick conspired with the Mamluks to present the illusion of having captured Jerusalem.

Attempts by European leaders—including the popes—and the Il-khans to forge a diplomatic alliance against the Golden Horde alarmed the Mamluks. They suspected that the Roman Catholic Church would use the alliance to destroy Frederick's power and then would turn its full force on the Mamluk territories in Syria and Egypt. In defense, the Mamluks created their long-lasting alliance with the Golden Horde. With Europe divided between the pope and the Holy Roman Emperor, the kingdoms of eastern Europe—particularly Hungary, Poland, and Transylvania—were left on their own to deal with the onslaught of the Golden Horde.

Eastern Europe came under direct assault from Mongol forces in the winter of 1241, when the Danube River froze and Mongol troops rode across and inflicted a series of dazzling defeats on the eastern European kingdoms. Mongol forces appeared at the foot of the Alps, apparently menacing northern Italy and possibly Venice. They also reached the outskirts of Vienna. While Poles, Hungarians, Austrians, and Bohemians struggled frantically to safeguard themselves and offer some resistance, western Europe was panicked by the sudden, terrifying onslaught. Some written accounts described the Mongols as having bodies that were part dog. They were believed to have come from Hell or from caves where, it was said, Alexander the Great had banished the monsters of ancient times.

Before the western Europeans could mount a united force to repel the fearsome Mongols, Mongol forces turned and left in December 1241. The Great Khan had died, and the Mongol princes returned to Mongolia to participate in the intense struggle that would elect the new Great Khan.

After the sudden withdrawal of Mongol troops from Europe in 1241, several European leaders attempted to open peaceful channels of communication with the Il-khans, hoping through them to reach the Great Khans in Mongolia. The Mongol rulers often received merchants and craftsmen favorably, but ambassadors sent by kings or by the pope were welcomed only if they brought messages of submission. Nevertheless, European embassies to the Golden Horde and to the Great Khans in Mongolia increased in number.

As Europeans became familiar with the Mongol trade routes and learned to exploit Mongol divisions in the Middle East, their terror of the Mongols was replaced by awe and, eventually, idealization of the wealth and power of the Mongol empires. Europeans gained their first systematic knowledge of Eurasian geography, culture diversity, natural resources, and commerce from their contacts with the Mongols. They learned about the use of diplomatic passports, the mining and uses of coal, movable type, high-temperature metallurgy, efficient enumeration and higher mathematics, gunpowder, and, in the fourteenth century, the casting and use of bronze cannon.

Nevertheless, Europe suffered greatly from the effects of Mongol domination of eastern Europe and Russia. The terror created by the Mongol invasion combined with other factors to ignite a storm of religious questioning and anxiety, most intense in regions of eastern and Central Europe that had been under the hooves of the Mongol horses. More devastating than the religious anxiety was an outbreak of bubonic plague in the 1340s (see Chapter 13). Europeans viewed it not as a product of the trade encouraged by the Mongols but as a disaster independently visited upon them by God.

Stabilization of Mamluk Rule in Egypt

In the Middle East, the Mamluks were the outstanding example of a government that was strengthened by, and even gained some international support for, its resistance to the Mongol advance. (In Abbasid times, *mamluk* was a term used for military slaves; later, the mamluks who established an empire in Egypt and Syria used the word to name their regime and its ruling class.) They retained control of their base in Egypt and their lands in Syria. During the campaigns against the Il-khans in the 1250s and 1260s, the Crusaders allowed the Mamluks to cross Palestine to maintain lines of supply and command. The Mamluks were brilliantly successful in their campaigns against the Il-khans, and this same strength was evident in the later defeat and destruction of the Crusader kingdoms and in the Mamluks' ruthless suppression of the well-organized and violent Assassins, a radical religious sect whose destruction made the Mamluks one of the pillars (far more reliable than the Il-khans) of Sunni orthodoxy in the Middle East.

Mamluk society, particularly in Egypt, became very diverse. Mamluks in the Abbasid and Seljuk eras were Turkic immigrants from Central Asia. By the thirteenth century the military servants who gave their name to the regime were drawn from sub-Saharan Africa, from parts of Europe, and from throughout the Middle East. Egypt remained a military dictatorship until the Ottoman Empire conquered the Mamluks in the 1500s. The Mamluks, however, remained the dominant elite in Egypt until Napoleonic times at the end of the eighteenth century.

THE SHAPING OF EASTERN EURASIA

Ogodei, Genghis's third son and successor as Great Khan, achieved stable Mongol control of northern China in the 1230s. Mongol conquest of southern China in the late 1200s marked the end of the prolonged struggle of the Song against northern nomadic invaders—a struggle that had produced a centralization of Song government and many technological advances (see Chapter 9). After the fall of the Song, the Yuan Empire of the Mongols (1272–1368) absorbed much of the Song technology and disseminated it westward toward the Middle East and Europe. Knowledge introduced under the Yuan Empire brought unprecedented power and wealth to the societies of China, Korea, Southeast Asia, and Japan. The economic and political practices of the Mongols, however, often created conditions that made the application and further development of new knowledge and skills difficult.

After the fall of the Yuan to the Ming in 1368, the need for technological advances in warfare waned, population growth decreased the need to mechanize in agriculture and some manufacturing. Eastern Asia under the Ming was a wealthy and culturally brilliant region, but the absence of technologically innovative, ambitious rivals on the northern frontier led to a slowdown in technological change, with long-term consequences for China.

The Yuan Empire

Genghis's grandson Khubilai Khan founded the Yuan Empire in 1272. He transferred the capital to Beijing in northern China, placing it at a critical spot on the overland trade routes connecting the various regions of the Mongol world. Beijing was the easternmost terminus of the caravan routes of the Silk Road that began near Tabriz and Sarai.

Khubilai created the spirit, if not all the features that remain today, of Beijing, naming it his Great Capital (Dadu) or, as it was also called, City of the Khan (*khan-balikh*, Marco Polo's "Cambaluc"). Khubilai ordered massive mud walls built around Beijing (a tiny portion of them can still be seen) and designed the main streets to be broad and wide (Mongols needed good clear stretches for their horse runs). He also developed the linked lakes and artificial islands at the city's northwest edge as a closed imperial complex. Khubilai maintained the palace and parks at Shangdu, now in Inner Mongolia, as a summer retreat. This was the "Xanadu" celebrated by the English romantic poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and its "stately pleasure dome" was the hunting preserve where Khubilai and his courtiers practiced the traditional skills of riding and shooting.

When the Mongols came to Chinese territory in the 1220s, there was no "China" as we think of it today. Northern China was under the control of the Jin Empire of the Jurchens, who a hundred years before had wrested it from the Liao Empire of the Kitans (see Chapter 9). China south of the Yellow River was ruled by the Song. Western China was controlled by the Tangguts. Yunnan and its surrounding mountainous terrain were governed by the small Nanzhao kingdom of a people related to the Thais. These states had separate languages, separate writing systems, and variant forms of imperial government; and each had a distinctive elite culture. The Mongols subjugated or obliterated these states, co-opted or decimated their aristocracies, and imposed Mongol control on them, reconstituting "China" as a base on which the Ming and later governments would stand (see Environment and Technology: Explosive Power).

The Mongols radically restructured civil government. As they had done in the Middle East, they put primary emphasis on counting the

ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

Explosive Power

China is often credited with the invention of gunpowder. But anecdotal evidence in Chinese records gives credit for its introduction to a Sogdian Buddhist monk of the 500s and thus suggests that gunpowder was a Central Asian invention. The monk described the wondrous transformation of elements produced by a combination of charcoal and saltpeter. He also mentioned sulfur. Naphtha distillation, too, seems to have been a skill first developed in Central Asia, for some of the earliest devices for distilling naphtha have been found in the Gandhara region (in modern Pakistan).

By the eleventh century, the Chinese had made and used flamethrowers that spewed ignited naphtha, sulfur, or gunpowder from a long tube. During their war against the Mongols, the Song learned to enrich saltpeter to increase the amount of nitrate in gunpowder and thereby produce forceful explosions. Canisters filled with the explosive material and launched from catapults ruptured fortifications and inflicted mass casualties. Explosives hurled from a distance could set afire or sink ship.

The Song also seem to have been the first to experiment with the construction of metal gun barrels from which projectiles propelled by the explosion of gunpowder could be fired. The Chinese and then the Koreans also learned to use gunpowder to shoot masses of arrows, as well as flaming arrows, at enemy fortifications. But it was the Mongols who used Song expertise to devise cannon.

In 1280, the Yuan Empire produced a projectile that completely filled the mouth of a cannon and concentrated the explosive force. The new weapon could be aimed better and shot farther than the earlier devices of the Song. Its ability to smash through brick, wood, and flesh without suffering destruction itself was unprecedented. Knowledge of the cannon and cannonball moved westward across Eurasia. By the end of the thirteenth century, more accurate, more mobile cannon were being produced in the Middle East. By 1327, small, squat cannon called "bombards" were being produced and used in Europe (see Environment and Technology: Cannon, in Chapter 13).

Gunpowder was also used in China and Korea to do the excavation necessary for mining, canal building, and irrigation. Alchemists in China used formulas related to gunpowder to make gas pellets that they believed would paralyze enemies, expel evil spirits, and reduce the populations of disease-carrying insects—an aid to the colonization of malarial regions in China and Southeast Asia. And gunpowder was used in the Mongol Empire for fireworks displays on ceremonial occasions, delighting European visitors who saw them for the first time.

Flaming arrows propelled by gunpowder The formula for explosive gunpowder had been known in China since the sixth century, but not until the last of China was being conquered by the Mongols in the late 1200s did the Song devise cannon to use gunpowder to propel large projectiles. The Mongols immediately adopted the technology, and it spread quickly to the Middle East and Europe. (British Library) population and collecting taxes. They redistricted the country for purposes of census taking and administration. They reorganized the region into provinces, each one larger than the previous units had been and under the jurisdiction of a provincial governor, tax collector, and garrison commander. The creation of the provinces—an assertion of Mongol ownership—marked a radical change in the regional configuration of China and increased central control over selected matters.

Our understanding of the economy in the Yuan Empire, as in the other Mongol domains, is obscured by vast differences in the experiences of the cities and the countryside. Many cities in China seem to have prospered under the Mongols—not only the cities of north China that were on the caravan routes but also the cities of the interior that were on the Grand Canal and the well-developed cities along the coast. One outcome of the reunification of the country was the revitalization of trade between north and south China—the original purpose of the Grand Canal. Early in the Yuan period, Khubilai discovered that it was more economical to move grain from south China to Beijing by sea than by land, so the ports of eastern China also were invigorated (see Map 11.2). The urban economies were further stimulated by the reintegration of East Asia (though not Japan) with the overland Eurasian trade.

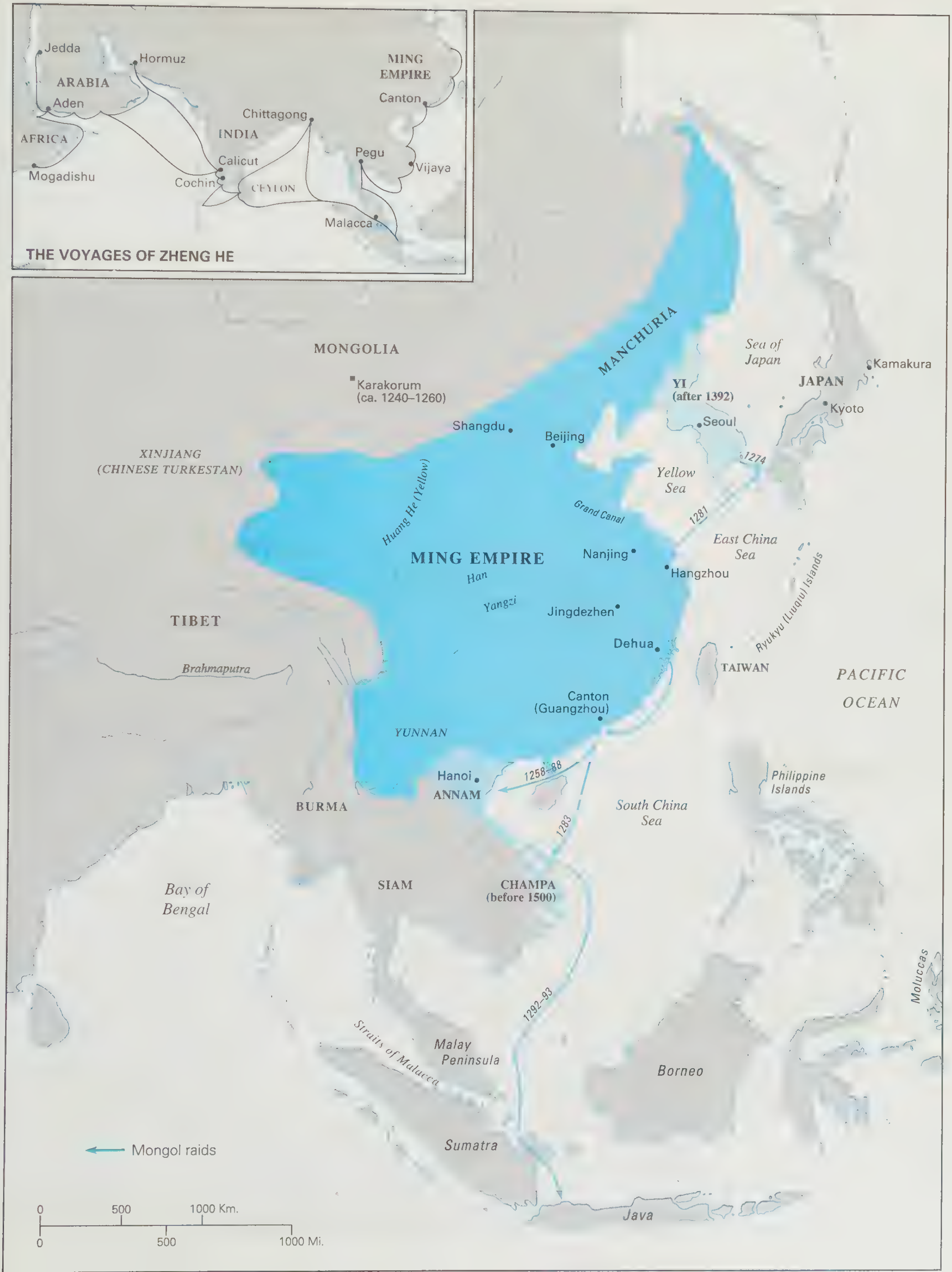
The isolation of Japan during the Mongol period actually helped to keep the Chinese economy stable. During the Song period, China and Japan had enjoyed a strong trade relationship (see Chapter 9). One of the Chinese exports to Japan had been copper coinage. The result of this trade was a shortage of copper coins in China, which elevated the value of copper coins and distorted the price ratio of copper to silver. There is evidence that Song trade and taxation were affected by the copper drain. But after the Mongol conquest of China, trade with Japan—which continued to resist the Mongols—ceased. The stabilization in copper coinage helped encourage trade and credit in China and other regions of the Yuan Empire.

The privileges merchants received and the prestige they enjoyed under the Mongols changed urban life and the economy of China. The official examinations used in Tang and Song times to select government personnel were suspended. The great families who in the Song period had spent their fortunes to educate their sons for competition in the examinations and entry into government service had to find other uses for their money. Many gentry families chose to enter the mercantile professions despite the traditional Chinese contempt for the merchant class.

Most commercial activities—from the financing of caravans, to tax farming, to lending money to the Mongol aristocracy—were managed through corporations, which spread the risk of doing business. The forerunners of these corporations were caravan-financing groups in the cities of Central Asia and the Middle East. The financial and commercial life of Yuan China encouraged the gentry to live in the cities rather than in the countryside, a change from earlier times. Cities began to cater to the tastes of merchants rather than to the tastes of the traditional scholars. Special shops dedicated to the sale of clothing, grape wine, furniture, and properly butchered meats (reflecting customers' religious convictions) opened. Teahouses—particularly those featuring sing-song girls, drum singers, operas, and other arts previously considered coarse—thrived. One result was a lasting cultural change: the rise of literature written in a popular style and the increasing influence of the northern, Mongolian-influenced Chinese language that in the West is often called *Mandarin.*

The countryside, where more than 90 percent of the population lived, presents a much darker

Map 11.2 Eastern Eurasia The Ming Empire controlled China but had a hostile relationship with peoples in Mongolia and Central Asia who had been under the rule of the Mongol emperors of the Yuan. The Mongol attempts at conquest by sea, which are marked on this map, were continued by the Ming mariner Zheng He, who between 1405 and 1433 sailed to Southeast Asia and then beyond, to India, the Persian Gulf, and East Africa. (From John K. Fairbank, et al., *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation*, Revised Edition, p. 196. Copyright © 1989 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Used by permission.)


THE VOYAGES OF ZHENG HE
Jedda
Hormuz
ARABIA
Aden
AFRICA
Mogadishu
INDIA
Chittagong
Calicut
Cochin
CEYLON
Pegu
Malacca
MING EMPIRE
Canton
Vijaya
MONGOLIA
Karakorum (ca. 1240–1260)
MANCHURIA
Sea of Japan
Kamakura
JAPAN
YI (after 1392)
Kyoto
Seoul
Shangdu
Beijing
XINJIANG (CHINESE TURKESTAN)
Huang He (Yellow)
1274
Yellow Sea
Grand Canal
1281
East China Sea
MING EMPIRE
Nanjing
Hangzhou
Han
Yangzi
Jingdezhen
Ryukyu (Liuqiu) Islands
TIBET
Dehua
TAIWAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Brahmaputra
Canton (Guangzhou)
YUNNAN
1258–88
Hanoi
ANNAM
Philippine Islands
BURMA
South China Sea
1283
SIAM
CHAMPA (before 1500)
Bay of Bengal
Moluccas
1292–93
Straits of Malacca
Malay Peninsula
Borneo
Mongol raids
Sumatra
Java
0
500
1000 Km.
0
500
1000 Mi.

picture. The vast majority of farmers produced rice and other staples, not cash crops. For them the Yuan period appears to have been a time of intense hardship. Their troubles began with the conquests. After the fighting subsided, the Mongol princes summarily evicted many farmers from their land. Those who retained land rights were subjected to the exactions and the brutality of the tax farmers, their agents, and their enforcers. There is evidence that by the end of the 1200s the Mongol government in China, as in Iran, had begun to change its policies toward the farmers from exploitation to protection and encouragement. But, as in Iran, serious damage had already been done. Many farmers had been driven into servitude or homelessness, and dams and dikes had been neglected to the point where flooding, particularly of the Yellow River, was recurring and disastrous.

In the 1340s, power contests among the Mongol princes shredded the political fabric of the Yuan Empire, and turmoil in the countryside increased. During this crisis, Zhu Yuanzhang—previously a monk, a soldier, and a bandit—vanquished his rivals in rebellion and established the Ming Empire in 1368.

Ming China on a Mongol Foundation

In many ways the change from Yuan to Ming was more ideological than structural. The Ming were strong in their nationalist passions, and partly to symbolize their rejection of the Mongols, they established their imperial capital at Nanjing ("southern capital") on the Yangzi River, rather than at Beijing ("northern capital") (see Map 11.2). The Ming were aggressive in their attempts to intimidate the remaining Mongols and the other peoples of Central Asia and Southeast Asia. They used Confucianism to depict the Ming emperor as the champion of civilization and virtue, justified in making war on uncivilized "barbarians." But in its basic outlines the Ming government resembled that of the Yuan. At Nanjing, the Ming built a replica of the observatory at Beijing and attached to it their own Muslim academy of astronomy and mathematics. They kept the academy that had been established for Mongol princes, and they employed Mongols who could handle the translation of communications between the Ming court and the Mongol powers of Central Asia and Mongolia. They retained the provincial style of administration, including the military garrison system introduced under the Yuan. In a continuation of Mongol social legislation, the Ming maintained hereditary professional categories. And though the reinstitution of the examinations allowed a return of the Confucian majority to the bureaucracy, the Ming also retained Muslims in the special tasks for which they had been imported by the Yuan. These tasks included the making of calendars, and the Ming continued to use the calendar promulgated by the Mongols.

In the early 1400s, the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1421) of the Ming returned the capital to Beijing and set about improving on and enlarging the imperial complex that the Yuan had built there. Though the central part of this complex—the "Forbidden City" now visited by millions of people from all over the world each year—was elaborated in the centuries afterward, it was mainly during the 1400s that the enormous structure took on its present character, with moats, outer vermilion walls, enormous gates arranged in accordance with Chinese geomantic beliefs, golden roofs, paved interior courtyards, artificial streams, alabaster bridges, and dozens of palaces.

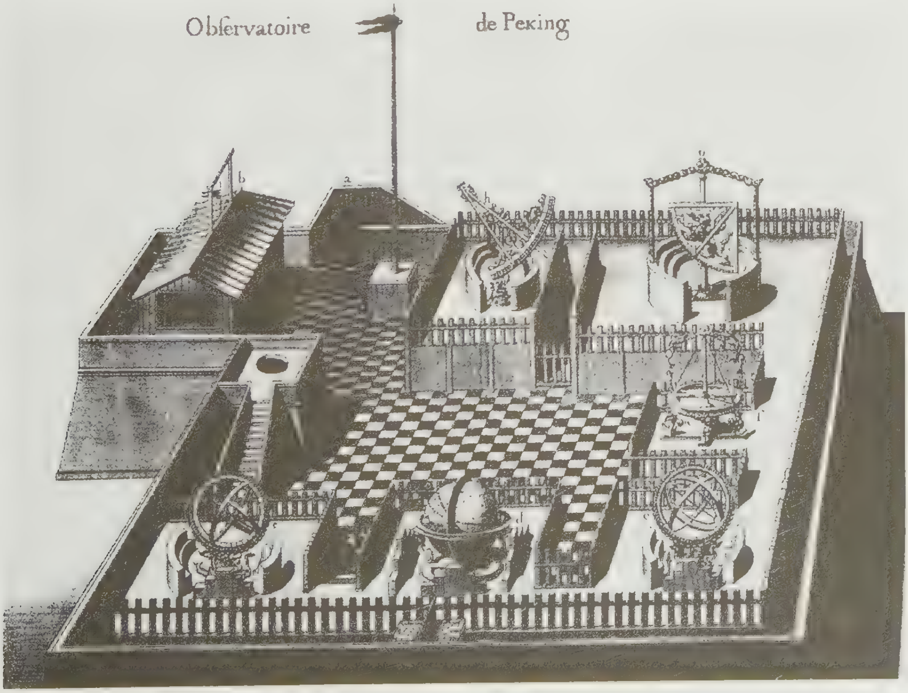
It appears that in their first half-century the Ming also intended to pursue the Mongol program of aggression against Southeast Asia. This goal was partly inspired by the wish of the early Ming emperors—and the Yongle emperor in particular—to act out the role of universal ruler, which the Mongol Great Khans had embodied. Economic revitalization was also a consideration. After an initial policy of isolation was reversed under the Yongle emperor, the Ming attempted to restore commercial links with the Middle East. Because the hostile western Mongols controlled much of the territory through which the Eurasian land routes passed, the Ming attempted to establish their own imperial connection by sea. This was one reason for the remarkable expeditions of Zheng He from 1405 to 1433. His first three voyages took him to the Indian subcontinent. On later voyages he traveled to Hormuz, sailed along the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula and the northeast coast of Africa, and reached as far south, perhaps, as the Strait of Madagascar (see Map 11.2). An important objective of Zheng He's early voyages was to visit Chinese merchant communities in Southeast Asia, affirm their allegiance to the Ming Empire, and demand taxes from them. His expeditions added as many as fifty new tributaries. The result was sporadic embassies to Beijing from rulers in India, the Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia.

Technology and Population

Technological development slowed in Ming China. The slowdown may have begun under the Yuan. One reason for it was the peace that the Mongol conquest brought to the region. Peace removed the pressure to constantly manufacture weapons.

More surprising than the decline of mining and metal manufacture is the evaporation from China of the technical knowledge that had made possible the production of extremely high-quality bronze and steel. During the Ming period, Japan quickly surpassed China in the

Observatory at Beijing The Jurchens of the Jin Empire were the first to build an observatory at Beijing in the 1200s. Later, the Mongols built a new observatory, expanded to include instruments designed and made by Islamic astronomers from the Middle East. In 1442 the Ming constructed a third observatory, on Beijing's main street. The sighting tubes and armillary spheres, depicted here, were built and maintained by Chinese Muslims. This observatory was restored and enlarged by the Qing and now is a major tourist and museum site in the capital. (Museum of History of Science, Oxford)



production of high-quality steel swords. When instruments were cast for Khubilai's observatory at Beijing, the work was done not by Chinese technicians but by Central Asian and Middle Eastern technicians. Shipbuilding also declined sharply, and there were few technological advances in printing, timekeeping, or agriculture. Through the fifteenth century, it appears that some innovations in the mechanization of weaving occurred, but after the year 1500 such advances also became rare. Agricultural productivity peaked and remained stagnant for centuries.

The slowing of technological development might be partly due to a significant shift in the career patterns of educated men at this time. During the Yuan period, the examinations had been suspended, comparatively few Chinese had entered state service, and commerce and agriculture must have been stimulated by the involvement of China's educated, entrepreneurial elite. The Ming government reinstituted the examinations and began to employ large numbers of educated men. Thus the Ming economy may have been deprived of the participation of some of the best educated and most ambitious men.

Another factor behind the economic and technological decline was the very rapid population growth of the early Ming period, following a steep drop in population under the Yuan. In the eighty years of Mongol rule, China may have lost as much as 40 percent of its population. Many localities in northern China lost as much as five-sixths of their population during the 1200s and early 1300s. The reasons were complex: continuous warfare in the 1220s due to the Southern Song's effective resistance to the Mongol invasion; massive, continuous, southward movement of people trying to flee the Mongols; and, perhaps most important, the spread of bubonic plague and attendant diseases. At the end of the Yuan period in 1368, the population was perhaps as low as 60 million. By the year 1400 it seems to have rebounded to nearly 100 million. This growth constituted a boom to which the economy may have adjusted very awkwardly.

The rapid growth shifted economic importance away from the commercial sectors, where innovation had been rewarded in the Song period, to the production of staple crops, which did not have the profit margins of specialized commercial crops and did not provide farmers with money to pay for capital improvements. Moreover, cheap labor made available by the growth of population may have lessened the incentives for mechanizing agriculture and other industries.

The Ming, unlike the Song, did not encourage the rapid dissemination and application of technology. Encyclopedias of practical knowledge were produced in the early Ming, as in the Song, but the chapters on gunpowder and guns were censored. Ming shipyards and ports were closed to avoid contact with Japanese pirates and to prevent more Chinese from migrating to Southeast Asia. New crops, such as sweet potatoes, were available but were not adopted. Guns and cannon, known from contacts with the Middle East and later with Europeans, were not manufactured or used on any significant scale. Advanced printing techniques were not developed. When printed editions of rare books of the Tang or Song periods were desired, they were purchased from Korea. When superior steel was needed, it was purchased from Japan.

The technological disparity between China and Europe that would have dramatic consequences in later centuries had its roots in the Ming period. China began to be afflicted with an underdevelopment complex—relative to its own past, relative to its immediate neighbors, and ultimately relative to its more distant rivals.

Ming Achievements in the Arts

Despite those problems in the Ming period, the late 1300s and the 1400s were a time of cultural brilliance, particularly in literature. The interest in vernacular style that had been encouraged under the Yuan came to fruition in the early Ming in some of the world's earliest novels. One of the most famous, *Water Margin*, is based on the raucous drum-song performances famous during the Yuan (and loosely related to another famous entertainment, the Chinese opera). Its subject is the adventures of a group of dashing Chinese bandits opposed to Mongol rule (as Robin Hood and his merry men had been opposed to Norman rule).

The early Ming also elevated the art and technology of porcelain, already very accomplished in the Song and Yuan periods. The imperial ceramic works at Jingdezhen (see Map 11.2) was a site not only of technological improvement but also of the organization and rationalization of labor. Ming patterns—most famous is the blue on white that is widely recognized as Ming "ware"—were stimulated in the 1400s by motifs from India, Central Asia, and the Middle East.

Continued Dissemination of Eurasian Knowledge

During the Mongol period, technological, medical, mathematical, and astronomical knowledge was freely shared from one end of Asia to the other. Khubilai in China and Hulegu in Iran were brothers, and their primary advisers were constantly in touch. The Yuan Empire and the Il-khans were devoted to the sponsorship of engineering, astronomical study, and mathematics. During the Ming period in China, knowledge continued to be developed in both government and the private sphere.

Muslims from the Middle East oversaw most of the weapons manufacture and engineering projects for Khubilai's armies. From China, the Il-khans imported the scholars and texts that made possible their understanding of many technological advances, such as sighting tubes on equatorial mounts, mechanically driven armillary spheres, and techniques for measuring the movement of the moon. Just as Chinese knowledge was integrated with other Eurasian knowledge at the Il-khan observatory and academy, so Il-khan science was reimported to China and Korea under Khubilai. He commissioned the Iranian philosopher Jamal al-Din to come to Beijing to construct an observatory and an institute for astronomical studies similar to the Il-khans' facility at Maragheh.

Islamic scholars from the Middle East were also important in the development of medicine and pharmacology in China. Before the Mongols, medicine had been a lowly profession in China, but the Yuan emperors—particularly Khubilai, who had alcoholism, gout, and many other health complaints—gave doctors an influential position. Chinese study of herbs, drugs, and potions had been well developed before the Mongol period, but the introduction of new seeds, plants, and formulas from the Middle East during the Yuan stimulated an explosion of experimentation and publication.

When the Ming Empire succeeded the Yuan, the new emperors continued to employ Muslims as astronomers and calendar makers, and a few Muslim officials remained in charge of international relations with the Muslim countries. After 1368 the Ming continued the overland Eurasian trade, so Muslim livelihoods, apart from government work, were little affected by the transition from Yuan to Ming. For their overseas explorations, too, the Ming turned to Muslims and Chinese descended from Muslims (such as Zheng He), hoping to exploit the community's knowledge of outfitting, sustaining, and navigating fleets across the Indian Ocean to the Middle East and Africa.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND NATIONAL DEFINITION IN EAST ASIA

During the 1200s, the forty-five-year battle against the Southern Song led the Mongols to seek greater control of the coasts of East Asia. They hoped to find new launching sites for naval expeditions against the south and for strategic points to choke off Song sea trade. Once Korea was conquered in the mid-thirteenth century, Japan was the likely next stop. But just as the Mongols were stopped in the west by the Mamluks, so they were stopped in the east by the Japanese.

Transmission and Specialization: The Case of Korea

In contrast to Ming China, other parts of East Asia after the fall of the Mongols managed to develop and use on a large scale the knowledge they had gained. A dramatic example is Korea. Korea was not part of the Mongol Empire or the Yuan Empire, because the royal house of Koryo continued to govern. But in experience Korea resembles a Mongol domain. The Korean royal house became an extension of the Mongol imperial family, and Korea was subjected to the heavy tax burdens and military obligations of a Mongol province. After the fall of the Mongols, however, a new royal family used its military knowledge to make Korea independent of China and to generate new wealth.

When the Mongols attacked in 1231, the leader of a prominent Korean family assumed the role of military commander and protector of the king. Korean forces waged defensive warfare against the Mongol invaders for over twenty years, until the countryside and the Korean armies were exhausted. In 1258 the Koryo king surrendered to the Mongols, and his family was joined by marriage to the family of the Great Khans.

By the middle 1300s the Koryo kings were mostly Mongol by descent and were comfortable with the Mongolian language, dress, and customs. Many resided at Khubilai's capital, Beijing, and travel by the kings, princes, their families, and their entourages between China and Korea was steady. In this way, the Mongols opened Korea to direct influence from the most current philosophical and artistic styles of China, including neo-Confucianism, Chan Buddhism (in Korea, called *Sŏn*), and celadon ceramics. Koryo attachment to the Mongol imperial family became so strong that when the Yuan Empire fell, Koryo decided to remain loyal to the Mongols and had to be forced to recognize the new Ming Empire in China. Soon afterward, Koryo collapsed and was succeeded by the Yi kingdom in 1392.

After the fall of the Mongol empires and of the Koryo kingdom, Korea's rulers were anxious to reestablish a national identity. Like Safavid Iran, Muscovite Russia, and Ming China, the Yi regime in Korea publicly rejected the period of Mongol domination but adopted Mongol government practices and institutions. Mongol-style land surveys, techniques in the administration of military garrisons, and taxation in kind were all continued.

Displaying their willingness to adapt and shape Eurasian knowledge imported by the Mongols, the Yi Koreans used the astronomical arts of the Koryo period to develop a meteorological science of their own. Redesigned and newly invented instruments to measure wind speed and rainfall, the first of their kind, augmented the astronomical clock and armillary spheres of the royal observatory at Seoul. Keen interest in agricultural specialization inspired the development of a local calendar based on minute comparisons with the calendrical systems of China and of the Islamic world. Interest in agriculture also sparked improvements in the production and use of fertilizer, the transplanting of seedlings in rice paddies, and the engineering of reservoirs (of which there were thousands in Yi times), all disseminated through the powerful new publishing abilities of the Yi government.

Yi agriculture was so well developed that the growing of cash crops became common. Cotton, introduced under the Mongols, was so highly valued by the state that it was accepted as payment for taxes. Artisans built cotton gins and spinning wheels, often powered by water, to produce this profitable cloth. In mechanizing the processing of cotton, Korea advanced more rapidly than China. Soon, Korea was exporting considerable amounts of cotton to both China and Japan.

The Yi also succeeded in reclaiming their coastlines from Japanese pirates, who previously had operated at will and driven farmers inland. In the

1400s, Koreans were innovators in military technology. Both the Yuan and the Ming withheld the formula for destructive gunpowder from the Korean government, but Korean officials acquired the information by subterfuge. By the later 1300s the Koreans had mounted cannon on their patrol ships and used gunpowder-driven arrow launchers to propel flaming arrows into the rigging of enemy ships.

Power Imbalances and Political Transformation in Japan

The Mongols launched their first naval invasion against Japan in 1274. The invading force included not only the horses and riders of the Mongols but also light catapults and incendiary and explosive projectiles manufactured by the Chinese. Some captains of the fleet were Koreans. Additional warriors, drawn from the Jurchens and other peoples from northeastern Asia, were joined by Korean foot soldiers and archers. In numbers—perhaps thirty thousand combatants—and in technical outfitting, the expedition presented a clear threat to the independence of Japan. But it was not equal to the weather of Hakata Bay on the north side of Kyushu Island. The Mongol forces were able to land and inflict stunning damage on mounted Japanese warriors, but a storm prevented them from establishing a base on the beach. The Mongol invaders returned to their ships and sailed back to the mainland.

The appearance of the Mongols, their large invasion force, and their superior military technology made a deep impression on the leaders of Japan and hastened social and political changes already under way. At the time Japan was organized under the Kamakura shogunate, although another powerful family actually exercised control. In response to the Mongol attack, the shogun took steps to centralize his military government and his methods of communication. Preparations also included an attempt by Japanese military planners to imitate what they had observed of Mongol war tactics. Efforts were made to retrain Japanese warriors and to outfit the Japanese for defense against the advanced weaponry of the attackers. The entire realm was involved in attempts to construct fortifications for defense at Hakata and other points along the Honshu and Kyushu shores. This effort demanded, for the first time, a national system to move resources from elsewhere in Japan to western points.

The Mongols attacked again in 1281. They came in a sea force greater than any ever before amassed anywhere. They brought 140,000 warriors, including Mongols, Chinese, Koreans, and Jurchens, in hundreds of ships. Since the first Mongol attack, however, the Japanese had built a wall cutting off Hakata Bay from the mainland and depriving the Mongol forces of a reliable landing point. After a standoff lasting months, a typhoon struck and sent perhaps half of the Mongol ships to the bottom of the sea. The remainder of the fleet returned to the mainland, never again to harass Japan. The Japanese gave thanks to the "wind of the Gods"—*kamikaze*—for driving away the Mongols.

In 1338 a new shogunate, the Ashikaga, was established at the imperial center of Kyoto. Government authority was more decentralized in the Ashikaga shogunate than in the Kamakura. The provincial warlords enjoyed greater independence, sponsoring the development of thriving market towns, religious institutions, and occasionally schools. The application of technologies imported in earlier periods, including the water wheel, improved plows, and Champa rice, increased the productivity of the land. The growing wealth and relative peace of the period stimulated artistic creativity, most of which reflected the Zen Buddhist beliefs of the warrior elite. In the simple elegance of the architecture and gardens, in the contemplative landscapes of artists such as Sesshu Toyo, and in the eerie, ritualized performances of the Nō theater, the unified aesthetic code of Zen became established in the Ashikaga era.

Despite the technological advancement, artistic productivity, and rapid urbanization of this period, the progressive aggrandizement of the warlords and their followers led to regional military conflicts. In the aftermath of the great Onin War in 1477, Kyoto was devastated and the Ashikaga shogunate remained a central government only in name. Ambitious but low-ranking warriors began to scramble for control of the provinces.

After the fall of the Yuan Empire, the sea trade among China, Korea, and the islands of Japan and Okinawa resumed. Japan benefited from the development of firearms on the Asian continent and exported to Korea and China copper, sulfur, and other raw resources. The folding fan, invented in Japan during the period of isolation, and swords, for which Japan quickly became famous, were desirable in Korea and China. From China, Japan imported books, porcelain, and copper coins, which it had absorbed in great quantity before the Mongol invasion. In the late Ashikaga period, this trade in combination with Japan's volatile political environment produced energetic partnerships between warlords and their local merchants. All of them worked to strengthen their own towns and treasuries through exploitation of the overseas trade and, sometimes, through piracy.

Painting by Sesshu Sesshu Toyo (1420–1506) is renowned as the creator of a distinctive style in ink painting that contrasted with the Chinese styles that predominated earlier in Japan. He owed much of his training to the development of Japanese commerce in the period of the Ashikaga shogunate. As a youth he was patronized by a prominent commercial family of southern Japan who financed his travel to China, where he first learned his techniques. As he developed his style, a market for his art developed among the merchant communities of the castle towns of the Ashikaga period and spread to other urban elites. (Collection of the Tokyo National Museum)

CONCLUSION

Mongol domination of Eurasia had different consequences for peoples of different regions and different classes. Partly because of the decentralized hierarchy that held Mongol regimes together, state expenditures, especially on the military, were always high. Mongol governments were primarily machines of extraction, and the collection of taxes kept intense pressure on farmers and on their rapidly exhausted farmlands. Later Mongol rulers in China and in Iran tried to lessen this burden, but the farming and laboring populations remained in distress. In the 1300s, when the Mongols' political control was weakened throughout their domains, the combination of rebellions and civil wars among the

Mongol leaders brought to an end most of the Mongol khanates.

Peasants everywhere suffered under Mongol domination, but new vistas of experience and opportunities for advancement opened to merchants, artists, scholars, high-ranking soldiers, and many religious leaders. The Mongols were actively interested in developing the overland trade among Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia. A great variety of goods and knowledge crisscrossed Eurasia under their rule. Middle Eastern financial administrators moved to China to serve the Mongols. As a consequence, thousands of large Muslim communities and several long-lived Jewish communities were established in the Asian interior. Muslims and Jews brought with them advanced knowledge of astronomy and mathematics, and Chinese scholars rapidly assimilated their expertise. In exchange, Chinese financial innovations, including paper money and a rudimentary form of banking, were brought to Iran.

Religious influences too were very mobile in the Mongol domains. The Mongol Great Khans patronized Buddhist, Confucianist, and Daoist leaders. The Il-khans reconciled themselves to Islam, and after them the Timurids made Sunni Islam the dominant religious system of Central Asia as well as the Middle East. In Russia, the Mongols tolerated and in a few instances encouraged the continued domination of the Orthodox Church over local affairs.

Although the Mongol invasion of Europe in the mid-thirteenth century excited terror (partly because the Mongols brought with them the bubonic plague, which had first afflicted them during their conquest of China), the Mongol Empire attracted European merchants and adventurers. The European dream of harnessing Asian power and wealth inspired Marco Polo and others eager to discover the riches of the "East."

The Mongols brought unity to China, Iran, and Russia by destroying the small states within each region and putting each region under the control of a single khanate. The Mongols established new capitals, and each capital remained a center of regional unity for centuries after the end of Mongol rule. The Mongol khans encouraged the use of vernacular languages, and in later times those languages became the vehicles for the creation of the literature of China, Iran, and Russia. Perhaps most important, Ming China, Safavid Iran, and Muscovite Russia all benefited from a state ideology that clearly defined each of them in contrast to the late, hated Mongol overlords.

The period of Mongol rule was a dynamic period for Eurasia and in many ways an unhappy one for the majority populations. It nevertheless changed the world. Heightened regional definition and centralization were critical to the major nations that emerged from the decaying Mongol empires. After the period of Mongol dominance, the land connections that the Mongols had established between Europe and Asia declined, permanently eclipsed by new sea routes. The age of exploration was the primary heir of the age of Mongol rule, and the early modern empires were its stepchildren.

SUGGESTED READING

An enormous amount has been written on the history of the Mongol Empire. An accessible introduction is David Morgan's *The Mongols* (1986). More specialized is Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259* (1987). Tim Severin's *In Search of Chinggis Khan* (1992) is a modern writer's fascinating revisit to the paths of Genghis's conquest. The demographic effects of the Mongol conquests are outlined by William H. McNeill in *Plagues and Peoples* (1976).

The only "primary" document relating to Genghis Khan, *Secret History of the Mongols*, has been reconstructed in Mongolian from Chinese script and produced in scholarly editions by Igor de Rachewilz and Francis Woodman Cleaves, among others. Paul Kahn produced a readable prose English paraphrase of the work in 1984. Also of interest is the only version of the *Secret History* by a modern Mongol author: *The History* *and the Life of Chinggis Khan: The Secret History of the Mongols, Translated and Annotated by Urgunge Onon* (1990). Outstanding biographies of Genghis Khan are Leo de Hartog, *Genghis Khan, Conqueror of the World* (1989); Michel Hoang, *Genghis Khan,* trans. Ingrid Canfield (1991); and Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy*, trans. and ed. Thomas Nivison Haining (1992), which is most detailed on Genghis's childhood and youth.

The best single volume in English on the Mongols in Russia is Charles Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (1987). For the Mongols in Europe, a lively and well-known narrative is James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe* (1979). The accounts of many of the individuals who traveled from Europe to the Mongol courts—not only Marco Polo but also the Franciscan friars John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck—have been translated and annotated in modern editions. Christopher Dawson, ed., *Mission to Asia* (1955; reprint, 1981), is a compilation of some of the best known.

On the effects of the Mongol period on economy and technology in Yuan and Ming China see Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past* (1973); Joel Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress* (1990); and Joseph Needham, *Science in Traditional China* (1981).

On early Ming literature see Lo Kuan-chung, *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel Attributed to Luo Guanzhong,* translated and annotated by Moss Roberts (1991); Richard Gregg Irwin, *The Evolution of a Chinese Novel: Shui-hu-chuan* (1953); and Shelley Hsüeh-lun Chang, *History and Legend: Ideas and Images in the Ming Historical Novels* (1990).

The Zheng He expeditions are extensively discussed. A classic interpretation is Joseph R. Levenson, ed., *European Expansion and the Counter-Example of Asia, 1300–1600* (1967). More recent scholarship is available in Philip Snow, *The Star Raft* (1988), and a full and lively account is Louise Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas* (1993).

For a general history of Korea in this period see Andrew C. Nahm, *Introduction to Korean History and Culture* (1993), and Ki-Baik Lee, *A New History of Korea* (1984). On a more specialized topic see Joseph Needham et al., *The Hall of Heavenly Records: Korean Astronomical Instruments and Clocks, 1380–1780* (1986).

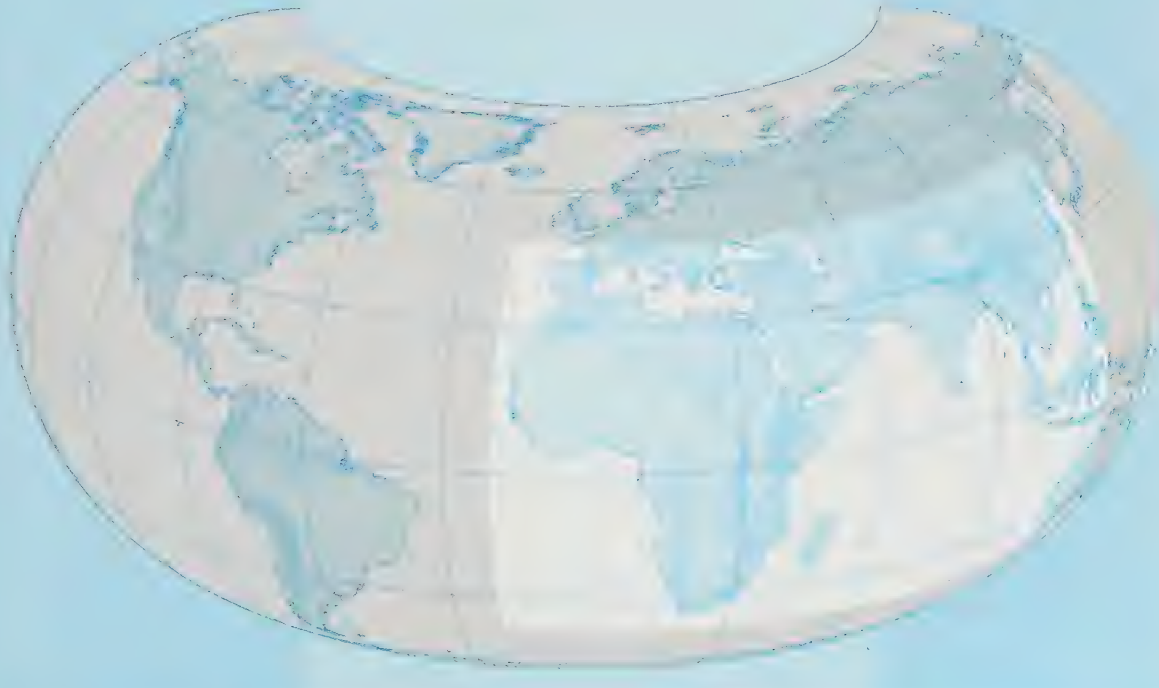
On the Nō theater and Zen aesthetics there is a great deal of writing. Perhaps most direct and charming are Donald Keene, *No: The Classical Theatre of Japan* (1966), and Ueda Makoto, trans., *The Old Pine Tree and Other Noh Plays* (1962).

CHAPTER TWELVE

Tropical Africa and Asia, 1200–1500

Tropical Lands and Peoples • New Islamic Empires • Indian Ocean Trade

Social and Cultural Change



Sultan Abu Bakr customarily offered his personal hospitality to all distinguished visitors arriving at his city of Mogadishu, an Indian Ocean port on the northeast coast of Africa. In 1331 he provided food and lodging for Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Battuta (1304–1369), a young Muslim scholar from Morocco, who had set out to explore the Islamic world. Logging some 75,000 miles (120,000 kilometers) in the course of his twenty-nine years of travel, Ibn Battuta became the most widely traveled man of his time. For this reason his journal, which describes where he went and what he saw, is a valuable historical source.

Other Muslim princes and merchants welcomed Ibn Battuta as graciously as did the ruler of Mogadishu. Hospitality was a highly respected Muslim virtue, which ignored individuals' physical and cultural differences. Although the Moroccan traveler noted that Sultan Abu Bakr had skin darker than his own and spoke a different native language (Somali), that made little difference. They were brothers in faith when they prayed together at Friday services in the Mogadishu mosque, where the sultan greeted his foreign guest in Arabic, the common language of the Islamic world: "You are heartily welcome, and you have honored our land and given us pleasure."

Islam was not the only tie linking the peoples of Africa and southern Asia. A network of land and sea trade routes joined their lands. These routes were older than Islam and an important means for the spread of beliefs and technologies as well as goods. An even more fundamental link was the tropical environment itself. Environmental differences helped shape the region's cultural differences. Cultural and ecological differences, in turn, helped generate trade in specialized products from one place to another, and the twice-a-year shift in the Indian Ocean winds made ocean voyages possible.

TROPICAL LANDS AND PEOPLES

The people who inhabited the tropical regions of Africa and Asia were profoundly affected by their natural setting. Members of each community obtained food by using methods that generations of experimentation had proved successful. Much of their success came from learning how to blend human activities with the natural order, but their ability to modify the environment to suit their needs was also evident in their irrigation works and mining.

The Tropical Environment

Lacking the hot and cold seasons of temperate lands, the Afro-Asian tropics have their own cycle of rainy and dry seasons caused by changes in wind patterns across the surrounding oceans. The western coast of Africa is rainy much of the year; however, in December and January a southward movement of dry air limits the inland penetration of the moist ocean winds. In southern Asia, the dry season comes between December and March, the wet season between April and August. Along with geographical features, these wind and rain patterns are responsible for the variations in tropical lands, from desert to rain forest.

Although rain forests are common in some of the tropics, other parts, such as the Sahara, the world's largest desert, rarely see rain at all. The majority of lands in tropical India and Africa receive moderate amounts of moisture during the rainy seasons and range from fairly wet woodlands to much drier grasslands.

Other variations in tropical climate result from the topography of the landmasses. The volcanic mountains of eastern Africa rise to such heights that some are covered with snow all or part of the year. The Himalayas that form the northern frontier of India are also snowcapped and so high that they block the movement of cold air into the northern India plains, giving this region a milder climate than its latitude would suggest.

The mighty rivers that descend to the oceans from these mountains and plateaus carry water far from where it first falls as rain. Heavy rains falling in the highlands of Central Africa and Ethiopia supply the Nile's annual floods and make Egypt bloom in the desert, and the Indus River carries nourishing waters from the Himalayas to arid northwest India.

Human Ecosystems

A careful observer touring the tropics in 1200 would have noticed how much the differences in societies could be attributed to their particular ecosystems—that is, to how people made use of the plants, animals, and other resources in their physical environments. Tropical peoples' success in adapting to the natural world was fundamental to all their other achievements.

Centuries before 1200, most tropical Africans and Asians had taken up raising domesticated plants and animals as the best way to feed themselves. But in some environments people found it preferable to rely on wild food that they obtained by hunting, fishing, and gathering. In the dense forests of Central Africa, the small size of the Pygmy hunters was itself a physical adaptation that permitted them to pursue their prey through the dense undergrowth. Portuguese explorers, hoping to reach India by sailing around the southern tip of Africa, visited the arid coast of southwestern Africa in 1497 and reported the presence there of a healthy group of people who lived off both land and sea creatures, feeding themselves on "the flesh of seals, whales, and gazelles, and the roots of wild plants." Fishing was a highly skilled and successful form of food gathering everywhere along all the major lakes and rivers as well as in the oceans, though it might be combined with farming. The boating skills of fishermen often led to their playing an important role in ocean trade.

In areas too arid for agriculture, tending herds of domesticated animals was common. Knowledge of local waterholes and observation of the scattered rains enabled pastoralists, unencumbered by bulky personal possessions and elaborate dwellings, to find adequate grazing for their animals in all but the severest droughts.

By the year 1200 human migrations had spread many useful domesticated plants and animals around the tropics. The density of agricultural populations was closely tied to the adequacy of rainfall and soils. South and Southeast Asia were generally much better watered than tropical Africa and so could support much greater populations. In 1200 there were probably over 100 million people living in South and Southeast Asia, more than four-fifths of them on the fertile Indian mainland. Rice cultivation was particularly important in the fertile Gangeatic plain of northeast India, mainland Southeast Asia, and southern China. In drier areas tropical farmers grew grains (such as wheat, sorghum, millet, and ensete) and legumes (such as peas and beans), whose ripening cycle matched the pattern of the rainy and dry seasons. Various tubers and tree crops were grown in rain forest clearings.

Water Systems and Irrigation

One of the great challenges of the tropical environment in parts of Asia was the uneven distribution of rainfall during the year. Farmers met the challenge by conserving some of the monsoon rainfall for use during the drier parts of the year. Farming communities in Southeast Asia constructed terraced hillsides with special water-control systems for growing rice. Water-storage dams and irrigation canals gradually became common in both north and south India.

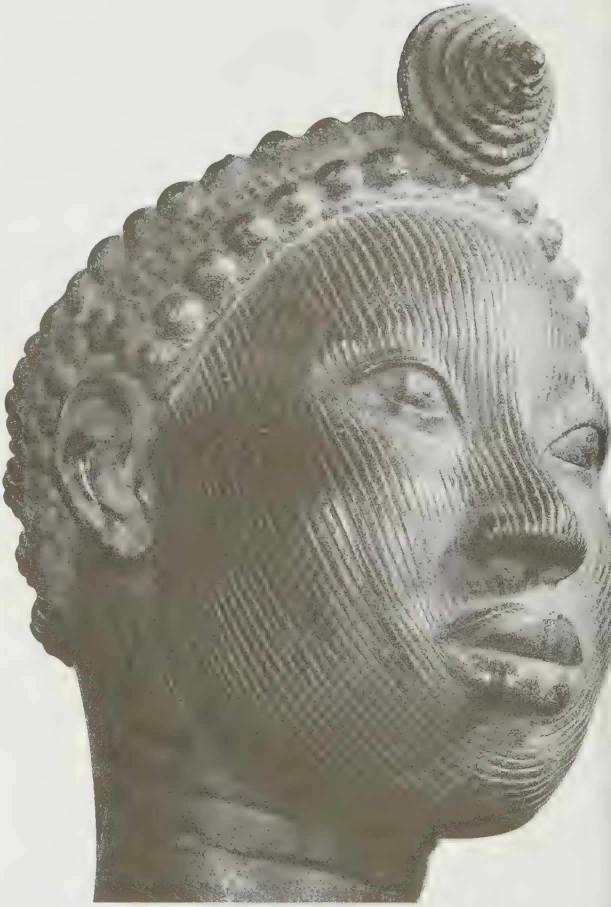
As had been true since the days of the first river-valley civilizations (see Chapter 1), the largest irrigation systems in the tropics were government public works projects. Since the tenth century the Indian Ocean island of Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka) had been home to the greatest concentration of irrigation reservoirs and canals in the world, enabling the powerful Sinhalese kingdom in arid northern Ceylon to support a large population. Such complex systems, however, were vulnerable to disruption. Between 1250 and 1400 the irrigation complex in Ceylon fell into ruin when invading Tamils from south India disrupted the Sinhalese government. The population of Ceylon then suffered the effects of malaria, a disease spread by mosquitoes breeding in the irrigation canals. The system was never rebuilt.

Mineral Resources

Iron was the most abundant of the metals worked in the tropics. Iron tools enabled farmers to clear and cultivate their fields, and iron-tipped spears and arrows improved hunting success. Iron needles were used for sewing, iron nails for building.

Copper was of special importance in Africa. Copper and its alloys were used for jewelry and artistic casting. In the Copper Belt of southeastern Africa, copper mining was in full production in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. During this period, Africans also acquired an international reputation for their production of gold, which was exported in quantity across the Sahara and into the Indian Ocean and Red Sea trades.

Metalworking and food-producing systems were important to tropical peoples for two reasons. First, most people made a successful living through such skilled exploitation of their environment. Second, the labors and skills of ordinary people made possible the rise of powerful states and profitable commercial systems. When considering the better documented lives of rulers and merchants described elsewhere in this chapter, ask yourself: Could the city-based empires of Delhi and Mali have endured without the food taxed from rural farmers? Could the long-distance trade routes have prospered without the precious metals, spices, and grains produced by ordinary folks?



Ife bronze head, thirteenth century This sensuously beautiful head and some companion pieces unearthed at Ife in southwestern Nigeria in 1912 changed the world's image of African art and artistry. Such discoveries showed that sub-Saharan African artists were casting naturalistic images in copper with great skill in the thirteenth century. The crowned head represents a woman or a young man associated with the ancient rulers of the kingdom of Ife. (Werner Forman/Art Resource NY)

NEW ISLAMIC EMPIRES

The empires of Mali in West Africa and Delhi in northern India were the two largest and richest tropical states of the period between 1200 and 1500. Both utilized Islamic administrative and military systems introduced from the Islamic heartland, but in other ways these two Muslim sultanates were very different. Mali was founded by an indigenous African dynasty, which had earlier adopted Islam through the peaceful influence of Muslim merchants and scholars. In contrast, the Delhi sultanate of northern India was founded and ruled by invading Turkish and Afghan Muslims. Mali depended heavily for its wealth on its participation in the trans-Saharan trade; long-distance trade played only a minor role in Delhi's wealth.

Mali in the Western Sudan

The consolidation of the Middle East and North Africa under Muslim rule during the seventh and eighth centuries greatly increased the volume of trade along the routes that crossed the Sahara. In the centuries that followed, the faith of Muhammad gradually spread to the lands south of the desert, which the Arabs called the *bilad al-sudan*, the "land of the blacks." The rulers of Ghana, the empire that preceded Mali in the western Sudan (see Chapter 8), had employed foreign Muslims in government posts but were not Muslims themselves.

The usual pattern for the spread of Islam south of the Sahara was through gradual and peaceful conversion, not force. The expansion of commercial contacts in the western Sudan and on the East African coast greatly promoted the process. Africans adopted Islam because they believed in its teachings and found it suited their interests. Sub-Saharan African rulers first accepted Islam about 1030.

In about 1240 Sundiata, the upstart leader of the Malinke people, overthrew foreign domination. This victory created the Empire of Mali. Mali's strength, like that of Ghana before it, rested on a well-developed agricultural base and on control over lucrative regional and trans-Saharan trade routes. But Mali differed from Ghana in two ways. First, it was much larger, controlling not only the core trading area of the upper Niger but the gold fields of the Niger headwaters to the southwest as well. Second, its rulers were Muslims, who fostered the spread of Islam among the political and trading elites of the empire. These factors gave Mali and its rulers unprecedented prosperity.

Under the Mali ruler Mansa Kankan Musa (r. 1312–1337), the empire's reputation for wealth spread far and wide. A pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324–1325, in fulfillment of his personal duty as a Muslim, gave Mansa Musa an opportunity to display the wealth of his empire. As befitted a powerful ruler, he traveled with a large entourage. Besides his senior wife and 500 of her ladies in waiting and their slaves, one account says there were also 60,000 porters and a vast caravan of camels carrying supplies and provisions. Even more lavish was the gold that Mansa Musa is reported to have taken along. For purchases and gifts he took 80 packages of gold each weighing 122 ounces (3.8 kilograms). In addition, 500 slaves each carried a golden staff.

Mansa Musa returned from his pilgrimage eager to promote the religious and cultural influence of Islam in his empire. He built new mosques and opened Quranic schools in the cities along the bend of the Niger River. When Ibn Battuta visited Mali from 1352 to 1354, during the reign of Mansa Musa's successor Mansa Suleiman (r. 1341–1360), he lauded Malians for their faithful recitation of prayers and for their zeal in teaching children the Quran. Ibn Battuta also had high praise for Mali's government. He reported that "complete and general safety" prevailed in the vast territories ruled by Suleiman and that foreign travelers had no reason to fear being robbed by thieves or having their goods confiscated if they died.

The Western Sudan (1375) A Jewish geographer on the Mediterranean island of Majorca drew this lavish map in 1375, incorporating all that was known in Europe of the rest of the world. This portion of the Catalan Atlas shows a North African trader approaching the king of Mali, who holds a gold nugget in one hand and a golden scepter in the other. A caption identifies the black ruler as Mansa Musa, "the richest and noblest king in all the land." (Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Two centuries after Sundiata founded the empire, Mali began to disintegrate under Mansa Suleiman's less able successors. By 1500 the rulers of Mali had dominion over little more than the Malinke heartland. The cities of the upper Niger survived Mali's collapse, but some of the western Sudan's former trade and intellectual life moved east to other African states in the central Sudan. Shortly after 1450 the rulers of several of the Hausa city-states adopted Islam as their official religion. Also expanding in the late fifteenth century was the central Sudanic state of Kanem-Bornu. It was descended from the ancient kingdom of Kanem, whose rulers had accepted Islam in about 1085. As Kanem-Bornu's armies conquered new territories in the late fifteenth century, they also spread the rule of Islam.

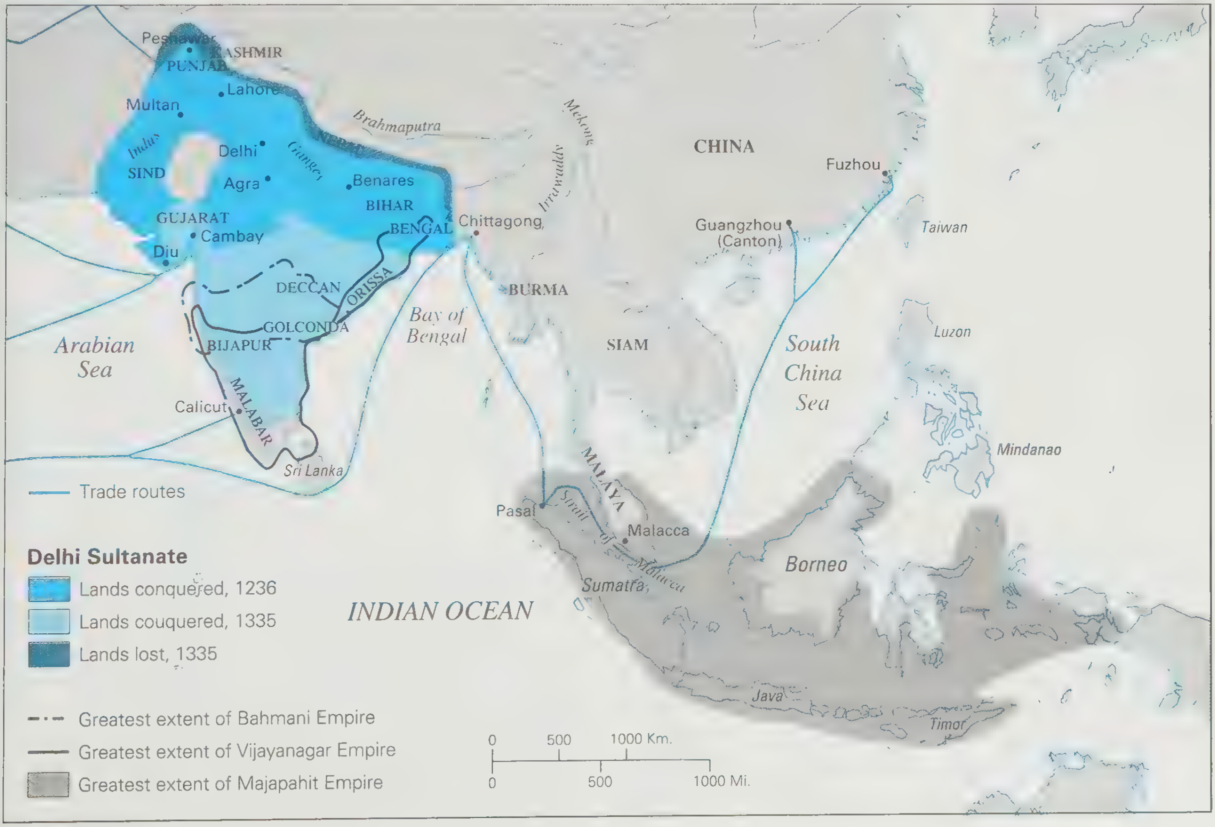
The Delhi Sultanate in India

The arrival of Islam in India was in violent contrast to its peaceful penetration of West Africa. The divided states of northwest India were subject to raids by Afghan warlords from the early eleventh century. Motivated by a wish to spread their Islamic faith and by a desire for plunder, the raiders looted Hindu temples of their gold and jewels, kidnapped women for their harems, and slew Hindu defenders by the thousands. In the last decades of the twelfth century a new Turkish dynasty captured the important northern Indian cities of Lahore and Delhi. Although the Indians fought back bravely, centuries of security from outside invasion and lack of interest in the rising military aggressiveness of the peoples around them had left them unprepared to present an effective united front.

Between 1206 and 1236 the Muslim invaders extended their rule over the Hindu princes and chiefs in much of northern India. Sultan Iltutmish (r. 1211–1236) consolidated the conquest of northern India in a series of military expeditions that made his empire the largest state in India (see Map 12.1). He secured official recognition of the Delhi sultanate as a Muslim state by the caliph of Baghdad. Although the looting and destruction of temples, enslavement, and massacres continued, especially on the frontiers of the empire, the incorporation of north India into the Islamic world marked the beginning of the Muslim invaders' transformation from brutal conquerors to somewhat more benign rulers.

To the astonishment of his ministers, Iltutmish passed over his weak and pleasure-seeking sons and designated as his heir his beloved and talented daughter Raziya. When they questioned the unprecedented idea of a woman ruling a Muslim state, he said, "My sons are devoted to the pleasures of youth: no one of them is qualified to be king. . . . there is no one more competent to guide the State than my daughter." In fact,

Map 12.1 South and Southeast Asia, 1200–1500 The rise of new empires and the expansion of maritime trade reshaped the lives of many tropical Asians.



his wish was not immediately carried out after his death, but after seven months of rule by the generous but inept Firoz—whose great delight was riding his elephant through the bazaar, showering the crowds with coins—the ministers relented and put Raziya on the throne. A chronicler of the time, who knew her, explained why the reign of this able ruler lasted less than four years (r. 1236–1240):

> Sultan Raziya was a great monarch. She was wise, just, and generous, a benefactor to her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects, and the leader of her armies. She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but that she was not born of the right sex, and so in the estimation of men all these virtues were worthless. May God have mercy upon her![1]

Doing her best to prove herself a proper king, Raziya dressed like a man and rode at the head of her troops atop an elephant. Nothing, however, could overcome the prejudices of the Turkish chiefs against a woman ruler. In the end, she was imprisoned and later killed by a robber while trying to escape.

At the time of Ibn Battuta's visit in the 1340s, Delhi's ruler was Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq (r. 1325–1351), who received his visitor at his palace's celebrated Hall of a Thousand Pillars. The world traveler praised the sultan's piety and generosity—traditional Muslim virtues—but also recounted his cruelties (see Voices and Visions: Personal Styles of Rule in India). In keeping with these complexities, the sultan resumed against independent Indian states a policy of aggressive expansion that enlarged the sultanate to its greatest extent. He balanced that policy with religious toleration intended to win the loyalty of Hindus and other non-Muslims. He even attended Hindu religious festivals. However, his successor Firuz Shah (r. 1351–1388) alienated powerful Hindus by taxing the Brahmins, preferring to cultivate good relations with the Muslim elite. Muslim chroniclers praised him for constructing forty mosques, thirty colleges, and a hundred hospitals.

A small minority in a giant land, the Turkish rulers relied on terror to keep their subjects submissive, on harsh military reprisals to put down rebellion, and on pillage and high taxes to sustain the ruling elite in luxury and power. Even under its most enlightened rulers, the Delhi sultanate was probably more a burden than a benefit to most of its subjects. Although this criticism could be made of most large states of this time (including Mali), the sultanate's rulers never lost the disadvantage of their foreign origins and their membership in a faith alien to most of their subjects. Over time their initial hostility to any Hindu participation moderated as some Hindus were incorporated into the administration. Some members of the ruling elite also married women from prominent Hindu families, though the brides had to become Muslims.

In the mid-fourteenth century Muslim nobles challenged the sultan's dominion and successfully established the Bahmani kingdom (1347–1482), which controlled the Deccan Plateau. To defend themselves against the Bahmani armies, the Hindu states of south India united to form the Vijayanagar Empire (1336–1565), which at its height controlled the rich trading ports on both coasts of south India and held Ceylon as a tributary state.

The conflict between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani was as much a struggle among different elites as it was a conflict between Hindus and Muslims, since both states pursued policies that turned a blind eye to religious differences when doing so favored their interests.

By 1351, when all of south India was independent, much of north India was also in rebellion. In 1398 the Mongol leader Timur (see Chapter 11) seized the opportunity to invade and capture the city of Delhi. When his armies withdrew the next year dragging vast quantities of pillage and tens of thousands of captives behind them, the largest city in southern Asia lay empty and in ruins. The Delhi sultanate never recovered.

Despite its shortcomings, the Delhi sultanate was important in the development of centralized political authority in India. It established a bureaucracy headed by the sultan, who was aided by the prime minister (*wazir*) and provincial governors. There were efforts to improve food production, promote trade and economic

VOICES & VISIONS

Personal Styles of Rule in India

Ibn Battuta wrote vividly of the powerful men who ruled the Muslim states he visited. His account of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq of Delhi reflects the familiarity he acquired during a long stay in India in the 1340s.

Muhammad is a man who, above all others, is fond of making presents and shedding blood. There may always be seen at his gate some poor person becoming rich, or some living one condemned to death. His generous and brave actions, and his cruel and violent deeds, have obtained notoriety among the people. In spite of this, he is the most humble of men, and the one who exhibits the greatest equity. The ceremonies of religion are dear to his ears, and he is very severe in respect of prayer and the punishment which follows its neglect. . . . When drought prevailed . . . the Sultan gave orders that provisions for six months should be supplied to all the inhabitants of Delhi from the royal granaries. . . .

One of the most serious charges against this Sultan is that he forced all the inhabitants of Delhi to leave their homes. [After] the people of Delhi wrote letters full of insults and invectives against [him,] the Sultan . . . decided to ruin Delhi, so he purchased all the houses and inns from the inhabitants, paid them the price, and then ordered them to remove to Daulatabad. . . .

The greater part of the inhabitants departed, but [h]is slaves found two men in the streets: one was paralyzed, the other blind. They were brought before the sovereign, who ordered the paralytic to be shot away from a *manjanik* [catapult], and the blind man to be dragged from Delhi to Daulatabad, a journey of forty days' distance. The poor wretch fell to pieces during the journey, and only one of his legs reached Daulatabad.

How can the kind and cruel sides of Sultan Muhammad be reconciled? What role did Islam play in his generosity? What benefits, if any, could cruelty bring to the ruler of a conquest state?

Source: Henry M. Elliot, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* (London: Trübner and Co., 1869–1871), 3:609–614.

growth, and establish a common currency. Despite the many conflicts that Muslim conquest and rule provoked, Islam gradually acquired a permanent place in South Asia. Yet the mixture of indigenous political traditions with these Islamic practices served to distinguish the Delhi sultanate, like Mali, from the states in the Middle East, where Islam had first flourished.

INDIAN OCEAN TRADE

Food producers sustained the region's life; sultans and kings directed its political affairs. Merchants were a third force uniting the tropics. Their maritime network stretched across the Indian Ocean from the Islamic heartlands of Iran and Arabia to Southeast Asia and the East Indies. Connecting routes extended to Europe, Africa, and China. The world's richest maritime trading network at this time, the Indian Ocean routes also facilitated the spread of Islam.

Monsoon Mariners

Between 1200 and 1500 the volume of trade in the Indian Ocean increased, stimulated by the prosperity of Islamic and Mongol empires in Asia, of Latin Europe, as well as of Africa and the East Indies. There was greater demand for luxuries for the wealthy: precious metals and jewels, rare spices, and fine textiles and other manufactures. The construction of large ships in these centuries also made it profitable to ship bulk cargoes of ordinary cotton textiles, pepper, food grains (rice, wheat, barley), timber, horses, and other goods. When the collapse of the Mongol Empire in the fourteenth century disrupted the overland trade routes across Central Asia, the Indian Ocean routes assumed greater strategic importance in tying together the peoples of Eurasia and Africa.

The trade of the Indian Ocean was decentralized and cooperative. Commercial interests, not political authorities, united the several distinct regions that participated in it (see Map 12.2). The Swahili Coast supplied gold from inland areas of eastern Africa. Ports around the Arabian peninsula supplied horses and goods from the northern parts of the Middle East, the Mediterranean, and eastern Europe. In the center of the Indian Ocean trade, merchants in the cities of coastal India received goods from east and west, sold some locally, passed others along, and added vast quantities of Indian goods to the trade. The Strait of Malacca, between the eastern end of the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, was the meeting point of trade from the East Indies, mainland Southeast Asia, China, and the Indian Ocean. In each region certain ports functioned as giant emporia, consolidating goods from smaller ports and inland areas for transport across the seas. The operation of this complex trading system can best be understood by looking at two of these regions and their emporia in greater detail.

Africa: The Swahili Coast and Zimbabwe

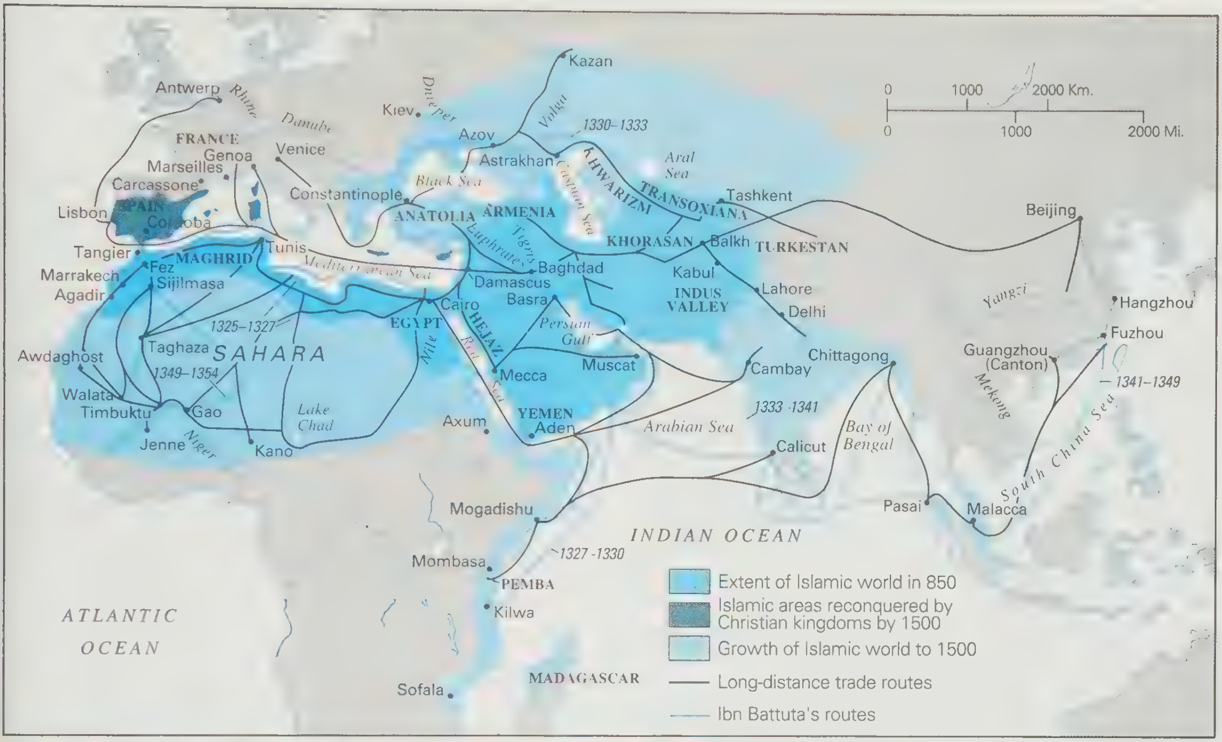
Trade expanded steadily along the East African coast from about 1250, giving rise to between thirty and forty separate city-states by 1500. Archaeological excavations reveal that after 1200 many mud and thatch African fishing villages were rebuilt with new masonry buildings, sometimes three or four stories high. Archaeology also reveals the growing presence of imported glass beads, Chinese porcelain, and other exotic goods. This narrow strip of coast and islands, some 1,500 miles (2,400 kilometers) long, shared a common culture and language, African in grammar and vocabulary but enriched with many Arabic terms. In time it became known as *Swahili*, from the Arabic name *sawahil al-sudan*, meaning "the shores of the blacks."

Until shortly before Ibn Battuta's visit in 1331 the northern city of Mogadishu had been the Swahili Coast's most important commercial center, but in the fourteenth century the southern city of Kilwa surpassed it in importance. After visiting Kilwa, Ibn Battuta declared it "one of the most beautiful and well-constructed towns in the world." He noted that its dark-skinned inhabitants were devout and pious Muslims, and he took special pains to praise their ruler as a man rich in the traditional Muslim virtues of humility and generosity.

Oral traditions associate the Swahili Coast's commercial expansion with the arrival of Arab and Iranian merchants, but what had attracted them? In Kilwa's case the answer is gold. By the late fifteenth century the city was exporting a ton of gold a year. The gold came from mines worked by Africans much farther south and inland from the coast. Much of it came from or passed through a powerful state on the plateau south of the Zambezi River, whose capital city is known as Great Zimbabwe. At its peak in about 1400, the city, which occupied 193 acres (78 hectares), may have had 18,000 inhabitants, the wealthiest of whom lived in dwellings made of stone.

The stone ruins of Great Zimbabwe are one of the most famous historical sites in sub-Saharan Africa. The largest structure is a walled enclosure the size and shape of a large football stadium, carefully constructed of drystone masonry up to 17 feet (5 meters) thick and 32 feet (10 meters) high. Inside it were many buildings, including a large conical stone tower. Local African craftsmen built these stone structures between about 1250 and 1450 to serve as their king's court.

Like Mali, the Great Zimbabwe state rested on a mixed farming and cattle-herding economy, but its wealth depended on its role in long-



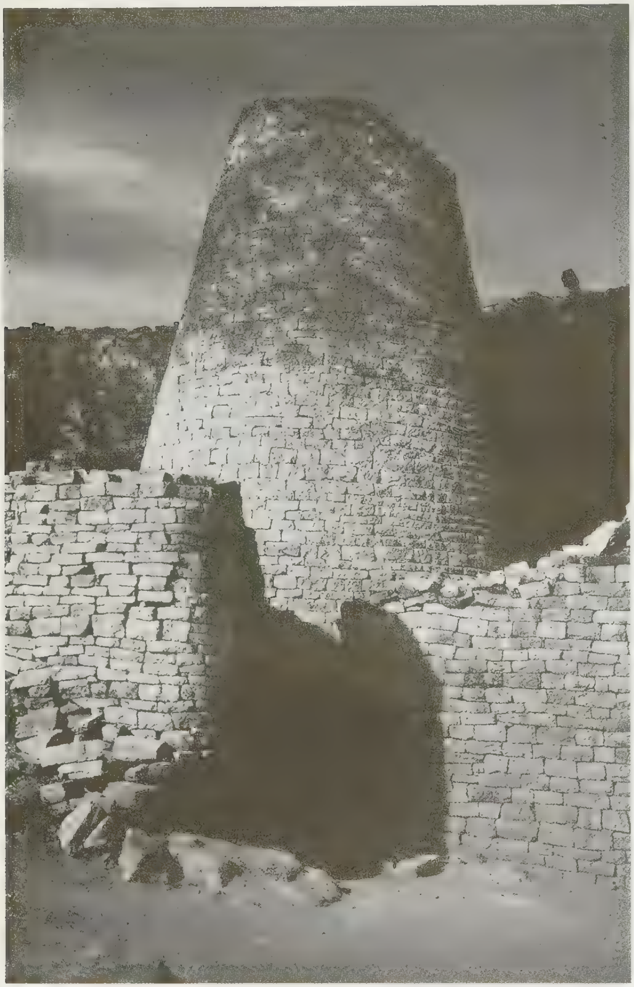
Map 12.2 Arteries of Trade and Travel in the Islamic World to 1500 Ibn Battuta's journeys across the vast expanse of Africa and Asia made use of land and sea routes, along which Muslim traders and the Islamic faith had long traveled.

distance trade. It first prospered in a regional trade based on copper ingots from the upper Zambezi Valley, salt, and local manufactures. The great expansion in the export of gold into the Indian Ocean in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries brought Zimbabwe to the peak of its political and economic power. Historians suspect that city residents depleted the nearby forests for firewood and their cattle overgrazed the surrounding grasslands, causing an ecological crisis that hastened the empire's decline in the fifteenth century.

India: Gujarat and the Malabar Coast

The state of Gujarat in western India prospered as its ports shared in the expanding trade of the Arabian Sea and the rise of the Delhi sultanate. Blessed with a rich agricultural hinterland and a long coastline, Gujarat attracted new trade after the Mongol capture of Baghdad in 1258 disrupted the northern land routes. Gujarat's forcible incorporation into the Delhi sultanate in 1298 had mixed results. The state suffered from the violence of the initial conquest and from subsequent military crackdowns, but it also prospered from increased trade with Delhi's wealthy ruling class. Independent again after 1390, the Muslim rulers of Gujarat extended their control over neighboring Hindu states and regained their preeminent position in the Indian Ocean trade.

Much of the wealth of the state derived from its export of cotton textiles and indigo to the Middle East and Europe, in return for gold and silver. Gujaratis also dominated the trade from



Conical tower, Great Zimbabwe This graceful stone structure, situated inside the high-walled royal enclosure at Great Zimbabwe, was not used as a lookout tower. Archaeologists believe the tower was a symbol of the African ruler's power, perhaps representing on a grand scale the clay granaries in which local chiefs stored the grain they received in tribute from their people. (Robert Aberman/Barbara Heller/Art Resource NY)

India to the Swahili Coast, selling cottons, carnelian beads, and foodstuffs in exchange for ebony, slaves, ivory, and gold. During the fifteenth century traders expanded their trade from Gujarat eastward to the Strait of Malacca. These Gujarati merchants helped spread the Islamic faith among East Indian traders, some of whom even imported specially carved gravestones from Gujarat.

Unlike Kilwa, Gujarat was important for its manufactures as well as its commerce. According to the thirteenth-century Venetian traveler Marco Polo, Gujarat's leatherworkers dressed enough skins in a year to fill several ships to Arabia and other places and also made beautiful sleeping mats for export to the Middle East "in red and blue leather, exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts, and skilfully embroidered with gold and silver wire," as well as leather cushions embroidered in gold. Gujarat's cotton, linen, and silk cloth, as well as its carpets and quilts, found a large market in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and the East Indies. The Gujarati city of Cambay was also famous for its polished gemstones, gold jewelry, carved ivory, stone beads, and both natural and artificial pearls. At the height of its prosperity in the fifteenth century, this substantial city's well-laid-out streets and open places were lined with fine stone houses with tiled roofs. Although most of Gujarat's overseas trade was in the hands of its Muslim residents, members of its Hindu merchant caste profited so much from related commercial activities that their wealth and luxurious lives were the envy of other Indians.

Gujarat's importance in trade and manufacturing was duplicated farther south in the cities of the Malabar Coast. Calicut and other coastal cities prospered from their commerce in locally made cotton textiles and locally grown grains and spices, and as clearing-houses for the long-distance trade of the Indian Ocean. The Malabar Coast was united under a loose federation of its Hindu rulers, presided over by the *Zamorin* (ruler) of Calicut. As in eastern Africa and Arabia, rulers were generally tolerant of other religious and ethnic groups who were important to commercial profits. Most trading activity lay in the hands of Muslims, many originally from Iran and Arabia, who intermarried with local Indian Muslims. Jewish merchants also operated from Malabar's trading cities.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE

State growth, commercial expansion, and the spread of Islam led to many changes in the social and cultural life of tropical peoples. The political and commercial elites at the top of society grew in size and power. To serve their needs, the number of slaves increased considerably. There also were changes in lives of women in different social classes. The spread of Islamic practices and beliefs in many parts of the African and Asian tropics was a major source of social and cultural change, evident from the fact that the words *Sahara*, *Sudan*, *Swahili*, and *monsoon* are all Arabic in origin. Even so, traditional religious and social customs remained important.

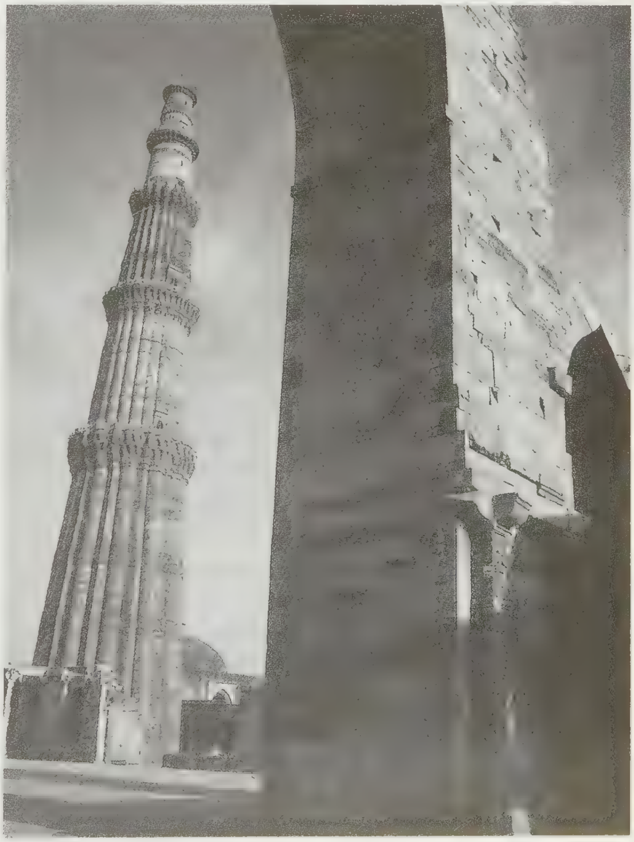
Architecture, Learning, and Religion

As in other periods of history, social and cultural change was more obvious in the cities than in rural areas. Some urban change was physical. In architecture, as well as in education and religious practice, the spread of Islam was a major force for change. Most of the buildings that survive from this period are places of worship that exhibit fascinating blends of older traditions and new influences. Muslims in the western Sudan produced striking renditions of Middle Eastern mosque designs in local building materials of sun-baked clay and wood. Swahili cities built mosques of local coral stone. Gujarati architecture of this period exhibited the finest blend of Hindu and Muslim styles. The congregational mosque at Cambay, built in 1325 with the courtyard, cloisters, and porches typical of Islamic mosques, was assembled primarily out of pillars, porches, and arches taken from sacked Hindu and Jain temples of earlier generations.

In some ways even more striking than these Islamic architectural amalgams were the Christian churches of King Lalibela of Ethiopia, constructed during the first third of the thirteenth century. As part of his new capital, Lalibela directed Ethiopian sculptors to carve eleven churches out of solid rock, each commemorating a sacred Christian site in Jerusalem. These unique structures carried on an old Ethiopian tradition of rock sculpture.

Mosques were centers of education as well as of prayer. Muslims promoted literacy among their sons (and sometimes their daughters) so that they could read the religion's classic texts. In sub-Saharan Africa the spread of Islam was associated with the spread of literacy, previously

Qutb Minar, India A ruler of the Delhi sultanate built this unusually tall minaret and mosque near Delhi in the early thirteenth century to display the power of Islam. Five times a day the muezzin climbed the 240-foot (73-meter) tower of red sandstone and white marble to call Muslims to prayer. (Jean-Louis Nou)



confined largely to Christian Ethiopia. At first, literacy was in Arabic, but eventually people used Arabic characters to write local languages.

India already had a long literate heritage, so the impact of Islam on literacy there was less dramatic. Arabic spread among Indian scholars along with Persian (the language of Iran), which was considered more refined. Many new works of prose and poetry were written in Urdu, a Persian-influenced literary form of Hindi written with Arabic characters.

Although the main goal of education was basic literacy and ability to recite the Quran, advanced Muslim scholars studied Islamic law, theology, and administration, as well as classical Greek works of mathematics, medicine, and science.

As the changes in architecture and education suggest, the spread of Islam as a religion was a major theme of the period. Even where Islam entered as the result of conquest, as in India, conversions were rarely forced; example and persuasion seem to have been far more important. Muslim domination of long-distance trade and markets was particularly important in fostering the adoption of Islam. Many commercial transactions took place between people of different religions, but trust was easier among individuals who shared the common code of morality and law that Islam provided. For this reason many local merchants were attracted to Islam. From the major trading centers along the Swahili Coast, in the Sudan, in coastal India, and in the East Indies, Islam's influence spread along regional trade routes.

Islam also spread through marriage. Most of the foreign Muslims who settled in tropical Africa and Asia were single men. Many of them married local women, whom they required to be (or to become) Muslims and to raise their children in the Islamic faith. Because Islam permitted a man to have up to four legal wives, as well as concubines, some wealthy men had dozens of children. In such large Muslim households the many servants, both free and enslaved, were also required to be Muslims. Although such conversions were not fully voluntary, individuals could find personal fulfillment in the Islamic faith.

In India, Islamic invasions nearly destroyed the last strongholds of long-declining Buddhism. Buddhism became a minor faith in the land of its birth (see Chapter 8), while Islam, swelled by substantial immigration, emerged as India's second most important religion. Hinduism remained India's dominant faith in 1500, but in most of maritime Southeast Asia the combined impact of Mongol invasion and the peaceful expansion of Muslim merchants led to its displacement by Islam.

Outside the cities, the seed of Islamic belief was planted among the pastoral Fulani of West Africa and Somali of northeastern Africa, as well as among pastoralists in northwest India. Low-caste rural Bengalis also began to adopt Islam, perhaps because they saw more hope in the universalism of Islam than in the fixed inequalities of the Hindu hierarchy. Yet the spread of Islam was not a simple process by which one set of beliefs replaced others. Islam too was changed by the cultures of the regions it penetrated, developing African, Indian, and Indonesian varieties.

Social and Gender Distinctions

The political, commercial, and religious changes of these centuries significantly affected class structure and the status of some women. The gap between the elites and the masses widened. It is not clear that the poor became poorer—the 50 percent of the harvest that peasants in India paid in tax to the Delhi sultanate may have been no more than what they formerly had paid to local lords—but the rich surely became richer and more numerous as a result of conquests and commerce. Accompanying the rising prosperity of the elites was a growth in slavery. Many people were enslaved during the wars of expansion waged by the powerful new states. According to Islamic sources, campaigns of conquest and pillage in India reduced Hindu "infidels" to slavery by the hundreds of thousands. The courts of the ruling elites of Delhi overflowed with slaves.

In Africa, as Ibn Battuta reported, Mali and Bornu exported slaves across the Sahara to North Africa, including beautiful maidens and eunuchs (castrated males). The expanding Ethiopian Empire regularly sent captives for sale to Aden traders at Zeila. According to modern estimates, about 2.5 million enslaved Africans were sent across the Sahara and the Red Sea between 1200 and 1500. Some slaves were shipped from the Swahili Coast to India, where Africans played conspicuous roles in the navies, armies, and administrations of some Indian states, especially in the fifteenth century. A few African slaves even found their way to China.

The status of slaves depended on their skill and sex. Relatively few in this period were used as field hands because "free" labor was so abundant and cheap. Most slaves were trained for special purposes. In some places, skilled trades and military service were dominated by hereditary castes of slaves, some of whom were rich and powerful. Less fortunate were slaves who did hard menial work, such as the men and women who mined copper in Mali.

In all wealthy households there was a tremendous demand for servant slaves. Some servants were males, including the eunuchs who guarded the harems of wealthy Muslims, but most household slaves were female. Female slaves were also in great demand as entertainers and concubines. Having a concubine from every part of the world was a rich man's ambition in some Muslim circles. One noble was said to have two thousand harem slaves, including women from Turkey and China.

How much the status of tropical women—whether slave or free—changed during this period is a subject needing more study. Hindu women continued to suffer from social and religious disabilities, but some restrictions on their lives may have been relaxed—or at least not expanded—during these centuries. The ancient practice of *sati*—that is, of an upper-caste widow throwing herself on her husband's funeral pyre—remained a meritorious act strongly approved by social custom. But Ibn Battuta leaves no doubt that, in his observation at least, sati was strictly optional. It remained the custom for Indian girls to be given in marriage before the age of puberty, although the consummation of the marriage was not to take place until the young woman was ready. Wives were expected to observe far stricter rules of fidelity and chastity than were their husbands and could be abandoned for many serious breaches. But women often were punished by lighter penalties than men for offenses against law and custom.

A female's status was largely determined by the status of her male master—father, husband, or owner. Women usually were not permitted to play the kind of active roles in commerce, administration, or religion that would have given them scope for personal achievements. Besides child rearing, one of the most widespread female skills was food preparation. Historians have paid little attention to the development of culinary skills, but preparing meals that were healthful and tasty required much training and practice, especially given the limited range of foods available in most places. One kitchen skill that has received greater attention is brewing, perhaps because men were the principal consumers. In many parts of Africa women commonly made beer from grains or bananas. Consumed in moderation, these mildly alcoholic beverages were a source of vitamins and minerals, and they played an important part in male rituals of hospitality and relaxation that promoted social harmony.

Women's activities were not confined to the hearth. Throughout tropical Africa and Asia women did much of the farm work. They also toted heavy loads of food, firewood, and water for cooking balanced on their heads, and they made clay pots for cooking and storage. In India the spinning wheel, introduced by the Muslim invaders, greatly reduced the cost of making yarn for weaving. Spinning was a woman's activity done in the home; the weavers were generally men. In West Africa especially, women commonly sold their agricultural surplus, pottery, and other craftwork at market.

It is difficult to judge how the spread of Islam affected the status of women. Women of some social classes found their status improved by becoming part of a Muslim household. The rare exception, such as Sultan Raziya, might even command supreme authority. Of course, many other women were incorporated into Muslim households as servants, concubines, and slaves.

Not all places that adopted Islam accepted all the social customs of the Arab world. In Mali Ibn Battuta berated a Muslim merchant from Morocco for permitting his wife to sit on a couch and chat with a male friend of hers. Ibn Battuta's shock at this "laxity" and his refusal ever to visit the merchant again reveal the patriarchal precepts that were dear to most elite Muslims. So does the fate of Sultan Raziya of Delhi.

CONCLUSION

With nearly 40 percent of the world's population and over a quarter of its habitable land, tropical Africa and Asia was a large and diverse place. In the centuries between 1200 and 1500 commercial, political, and cultural expansion drew the region's peoples closer together. The Indian Ocean became the world's most important and richest trading area. The Delhi sultanate brought the greatest political unity to India since the decline of the Guptas. Mali extended the political and trading role pioneered by Ghana in the western Sudan. The growth of trade and empires was closely connected with the enlargement of Islam's presence in the tropical world along with the introduction of greater diversity into Islamic practice.

But if change was an important theme of this period, so too was social and cultural stability. Most tropical Africans and Asians never ventured far outside the rural communities where their families had lived for generations. Occupations were defined by custom and necessity. Most people engaged in food production by farming, herding, and fishing; some specialized in crafts or religious leadership. Based on the accumulated wisdom of how best to deal with their environment, such village communities were remarkably hardy. They might be ravaged by natural disaster or pillaged by advancing armies, but over time most recovered. Empires and kingdoms rose and fell in these centuries, but the villages endured.

In comparison, the social, political, and environmental changes taking place in the Latin West, described in the next chapter, were in many ways more profound and disruptive. And, after 1500, those changes had great implications for tropical peoples.

SUGGESTED READING

The trading links among the lands around the Indian Ocean have attracted the attention of recent scholars, who include many details of the ecological underpinnings of that trade. Most ambitious, broadest (touching on all the regions), and perhaps most inclined to overreach the evidence is Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (1989), which may usefully be read with K. N. Chaudhuri, *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (1991).

Africa in this period is well served by the later parts of Graham Connah's *African Civilizations: Precolonial Cities and States in Tropical Africa: An Archaeological Perspective* (1987). For greater depth see the relevant chapters in D. T. Niane, ed., *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. 4, *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (1984), and in Roland Oliver, ed., *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 3, *c. 1050 to c. 1600* (1977).

For accounts of slavery and the slave trade see Salim Kidwai, "Sultans, Eunuchs and Domestics: New Forms of Bondage in Medieval India," in *Chains of Servitude: Bondage and Slavery in India*, eds. Utsa Patnaik and Manjari Dingwaney (1985), and the first two chapters of Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (1983).

Three volumes of Ibn Battuta's writings have been translated by H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354* (1958–1971); the fourth volume is in preparation. Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim of the 14th Century* (1986), provides a modern retelling of his travels with commentary. For annotated selections see Said Hamdun and Noël King, *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa* (1995).

NOTE

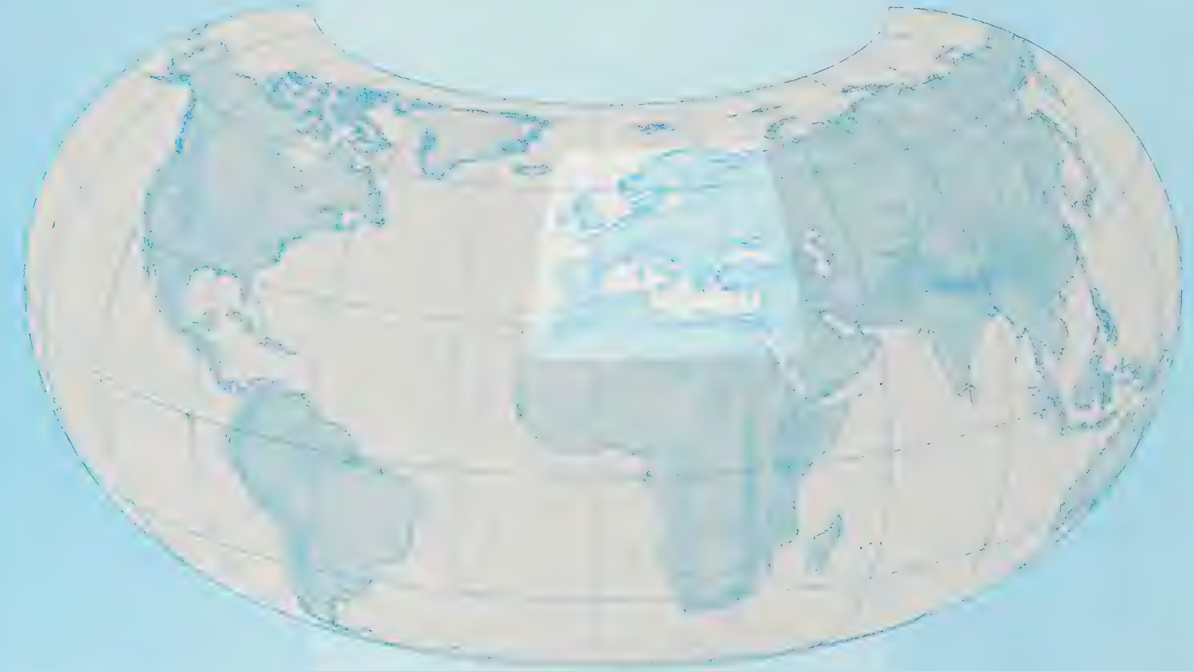
1. Minhaju-s Siraj, *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* in Henry M. Elliot, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians,* ed. John Dowson (London: Trübner and Co., 1869–1871), 2:332–333.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Latin West, 1200–1500

Rural Growth and Crisis • Urban Revival • Cultural Advances and the Renaissance

The Rise of New Monarchies



In the summer of 1454, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini was pessimistic about western Europe's future. A year earlier the Ottoman Turks, already in control of much of the Middle East and the Balkans, had captured the historic city of Constantinople, the last Christian stronghold in the eastern Mediterranean. As the pope's chief delegate in Germany, Aeneas Sylvius was charged with generating support for a crusade to halt further Muslim advances, but he doubted he would succeed. "How can you persuade the many rulers of the Christian world to take up arms under a single standard?" asked the man who in four years would be pope himself; "Christendom has no head whom all will obey—neither the pope nor the emperor receives his due."

Aeneas Sylvius reflected that, although French forces had recently won a decisive victory over the English in a series of conflicts that had begun in 1337 (now known as the Hundred Years War), the peace might easily be broken. The German emperor presided over dozens of states that were virtually independent of his control. The Spanish and Italians were divided into numerous kingdoms and principalities that often turned to war. With only slight exaggeration he lamented, "Every city has its own king, and there are as many princes as there are households," most more willing to fight with each other than to join a common front against the Turks. This lack of unity, he believed, was due to Europeans' growing preoccupation with personal welfare and material gain:

> behold the huge and yawning maw of avarice, see how much inertia and how much greed there are. No one is devoted to letters or to the studies of the good arts. And do you think that an army of Turks could be destroyed by men of such morals?[1]

Such pessimism and materialism had increased during the previous century, partly in reaction to a devastating plague known in Europe as the Black Death. By 1351 it had carried off a third of western Europe's population.

Despite all these divisions, disasters, and wars, historians now see the period from 1200 to 1500 (Europe's later Middle Ages) as a time of unusual progress. The avarice and greed Aeneas Sylvius lamented were the dark side of the material prosperity that was most evident in the cities with their splendid architecture, institutions of higher learning, and cultural achievements. Frequent wars caused havoc and destruction but in the long run promoted the development of powerful weapons and unified monarchies.

Although their contemporary Muslim and Byzantine neighbors commonly called western Europeans "Franks," they ordinarily referred to themselves as "Latins." That term underscored their allegiance to the Latin rite of Christianity (and to its patriarch, the pope) as well as the use by their literate members of the Latin language. The Latin West deserves special attention because its achievements during this period had profound implications for the future of the world. The region was emerging from the economic and cultural shadow of its Islamic neighbors and, despite disruptions caused by plague and warfare, boldly setting out to extend its dominance. Some common elements promoted the Latin West's remarkable resurgence: competition, the pursuit of success, and the effective use of borrowed technology and learning.

RURAL GROWTH AND CRISIS

Between 1200 and 1500 the Latin West brought more land under cultivation, introduced new farming techniques, and made greater use of machinery and mechanical forms of energy. Yet for most rural Europeans—more than nine out of ten people were rural—the period from 1200 to 1500 was a time of calamity and struggle. Most rural men and women worked hard for meager returns and suffered mightily from the effects of famine, epidemics, warfare, and social exploitation. From the low point caused by the Black Death in 1347–1351, peasant revolts sped social changes that released many persons from the bondage of serfdom and brought some improvements to rural life.

Peasants, Population, and Plague

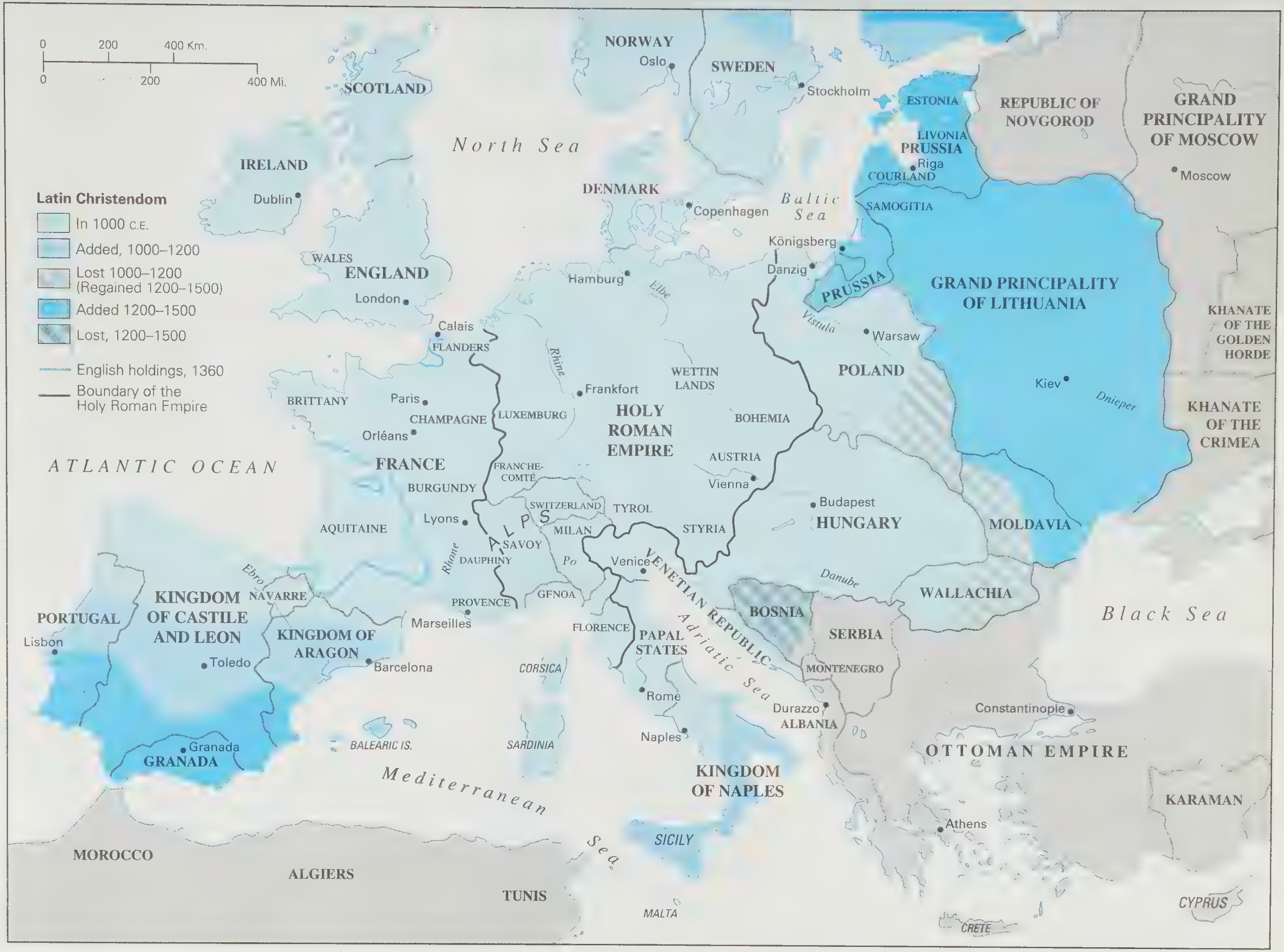
In 1200 most western Europeans were serfs, obliged to till the soil on large estates owned by the feudal nobility and the church (see Chapter 7). In return for using a portion of their lord's land, serfs had to provide their lord with a share of their harvests, perform numerous labor services, and meet other obligations. Such rigid social relations slowed improvements in agricultural production. As a consequence of the inefficiency of farming practices and of the obligations they owed to landowners, peasants worked hard for very meager returns. Each noble household typically rested on the labors of from fifteen to thirty peasant families. The standard of life in the lord's stone castle or manor house stood in sharp contrast to the peasant's one-room thatched cottage containing little furniture and no luxuries.

Rural poverty was not simply the product of inefficient farming methods and social inequality. It also resulted from the rapid growth of Europe's population. In 1200 Chinese may have outnumbered Europeans by two to one; by 1300 each population was about 80 million. China's population fell because of the Mongol conquest (see Chapter 11); why Europe's population rose is not so clear. Some historians believe that the reviving economy may have stimulated population increase. Others argue that warmer-than-usual temperatures reduced the number of deaths from starvation and exposure while the absence of severe epidemics lessened deaths from disease. Whatever the cause, more people required more productive ways of farming. One new technique gaining widespread acceptance in the region around Paris in the thirteenth century was to reduce the amount of farmland left fallow (uncultivated). Instead of following the custom of leaving half of their land idle for a year to regain its fertility, more and more farmers tried a new three-field system, growing crops on two-thirds of the land each year. Many farmers using this system planted one field in oats to feed horses, which they could use to pull plows. But in most of western Europe, farmers continued to let half of their land lie fallow and to plow with oxen (less efficient but cheaper than horses).

Population growth led to the foundation of new agricultural settlements. Germans migrated into the fertile lands east of the Elbe River and conquered and resettled a vast area along the eastern Baltic that became Prussia (see Map 13.1). Other Latin Christians founded new settlements on lands conquered from the Muslims and Byzantines in southern Europe and on Celtic lands in the British Isles.

By draining swamps and clearing forests, people also brought new land under cultivation within the existing boundaries of the Latin West. But as population continued to rise, people had to farm marginal lands that had poor soils or were vulnerable to flooding, frost, or drought. The result was a decline in average crop yields after 1250 and an increase in the numbers of people living at the edge of starvation, vulnerable to even slight changes in the food supply resulting from bad weather or the disruptions of war. One unusually cold spell led to the Great Famine of 1315–1317, during which starvation was widespread in Europe.

Map 13.1 Europe in 1453 This year marked the end of the Hundred Years War between France and England and the fall of the Byzantine capital city of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks. Muslim advances into southeastern Europe were offset by the Latin Christian reconquests of Islamic holdings in southern Italy and the Iberian Peninsula and by the conversion of Lithuania.


0
200
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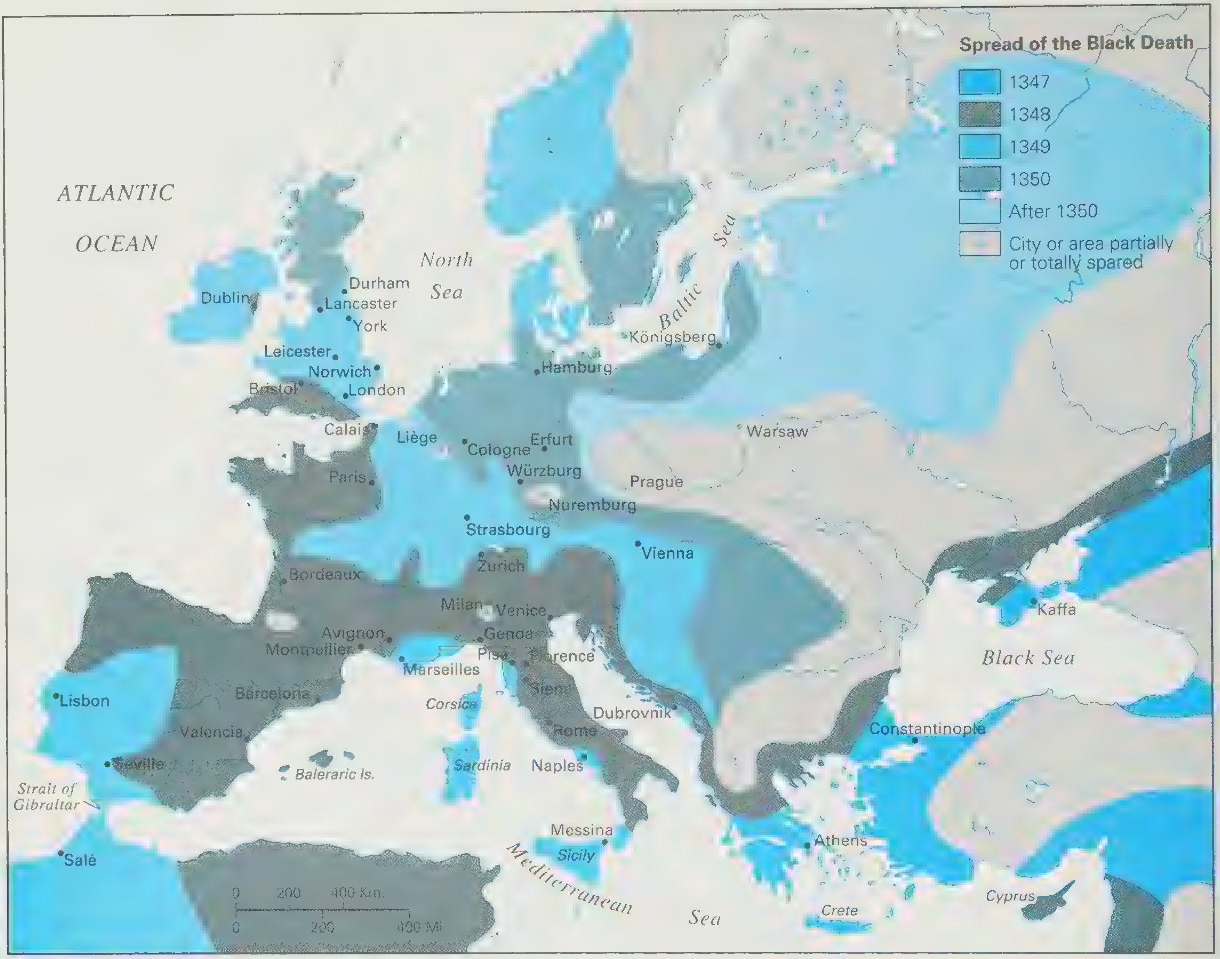
Latin Christendom
In 1000 C.E.
Added, 1000–1200
Lost 1000–1200 (Regained 1200–1500)
Added 1200–1500
Lost, 1200–1500
English holdings, 1360
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
Dublin
WALES
ENGLAND
London
North Sea
NORWAY
Oslo
SWEDEN
Stockholm
ESTONIA
REPUBLIC OF NOVGOROD
GRAND PRINCIPALITY OF MOSCOW
Moscow
LIVONIA
PRUSSIA
Riga
COURLAND
SAMOGITIA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
Königsberg
Danzig
PRUSSIA
Hamburg
Elbe
Vistula
Warsaw
GRAND PRINCIPALITY OF LITHUANIA
KHANATE OF THE GOLDEN HORDE
KHANATE OF THE CRIMEA
Kiev
Dnieper
POLAND
Calais
FLANDERS
Rhine
Frankfort
WETTIN LANDS
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
BRITTANY
Paris
CHAMPAGNE
Orléans
LUXEMBURG
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANCE
BURGUNDY
FRANCHE-COMTÉ
Lyons
AQUITAINE
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
ALPS
MILAN
SAVOY
STYRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
Rhone
DAUPHINY
Po
Venice
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
Danube
WALLACHIA
Ebro
NAVARRE
PROVENCE
GENOA
KINGDOM OF CASTILE AND LEON
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Toledo
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
Barcelona
Marseilles
FLORENCE
PAPAL STATES
Adriatic Sea
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Black Sea
MONTENEGRO
CORSICA
Rome
Durazzo
ALBANIA
Constantinople
Granada
GRANADA
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
Naples
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Mediterranean Sea
KARAMAN
Athens
SICILY
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
TUNIS
MALTA
CYPRUS
CRETE



Map 13.[illegible] The Black Death in Fourteenth-Century Europe Spreading out of southwestern China along the routes opened by Mongol expansion, the bubonic plague reached the Black Sea port of Kaffa in 1346. This map documents its deadly progress year by year from there into the Mediterranean and north and east across the face of Europe.

In time the cumulative effect of such crises might have reduced the population to a size that existing agricultural methods could more readily support. However, what actually eased population pressure was not famine but the Black Death. This terrible plague seems to have originated in India and then struck Mongol armies attacking the city of Kaffa on the Black Sea in 1346 (see Chapter 11). A year later Genoese traders in Kaffa carried the disease back to Italy and southern France. During the next two years the Black Death spread throughout western Europe, in some places carrying off two-thirds of the population. Overall the epidemic may have killed one of every three western Europeans by the time it subsided in 1351.

The plague's symptoms were ghastly to behold. Victims developed boils the size of eggs in their groins and armpits, black blotches on their skin, foul body odors, and severe pain. In most cases, death came within a few days. To prevent the plague from spreading, town officials closed their gates to people from infected areas and burned the victims' possessions. Such measures helped to spare some communities but could not halt the advance of the disease across Europe (see Map 13.2). It is now known that the Black Death was the bubonic plague, a disease that was spread not just from person to person but also by the bites of fleas that infested the fur of a certain black rat. But even if medieval Europeans had been aware of that route of infection, they could have done little to eliminate the rats, which thrived on urban refuse.

Although population gradually rebounded from the low point of 1351, recovery was slow and uneven because of periodic returns of plague. By 1400 Europe's population had regained only the levels of 1200. Not until after 1500 did it rise above its preplague levels. Meanwhile, China was recovering from its thirteenth-century losses (see Chapter 11).

Social Rebellion

In addition to its demographic and psychological effects, the Black Death set off social changes in western Europe. Skilled and manual laborers who survived demanded higher pay for their services. At first authorities tried to freeze wages at the old levels. Seeing such repressive measures as a plot by the rich, peasants rose up against wealthy nobles and churchmen. Authorities put down these rebellions but could not stave off the higher wages and other social changes the rebels demanded.

Serfdom practically disappeared in western Europe as peasants bought their freedom or ran away. Many free persons who got higher wages from the landowners saved their money and bought their own land in depopulated areas. Unable to afford hiring enough fieldworkers to farm their lands, many large English landowners turned to pasturing sheep for their wool or to raising less labor-intensive crops and made greater use of draft animals and labor-saving tools. Because the plague had not killed wild and domesticated animals, more meat was available for each survivor and more leather for shoes. Thus the welfare of the rural masses generally improved after the Black Death, though the gap between rich and poor remained wide.

In urban areas employers had to raise wages to attract workers to replace those killed by the plague. Merchant guilds (see below) found it necessary to reduce the period of apprenticeship. Competition within crafts also became more common. Although the overall economy shrank with the decline in population, per capita production actually rose.

Mills and Mines

Despite calamities and conflicts, the use of mechanical energy, mining, and metallurgy increased so much in the centuries before 1500 that some historians have spoken of an "industrial revolution" in medieval Europe. That may be too strong a term, but the landscape fairly bristled with mechanical devices. England's many rivers had some 5,600 functioning watermills in 1086. After the year 1200 such mills spread rapidly across the western European mainland. By the early fourteenth century, for example, entrepreneurs had crammed 68 watermills into a one-mile section of the Seine River in Paris.

Windmills also were common, especially in dry lands like Spain, where the flow of rivers was too irregular for efficient watermills, and in northern Europe, where the power of the wind could be tapped even in winter when ice made water wheels useless. Water wheels and windmills had long been common in the Islamic world, but the medieval Latin West used such devices to harness the power of nature on a much larger scale than in any other part of the world.[2]

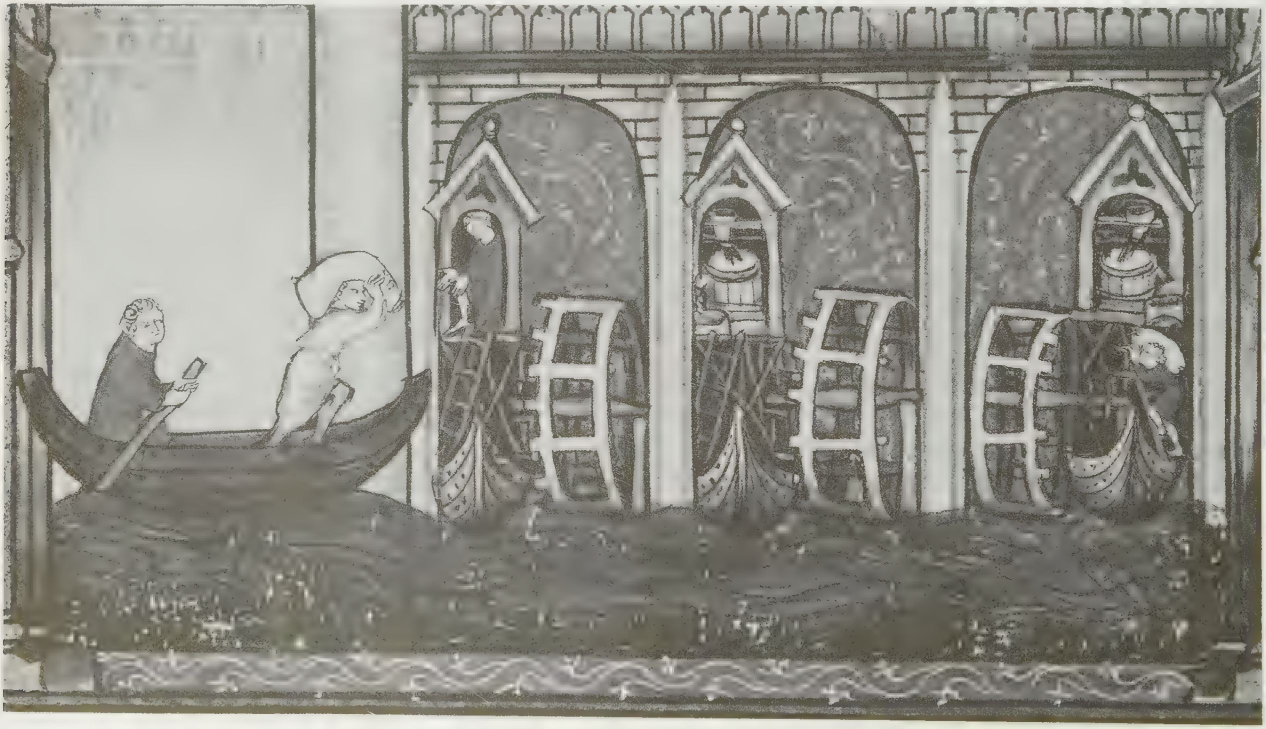
Water power also made possible such a great expansion of iron making that some historians say Europe's true Iron Age was in the later Middle Ages. Water powered the stamping mills that broke up the iron, the trip hammers that pounded it, and the bellows (first documented in 1323) that raised temperatures to the point where the iron became liquid enough to be poured into molds. Blast furnaces capable of producing high-quality iron are documented from 1380. The finished products included everything from armor to nails, from horseshoes to agricultural tools.

The rapid growth of industry produced significant changes in the Latin West's landscape. One of the most dramatic environmental changes was deforestation. Towns grew outward and new ones were founded, dams and canals changed the flow of rivers, and the countryside was marked by quarry pits and mines tunneled into hillsides. Pollution sometimes became a serious problem. Urban tanneries (factories that cured and processed leather) dumped large quantities of acidic wastewater back into streams, where it mixed with human waste and the runoff of slaughterhouses. The first recorded antipollution law was passed by the British Parliament in 1388, although enforcement was difficult.

URBAN REVIVAL

In the tenth century not a single town in the Latin West could compare in wealth and comfort—still less in size—with the cities in the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic caliphates. Yet by the later Middle Ages wealthy commercial centers stood all along the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the Atlantic, as well as on major rivers

Watermills on the Seine River in Paris Sacks of grain were brought to these mills under a bridge—the Grand Pont—to be ground into flour. These "undershot" water wheels were turned by the flow of the river beneath them. Gears translated the vertical motion of the wheels into the horizontal motion of the millstones. (Bibliothèque nationale de France)



draining into these bodies of water. The greatest cities in the East were still larger, but those in the West were undergoing greater commercial, cultural, and administrative changes.

Trading Cities

The revival of trade and manufacturing spurred most urban growth in the Latin West after 1200. The greatest part of the trade was between cities and their hinterlands, but long-distance trade also stimulated urban revival.

Two events in the thirteenth century strengthened Italian trade with the eastern Mediterranean. One was the Venetian-inspired assault in 1204 against the city of Constantinople, which dominated the passage between the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Misleadingly named the "Fourth Crusade," this assault by Latin Christians on Greek Christians had little to do with the religious differences between them and much to do with Venice's desire to gain better access to the rich trade of the East. By crippling Byzantine power, Venetians were able to seize the strategic island of Crete in the eastern Mediterranean and expand their trading colonies around the Black Sea. The other boon to Italian trade was the westward expansion of the Mongol Empire, which opened up trade routes from the Mediterranean to China (see Chapter 11).

After the disintegration of the Mongol Empire in the fourteenth century, Venetian merchants continued to purchase silks and spices brought by other middlemen to Constantinople, Beirut, and Alexandria. Three times a year galleys (ships powered by some sixty oarsmen each) sailed in convoys of two or three from Venice, bringing back some 2,000 tons of goods. Other merchants began to explore new overland or sea routes.

Venice was not the only Latin city whose trade expanded in the thirteenth century. The sea trade of Genoa on the west coast of northern Italy probably equaled that of Venice. And in northern Europe the Hanseatic League, an association of trading cities, conducted extensive trade in the Baltic, including the newly conquered coasts of Prussia, and as far east as Novgorod in Russia and westward across the North Sea to London. By the late thirteenth century, Genoese galleys from the Mediterranean and Hanseatic ships from the Baltic were converging on a third area, the trading and manufacturing cities in Flanders, whose Flemish textiles appealed to wealthy Europeans who formerly had imported their fine textiles from Asia.

Textile manufacturing spread beyond Flanders. To increase revenue, in the late thirteenth century the English monarchy raised taxes on the export of raw wool, making it more profitable to turn wool into cloth in England rather than in Flanders. Flemish textile specialists crossed the English Channel and introduced the spinning wheel and other devices to England.

The growing textile industry made extensive use of windmills and water wheels. Another application of mill power was in papermaking. Although papermaking had been common in China and the Muslim world for centuries, Westerners were the first to use machines to do the heavy work in its manufacture.

In the fifteenth century Venice surpassed its European rivals in the volume of its trade in the Mediterranean as well as across the Alps into Central Europe. Its skilled craftspeople also manufactured luxury goods once obtainable only from eastern sources. In the space of a few centuries western European cities used the eastern trade to increase their prosperity and then reduced their dependence on eastern goods.

Civic Life

Trading cities in Europe generally had more social mobility and religious diversity than rural places. Most northern Italian and German cities were independent states, sometimes controlling considerable land outside their gates. Cities in the larger European kingdoms commonly held special royal charters that exempted them from the authority of local nobles. Because of their autonomy, they were able to adapt to changing market conditions more quickly than were cities in China and the Islamic world, which were

Portrait of a bourgeois marriage, 1434 In this picture, the Flemish artist Jan van Eyck, one of the masters of the new Renaissance oil paints, recorded the marriage of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami, members of Italian merchant families living in the cities of what is now Belgium. Fifteenth-century Europeans understood that the dog symbolized fidelity and the mirror indicated purity. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees, The National Gallery, London)

controlled by imperial authorities. Social mobility was also more accessible in the Latin West because anyone who lived in a chartered city for over a year became free of all claims on his or her person. Thus cities became a refuge for all sorts of ambitious individuals, whose labor and talent added to their wealth.

Cities also were home to most of Europe's Jews. The largest Jewish population was in Spain, where earlier Arab rulers had made them welcome. Before their expulsion in 1492, Jews numbered 3 percent of Spain's population. Commercial cities elsewhere had small Jewish communities, but in the West only in Spain were Jews more than 1 percent of the population. City officials welcomed Jews for their manufacturing and business skills, especially as moneylenders, because Latin Christians generally considered the charging of interest (usury) sinful. Despite the official protection they received from some Christian princes and kings, Jews were subject to violent religious persecutions or expulsions. In all of the medieval West only the papal city of Rome left its Jews undisturbed throughout the centuries before 1500.

Within most towns and cities powerful guilds dominated civic life. A *guild* was an association of persons, such as silversmiths or merchants, who worked in a particular trade. Each guild regulated the business practices of its members and the prices they charged; guilds also trained apprentices and promoted members' interests with the city government. By denying membership to newcomers and all Jews, guilds perpetuated the interests of the families that already were members. Guilds also perpetuated male dominance of most skilled jobs. Nevertheless, despite serious restrictions, some women were able to join guilds either on their own or as the wives, widows, or daughters of male guild members. Large numbers of poor women also toiled in nonguild jobs in urban textile industries and in the food and beverage trades, generally receiving lower wages than their male counterparts.

For many women marriage offered social advancement. In *The Canterbury Tales* the English poet Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1340–1400) describes a woman from Bath, a city in southern England, who became wealthy by marrying a succession of old men for their money (and then two other husbands for love). She was also a skilled weaver, Chaucer says: "In making cloth she showed so great a bent, / She bettered those of Ypres and of Ghent."[3]

By the fifteenth century, the growth of commerce had given rise to a new class of wealthy merchant-bankers who operated on a vast scale and specialized in money changing, loans, and investments on behalf of other parties, great and small. These merchant-bankers handled the financial transactions of ecclesiastical officials and advanced large sums of money to the princes and kings of Europe to support their wars and lavish courts.

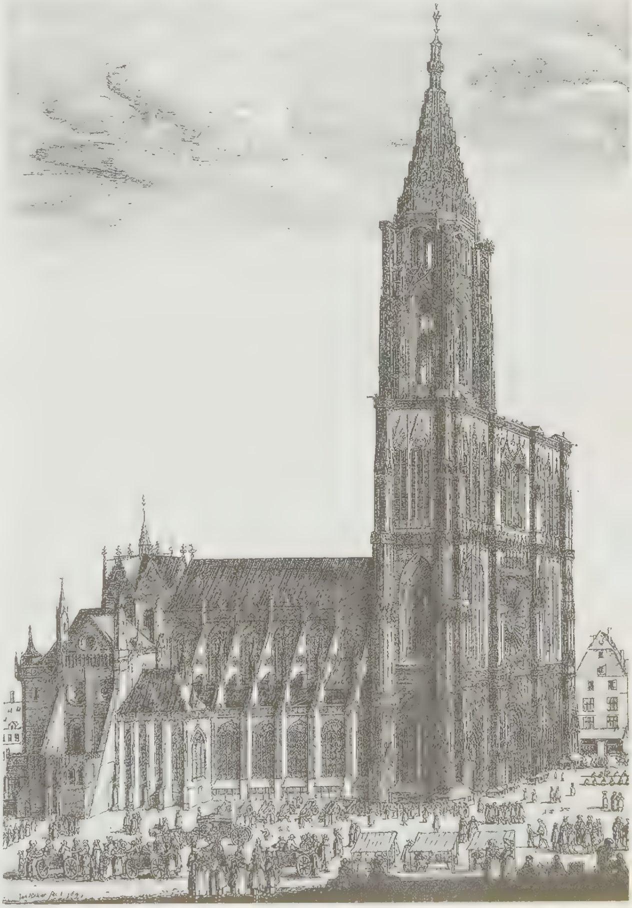
Gothic Cathedrals

Among the skilled people in greatest demand in the thriving cities of later medieval Europe were master builders and associated craftsmen. These craftsmen designed and erected buildings in a new style, later called *Gothic*. Cities competed with one another in the magnificence of their guild halls, town halls, and episcopal palaces, but especially in the size and beauty of their cathedrals—symbols of their religious faith.

One distinctive feature of the new cathedrals that made their appearance about 1140 in France was the pointed, or Gothic, arch, which replaced the older round, or Roman, arch. Another was their incredible height. The arches stood atop high, thin stone walls stabilized by external buttresses. This method of construction permitted the outside walls to be filled with giant windows depicting religious scenes in brilliantly colored stained glass. During the next four centuries, interior heights soared heavenward, towers went ever higher, and walls became dazzling curtains of stained glass. The cathedral spire in Strasbourg reached 466 feet (142 meters) into the air—the height of a 40-story building. The record heights achieved by such thirteenth-century structures were unsurpassed until the twentieth century.

For most residents of western European cities, however, the wonders of new cathedrals offered only a temporary distraction from the poverty and squalor of their lives. Even for the wealthy, European cities generally lacked the civic amenities, such as public baths and water supply systems, that had existed in the cities of Western antiquity and still survived in cities of the Islamic Middle East. Though thriving, the cities of the Latin West were still smaller than those of the eastern Mediterranean. On the eve of the Black Death, the largest, Venice, had nearly 200,000 inhabitants and Florence about half as many. In comparison, Constantinople may have had a million inhabitants and Cairo even more.

Strasbourg Cathedral Only one of the two spires originally planned for this Gothic cathedral was completed when work ceased in 1439. But the Strasbourg Cathedral was still the tallest masonry structure of medieval Europe. This engraving is from 1630. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



CULTURAL ADVANCES AND THE RENAISSANCE

European cities were centers of intellectual and artistic life. In part they rediscovered the cultural achievements of antiquity, and in some ways they surpassed them.

Throughout the Middle Ages people in the Latin West lived amid reminders of the achievements of the Roman Empire. They wrote and worshiped in its language, traveled its roads, and obeyed its laws. The vestments and robes of medieval popes, kings, and emperors were modeled on the regalia of Roman officials. Yet early medieval Europeans lost touch with much of the learning of classical antiquity. More vivid was the biblical world they heard about in the Hebrew and Christian scriptures.

In the fifteenth century some Italian authors announced the rediscovery of the intellectual and artistic values of classical antiquity, ending a millennium of medieval superstition and ignorance. The Italian Renaissance ("rebirth") and its northern European extension were a time of great intellectual and artistic achievement. Modern historians, however, see the "Renaissance" less as a sudden break with the medieval past than as the culmination of a process of cultural enrichment under way for several centuries. They also stress the important role of the Byzantine and Muslim worlds, where classical culture had never died out, in transmitting the learning of antiquity to the Latin West.

Universities

As the Latin West expanded southward, European scholars acquired from the Muslims and translated manuscripts of Greek and Arabic works. The manuscripts included previously unknown works of ancient philosophy by Plato and Aristotle, Greek treatises on medicine, mathematics, and geography, and scientific and philosophical writings by medieval Muslims. Intimately associated with the spread of these classical manuscripts was the rise of institutions of higher learning in the Latin West.

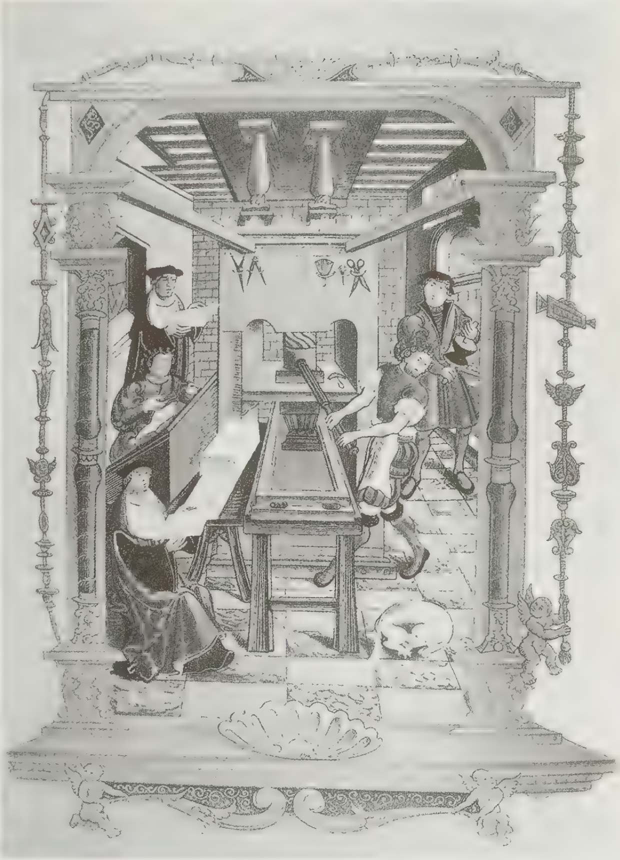
The independent colleges established in Paris and Oxford in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries may have been modeled after the madrasas, long known in the Islamic world (see Chapter 8). However, the Latin West was first to establish modern "universities," degree-granting corporations specializing in multidisciplinary research and advanced teaching. Universally recognized degrees, well-trained professors, and exciting new texts promoted the rapid spread of universities in late medieval Europe. Between 1300 and 1500 the twenty oldest universities in Italy, France, England, and Iberia were joined by some sixty others throughout the Latin West. Because university courses were taught in Latin, students and masters could move freely across political and linguistic lines, seeking out the university that offered the courses they wanted and that had the most interesting professors. Universities offered a variety of programs of study but generally were identified with a particular specialty. Bologna was famous for the study of law; Montpellier and Salerno specialized in medicine; Paris and Oxford were best known for theology.

Printing

The high-quality books and pamphlets printed in the Latin West from the middle of the fifteenth century onward were a significant advance on older Chinese printing techniques. The man who did most to perfect the process was Johann Gutenberg (ca. 1394–1468) of Mainz, a goldsmith by training, who used his metalworking skills to cast individual letters of uniform style and size. He also developed a mechanical printing press and devised an ink suitable for printing. The Gutenberg Bible of 1454 was not only the first book in the West printed from movable type but also an extremely beautiful and finely crafted work that bore witness to the printer's years of diligent experimentation.

Printing spread with extraordinary speed. Paris alone had 75 printing presses in 1500; Venice had twice that number. By that date at least 10 million books had issued forth from presses in 238 towns in western Europe. Many of these presses were privately owned and printed whatever would sell, not just literary and religious texts.

Printing encouraged the spread of literacy and fostered the standardization of European languages. It also increased the circulation of works voicing unorthodox political and religious views.



French printshop, 1537 A workman operates the "press," quite literally a screw device that presses the paper to the inked type. Other employees examine the printed sheets, each of which holds four pages. When folded, the sheets make a book. (Giraudon/Art Resource NY)

Renaissance Artists

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were as distinguished for their masterpieces of painting, sculpture, architecture, and literature as they were for their scholarship. Although artists continued to depict biblical subjects, the dissemination of classical knowledge led many artists especially in Italy to portray the deities and mythical tales of antiquity. Italy, where the Gothic style never put down very deep roots, also pioneered the revival of Roman architectural motifs, including rounded arches, domes, and columned entrances.

Artists of extraordinary talent abounded in this era. In Italy it was the age of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), whose works included the fresco (painting in wet plaster) *The Last Supper*, the oil painting *Mona Lisa*, and bronze sculptures, as well as imaginative designs for airplanes, submarines, and tanks. His younger contemporary Michelangelo (1472–1564) painted frescoes of biblical scenes on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, sculpted statues of David and Moses, and designed the dome for a new Saint Peter's Basilica. North of the Alps, the Flemish painter Jan van Eyck (ca. 1390–1441) created masterful realistic paintings on religious and domestic themes, and Hieronymus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516) produced complex allegorical fantasies.

The patronage of wealthy and educated merchants and prelates did much to foster an artistic blossoming in the cities of northern Italy and Flanders. The Florentine banker Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464), for example, spent immense sums on paintings, sculpture, and public buildings. His grandson Lorenzo (1449–1492), known as "the Magnificent," was even more lavish. The church remained an important source of artistic commissions. The papacy launched a building program to restore Rome as the capital of the Latin Church, culminating in the construction of the new Saint Peter's Basilica and a residence for the pope.

The achievements of Renaissance artists rested on new knowledge and new techniques. Better understanding of perspective enabled painters to depict scenes of greater reality and depth on flat surfaces. The Flemish invention of oil paints in the fifteenth century provided a medium that was easier to work in than the fast-drying frescoes, and the linseed-oil base of oil paints gave scenes an enduring luster. Da Vinci's ability to cast large statues in bronze owed much to techniques perfected in the casting of cannon.

THE RISE OF NEW MONARCHIES

Consolidation and expansion of royal power paralleled the economic and cultural revivals under way in western Europe. The emergence of these new monarchies was due to three closely related transformations: monarchs' success in struggles with their vassals, the development of new weapons of war, and rulers' closer relationship with commercial elites and with the church. The process unfolded somewhat differently in each state (see Map 13.1). In France and England, the events of the Hundred Years War played a critical role. In the Iberian kingdoms that became Spain and Portugal, the process depended heavily on territorial expansion against Muslim states.

Dynastic Conflict

In some of the Italian and Flemish city-states merchant elites displaced older ruling classes after 1200, but in most of the Latin West feudal aristocrats retained their political and economic power. Noble families controlled vast estates—even entire provinces—because of royal grants to their ancestors as rewards for loyal service and battlefield bravery. In theory the nobles were vassals of the reigning monarchs and were obliged to furnish knights for royal service whenever the monarch called on them to do so. In practice the nobles sought to protect their traditional rights and increase their independence. Monarchs, in turn, fought hard to increase their political power at the expense of the feudal nobility.

By 1500 the rulers of England, France, Spain, and Portugal had gained the upper hand in this struggle. Nevertheless, royal power was not absolute. In a span of just three years the ambitions of England's King John (r. 1199–1216) received a severe setback, and he was forced to sign Magna Carta (1215). The "Great Charter" affirmed that the English monarch was subject to established law, confirmed the independence of the church and the city of London, and guaranteed the hereditary rights of English nobles. But in France, kings' efforts to extend royal authority led to the Hundred Years War (1337–1453), in which their vassals (including the kings of England) struggled unsuccessfully to retain their traditional rights.

New technologies of war and the growing economy favored the strengthening of central authority and helped turn family dynasties into national monarchies.

New Weapons of War

Royal power swelled as royal dependence on feudal cavalry declined. The basis of the privileged economic and social position of the feudal nobility was the large estates that their ancestors had received as fiefs so that they could support and train knights in armor to serve in a royal army. In the year 1200 feudal knights were still the backbone of western European fighting forces, but by 1500 knights in armor were relics of the past. Two changes in weaponry made them obsolete.

Improved crossbows could shoot metal-tipped arrows with such force that they could pierce helmets and light body armor. Professional crossbowmen became more common and much feared. Another late medieval innovation in archery was the English longbow. It allowed archers to shoot farther and more rapidly than the crossbow. Arrows shot from longbows could not pierce armor, but in concentrated showers they found gaps in the knights' defenses or struck their less-well-protected horses. To defend against these weapons, body armor became so heavy and encompassing that it was hard for a knight to move and defend himself if he was knocked off his horse.

The second change in military technology that weakened the feudal nobility was the Central Asian invention of gunpowder and the construction of metal gun barrels from which to shoot stone or metal projectiles (see Environment and Technology: Explosive Power, in Chapter 11). In the mid-fourteenth century, as the Italian writer Francesco Petrarch noted, "instruments which discharge balls of metal with most tremendous noise and flashes of fire [had] become as common and familiar as any other kind of arms."[4] On the battlefield, smoke and fire from cannon may have been more useful in frightening the horses of advancing knights than the modest number of cannonballs were in causing damage. But large cannon, which could blast holes through the heavy walls of medieval castles, ended the ability of the feudal nobles to withstand a royal siege (see Environment and Technology: Cannon). Eventually, smaller, more mobile cannon that could be fired more rapidly were developed. Made with greater precision and loaded with an improved gunpowder, these smaller weapons were nearly as powerful as the earlier behemoths. With only slight changes they formed the basis of field artillery until the 1840s. Also, by the late fifteenth century, projectiles shot from muskets could pierce even the heaviest armor, and the noise and smoke that muskets produced spooked the horses.

As a consequence of these changes in military hardware, armies depended less and less on knights and more on bowmen, pikemen (foot soldiers armed with hooked poles), and musketeers, along with specialized artillery units. Monarchs, tapping the royal treasury, had the means to pay for these new armed forces; the feudal nobility did not.

Controlling the Purse and the Church

Rulers were not slow to extract new revenue from the expansion of trade. Many of them taxed goods entering or leaving their realms. Some Christian princes and kings who gave Jewish merchants their protection taxed them heavily for the privilege. In addition, merchant towns were willing to make generous contributions to monarchs who freed them from the demands made by local nobles, individual merchants curried royal favor with loans even though such debts could be difficult or dangerous to collect, and nobles were willing to convert their feudal obligations to monarchs into money payments and to pay taxes to finance wars they supported.

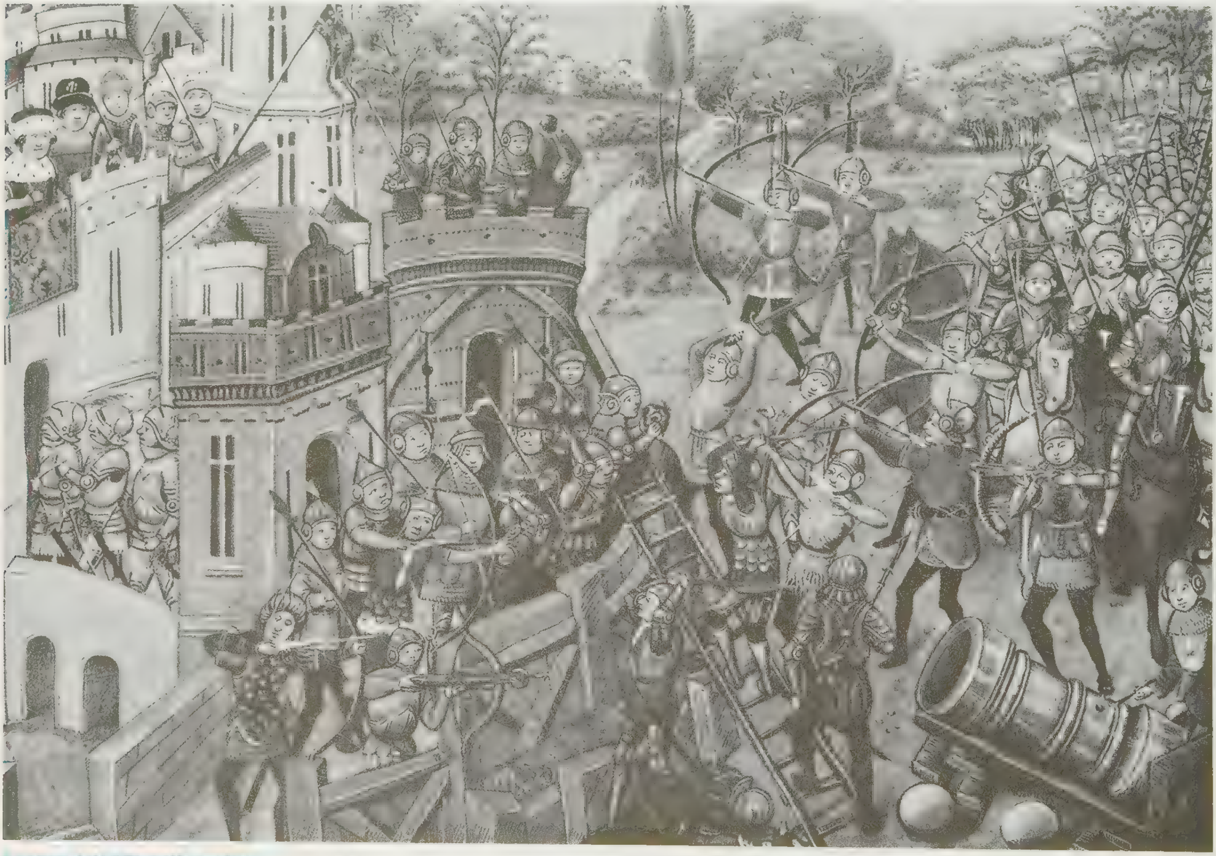
Royal efforts to gain access to the wealth of the church met with greater resistance. When the kings of England and France tried to impose taxes on the clergy during the Hundred Years War, they set off major conflicts over the independence of the church from state control. But by the war's end, French and English rulers controlled all high ecclesiastical appointments within their realms and could use the wealth flowing from such offices to reward their supporters. Rulers in other states secured similar control over the church appointments and finances in their territories. In so doing, the monarchs were not abandoning the church. Indeed, they often used state power to enforce religious orthodoxy in their realms more vigorously than even the popes were able to do. But, as reformers

ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

Cannon

With some modifications, Europeans transferred to the casting of cannon the techniques and materials they had long used in the casting of bronze church bells, and in the quality and quantity of cannon they produced, they quickly surpassed all others. Until the mid-fifteenth century, cannon tended to grow larger and larger. The weapons that the Turks used to destroy the walls of Constantinople were up to 15 feet (4.5 meters) long and so heavy that the German and Hungarian craftsmen who made them had to cast them on the spot. After firing stone projectiles 30 inches (76 centimeters) or more in diameter, such giants had to cool for hours before they could be fired again.

This illustration from the late fifteenth century depicts a large cannon being readied for use in blasting through a wooden rampart. As the scene shows, the cannon is not the center of the siege strategy. It supplements the use of older forms of assault. Some of the attackers are attempting to scale the wall on a ladder. Notice that none of the soldiers carries a firearm. Most are armed with bows and arrows; a couple have crossbows.



Cannon, late fifteenth century (British Library) complained, political and economic concerns sometimes overshadowed the church's spiritual mission.

As a result of these complex dealings, by the end of the fifteenth century England and France stood unified under strong kings, and in those two kingdoms the nobility and the church had lost much of their independence. In future centuries nobles rebelled many times when the monarchs were weak or unpopular, but the trend toward centralized rule was never seriously deflected.

Iberian Unification

The growth of Spain and Portugal into strong, centralized states was also shaped by struggles between kings and vassals, dynastic conflict, and warfare. But their story also was affected by the desire to expand the boundaries of Latin Christianity. Religious motives featured prominently in the wars to reclaim from the Muslims the lands of southern Iberia.

This religious zeal did not rule out personal gain. The Christian Iberian knights who gradually pushed the borders of their kingdoms southward knew that to the victors would go the spoils. Serving God, growing rich, and living off the labor of others became their way of life.

The reconquest advanced in waves over several centuries; there were long pauses to consolidate the conquered territory and unify the Christian kingdoms. The conquest of Grenada in 1492 secured the last piece of Muslim territory in Iberia. The crusading mentality of the conquerors was obvious in the order they issued less than three months after Grenada's fall: all Jews were expelled from the Spanish kingdoms. That year also was memorable because of the Spanish monarchs' sponsorship of a voyage of exploration from Seville led by Christopher Columbus. The objective was to reach the riches of the Indian Ocean, but the eventual outcome was the extension of Spain's crusading system across the Atlantic (see Chapter 14).

CONCLUSION

From an ecological perspective, the later medieval history of the Latin West is a story of triumphs and disasters. Westerners harnessed the forces of nature with their windmills, water wheels, and sails, and they excelled at finding, mining, and refining mineral wealth. Among the results of their efforts were localized pollution and deforestation, and their inability to improve food production and distribution as rapidly as their population grew created a demographic crisis that became a calamity in the mid-fourteenth century when the bubonic plague swept through Europe.

From a regional perspective, the centuries from 1200 to 1500 witnessed the coming together of the basic features of the modern West. States were of moderate size but had exceptional military capacity honed by frequent wars with one another. The ruling class, convinced that economic strength and political strength were inseparable, promoted the welfare of the urban populations specializing in trade, manufacturing, and finance—and taxed their profits. Autonomous universities fostered intellectual excellence, and printing diffused the latest advances in knowledge. Art and architecture reached peaks of design and execution that set the standard for subsequent centuries. Perhaps most fundamentally, later medieval western Europe was a society fascinated by tools and techniques. In commerce, warfare, industry, and navigation, new inventions and improved versions of old ones fueled the region's dynamism.

From a global perspective, the Latin West in these centuries changed from being a region dependent on cultural and commercial flows from the East to become a region poised to export its culture and impose its power on the rest of the world. It is one of history's great ironies that many of the tools that the Latin West used to challenge Eastern supremacy originated in the East. Medieval Europe's mills, printing, and firearms owed much to Eastern designs, as had its agriculture, alphabet, and numerals in earlier times.

The story of western European expansion overseas is told in the next chapter. Its success depended as much on strong motives for expansion as on adequate means. Long before the first voyages overseas, population pressure, religious zeal, economic motives, and intellectual curiosity had expanded the territory and resources of the Latin West. The early voyages into the Atlantic were an extension of these motives in a new direction.

SUGGESTED READING

A fine guide to the Latin West (including its ties to eastern Europe, Africa, and the Middle East) is Robert Fossier, ed., *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Middle Ages*, vol. 3, *1250–1520* (1986). Fernand Braudel provides wide-ranging global perspectives from 1400 onward in his *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, 3 vols. (1982). Students will find fascinating primary sources in James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin, eds., *The Portable Medieval Reader* (1977) and *The Portable Renaissance Reader* (1977).

Technological change is surveyed by Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns, Sails, and Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion, 1400–1700* (1965); Jean Gimpel, *The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages* (1977); and William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society Since A.D. 1000* (1982).

Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924), is the classic account of the "mind" of the fifteenth century. For social history see Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West* (1990), for the earlier centuries. George Huppert, *After the Black Death: A Social History of Early Modern Europe* (1986), takes the analysis past 1500. Brief lives of individuals are found in Eileen Power, *Medieval People* (1924), and Frances Gies and Joseph Gies, *Women in the Middle Ages* (1978).

Key events in the Anglo-French dynastic conflict are examined by Christopher Alland, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, ca. 1300–ca. 1450* (1988). Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975), provides the best one-volume coverage; for more detail see Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 2 vols. (1976, 1978).

Francis C. Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (1985), is a reliable summary of modern scholarship. Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (1992), provides a fine survey through the fourteenth century.

NOTES

1. Quoted in *The Portable Renaissance Reader*, ed. James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin (New York: Penguin Books, 1968), 75, 78.
2. George Basalla, *The Evolution of Technology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 144.
3. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, trans. Nevill Coghill (New York: Penguin Books, 1952), 29.
4. Quoted in Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns, Sails, & Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion, 1400–1700* (New York: Minerva Press, 1965), 22.

PART FIVE

The Globe Encompassed, 1500–1800

New sea routes pioneered by the Iberian kingdoms of Portugal and Spain brought the cultural regions of the world into more frequent and more intense contact between 1500 and 1750. The early effects of these commercial, cultural, and biological exchanges varied widely from place to place, but the long-term global consequences were significant.

Europeans were the greatest beneficiaries. Western European governments promoted far-flung trade and overseas colonization. Profits from these ventures enriched the growing middle class and stimulated European manufacturing. Crops from the Americas and improved farming efficiency increased Europe's food supply.

For the indigenous peoples of the Americas the consequences of Iberian expansion were tragic. Violent conquest, forced conversion to Christianity, and severe population losses weakened traditional cultures and undermined or toppled native elites. Abusive labor demands and epidemic disease eliminated nearly the entire indigenous population of the West Indies within thirty years of these new contacts.

In Asia the Ottoman Empire continued to advance through the Balkans before being stopped in 1529 by a coalition of European states. Ottoman fleets dominated the eastern Mediterranean until defeated in 1571 in the largest sea battle of the sixteenth century. The disunity of India was ended about 1530 by the formation of the Mughal Empire, whose policies of toleration reduced conflicts between Muslims and Hindus. New Muslim empires emerged in Iran and in West Africa. By the early eighteenth century, however, all of these states either had disappeared or were in decline.

In China the Qing Empire laid the groundwork for Chinese military expansion, population growth, and internal security. In Japan, the establishment of a strong national government known as the Tokugawa shogunate ended feudal decentralization.

Far more important globally than those political events were the economic changes taking place. The capture of the Indian Ocean trade routes in the early sixteenth century gave tiny Portugal control of the world's most important maritime trading network. In the Americas, new mechanisms of production and exchange introduced by Spain and Portugal created an Atlantic trade based on exports of precious metals, sugar, and dyewood. From its colonial base in Mexico, Spain pioneered new trade routes across the Pacific to the Philippines and China. In the seventeenth century the Dutch pushed the Portuguese aside in the Indian Ocean, established a new commercial and colonial base in the East Indies, and challenged Iberian dominance in the

Americas. Particularly important was the Dutch transplanting from Brazil to the West Indies of a sugar plantation system based on slave labor.

The English and French joined the Dutch in establishing new colonies in the Caribbean and North America and bringing large numbers of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic to provide labor for the plantation colonies. The slave trade's destructive effects in Africa grew with its volume, yet Africa escaped European conquest. In fact, important new African states made their appearance during this period.

The new trading and territorial empires promoted cultural exchanges among the regions of the world. Efforts by Europeans to spread Christianity met with mixed results. Both China and Japan took measures to suppress the disruptive influence of Christian converts, and early Portuguese missionary efforts in Africa were not sustained. Evangelical efforts had more lasting effects in the Americas, where military conquest and demographic decline made the surviving native peoples more receptive to conversion. Other elements of European culture, such as food, clothing, housing, and language, gained a central place in evolving American colonial cultures. Religious practices, languages, and other elements of culture introduced by African slaves also had lasting influence.

Important cultural changes also were occurring within long-established regions. The expansion of educational institutions in China reinforced traditional values among the upper classes. The development of an indigenous merchant class in Japan widened the gap between popular and elite cultures. Europe experienced especially far-reaching cultural changes. Religious, social, and political conflicts threatened the

Technology

European ships expand global maritime trade
Gunpowder empires in Europe and Middle East
Increased metal production in Europe, the Americas, Africa, and East Asia
Printed works spread in Europe
Early agricultural revolution in Europe

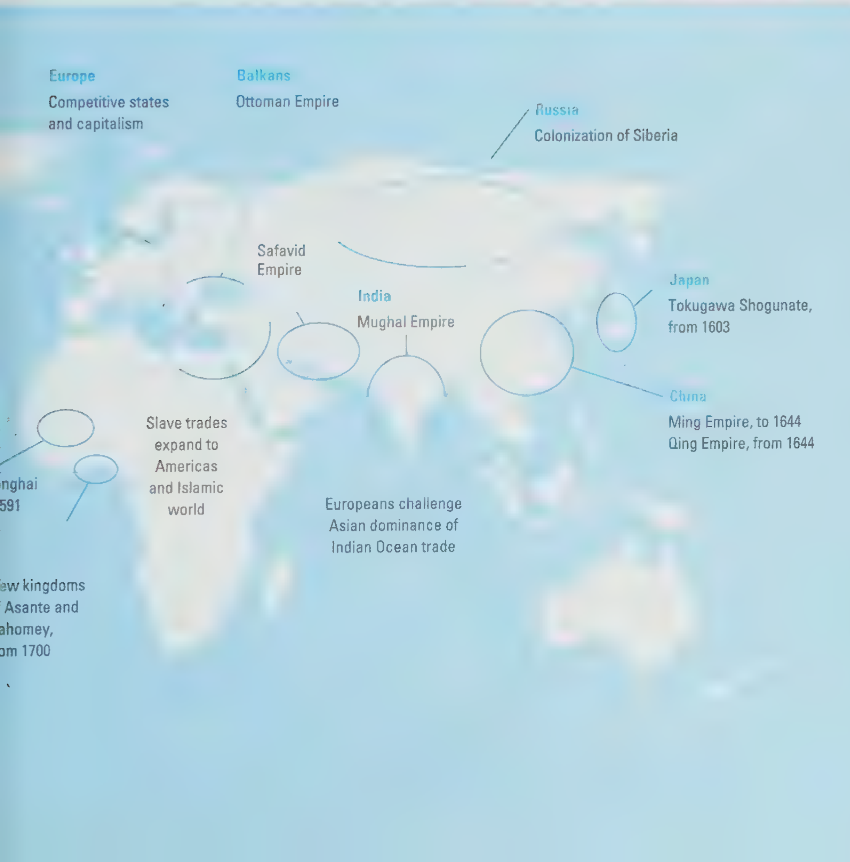
Environment

Cold weather in seventeenth century causes food shortages in northern Europe and northeast Asia
Rising human population deforests China, India, Europe, and West Indies
Food crops spread from Americas to Eurasia and Africa
Old World diseases, livestock, and plants introduced to Americas
Drastic fall in Amerindian population due to new diseases

Americas
Dutch, French, and English colonies
Caribbean
Slave plantations
New Atla
econor
New trade routes across the Pacific Ocean from the Americas to the Phillipines and China
Americas
Spanish and Portuguese colonies

established institutions of church and state, while new scientific discoveries and humanist concerns challenged traditional values and beliefs.

Areas where population and economic activity were rising also experienced important ecological changes. Deforestation occurred in Japan and China and in areas in the Americas that were cleared for agriculture and timber. In Europe the growth of shipbuilding and mining also caused deforestation. The spread of new plants and animals from one continent to another altered traditional forms of labor and land use. But the most significant environmental change was the transformation of the oceans from barriers into highways as growing numbers of mariners acquired the knowledge and skill to sail across the oceans and even around the world.



Society and Culture

Increased cultural interaction around the world

Missionaries spread Christianity in Americas, Africa, and Asia

Islam expands in Africa and South and Southeast Asia

First Dalai Lama of Tibetan Buddhism named in late 1500s

Sikh religion founded in Punjab

Muslims and Jews persecuted in Iberia

Protestant Reformation in Europe

Forced labor and slavery expand in the Americas

Scientific revolution in Europe

Literary flowering in late Ming China

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Global Expansion and Encounters, to 1550

European Expansion, 1450–1550

Encounters with Europe, 1450–1550

In 1511 the young Ferdinand Magellan sailed from Europe around the southern tip of Africa and eastward across the Indian Ocean as a member of the first Portuguese expedition to explore the East Indies (maritime Southeast Asia). Eight years later, this time in the service of Spain, he headed an expedition that sought to demonstrate the feasibility of reaching the East Indies by sailing westward from Europe. By the middle of 1521 Magellan's expedition had achieved its goal by sailing across the Atlantic, rounding the southern tip of South America, and traversing the Pacific Ocean—but at a high price.

One of the five ships that set out from Spain in 1519 had been wrecked on a reef, and the captain of another had deserted and sailed back to Spain. Because the passage across the vast Pacific took much longer than anticipated, dozens of sailors died from starvation and disease. Magellan himself was killed in the Philippines on April 27, 1521, while aiding a local king who had promised to become a Christian. A few days later, Magellan's successor met the same fate. To consolidate their dwindling resources, the expedition's survivors burned the least seaworthy of their remaining three ships and transferred its men and supplies to the *Victoria*, which continued westward across the Indian Ocean, around Africa, and back to Europe. Magellan's flagship, the *Trinidad*, in no condition to continue, turned back across the Pacific, intending to reach the new Spanish colony in Panama in Central America. But after many weeks, with the health of the crew deteriorating, its officers gave up their search for westerly winds to power them back to South America and returned to the East Indies.

The *Victoria*'s return to Spain on September 8, 1522, was a crowning example of Europeans' new ability and determination to make themselves masters of the oceans. A century of daring and dangerous voyages backed by the Portuguese crown had opened new routes through the South Atlantic to coastal Africa and to the rich trade of the Indian Ocean. Rival voyages sponsored by Spain beginning in 1492 had revealed the existence of the American continents across the Atlantic. Now the unexpectedly gigantic Pacific Ocean had been crossed as well.

The *Trinidad*'s unsuccessful effort to reach Panama also teaches an important historical lesson. Not until 1565 did Europeans discover a route whose winds would carry a ship across the Pacific from west to east. For many centuries before 1450, historical influences in Eurasia tended, like the Pacific winds, to move from east to west. Most overland and maritime expansion had come from Asia, as had the most useful technologies and the most influential systems of belief. Asia was also home to the most powerful states and the richest trading networks. It was to reach such Eastern markets that Europeans set out on their voyages of exploration. These voyages, however, opened an era in which the West gradually became the world's center of power, wealth, and innovation.

Another theme can also be teased out of Magellan's death fighting in alliance with one Philippine chief against another. The conquest of the oceans led to many new contacts, alliances, and conflicts. Some ended tragically for individuals like Magellan; some were disastrous for entire populations, such as the Amerindians who endured conquest and suffered a rapid decline in numbers. Other contacts led to beneficial exchanges of goods, plants, animals, and ideas. In the long run Europeans' dominance gradually became global, but their first contacts with other parts of the world between 1450 and 1550 had a variety of outcomes. In the Americas Spain established a new territorial empire. In Asia and

Africa, despite Portugal's new trading empire in the Indian Ocean, rulers established mutually beneficial relations with the visitors from Europe.

EUROPEAN EXPANSION, 1450–1550

Chapter 11 describes earlier global movements by the Mongols and China's Ming dynasty between 1200 and 1450. Expansion by land and sea was under way in many other parts of the world before the fifteenth century. The sea voyages by Europeans from 1450 to 1550 merit special attention because, by creating new and closer ties among different regions of the world, they altered the course of world history. Expeditions like Magellan's marked the end of isolation and the acceleration of interaction. By dominating the maritime routes of interaction, Europeans' influence in world affairs rose steadily in the centuries after 1500.

Two related phenomena account for European overseas expansion up to 1550. First, Europeans had strong economic, religious, and political motives to expand their contacts and extend their dominance. Second, improvements in their maritime and military technologies gave them the means to master treacherous and unfamiliar ocean environments, seize control of existing maritime trade routes, and conquer new lands.

European Motives and Methods

In many ways overseas expansion was a continuation of the commercial, religious, and political expansion that had been under way in the Latin West for several centuries. Since the year 1000 manufacturing and trading cities had been gaining size and wealth along Europe's Mediterranean, Atlantic, and Baltic coasts, and along overland trade routes from northern Italy to the Netherlands. Western Europe's strengthening domestic economy first sparked this commercial revival, but by 1300 imports of Asian silks, spices, and cotton from the Indian Ocean were becoming increasingly important.

Commercial goals and religious motives sometimes worked together; sometimes they were in conflict. Between 1096 and 1270 the first of the Crusades against the Muslim-controlled eastern Mediterranean had put parts of the biblical Holy Land under Latin Christian control and made Europeans more aware of the luxuries of the East. Later Crusades combined religious motives with actions to improve Latin Christians' competitive advantage in trade with the East.

After the decline of the Mongol Empire disrupted the Silk Road across central Eurasia in the fourteenth century, European connections across the Muslim Middle East to the sea routes of the Indian Ocean assumed greater prominence. When the expansion of the Ottoman Empire disrupted these links, Latin Christians launched new anti-Muslim Crusades in 1396 and 1444 but failed to halt Turkish advances. When the Turks captured Constantinople in 1453, the pope urged Europeans to stop fighting among themselves and form a united front. But, as the Pope feared, Christian rulers chose neither to set aside their political rivalries nor to reconcile their conflicting commercial and religious interests. The trading states of Venice and Genoa even made alliances with the Ottomans to protect their merchants' privileged access to the lucrative trade from the East. The king of France later sided with the Turks to prevent his Austrian Hapsburg rivals from achieving too much success in uniting Europe.

The Crusades to the Holy Land had a counterpart in the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, parts of which had been under Muslim rule since the seventh century. By about 1250 the Iberian kingdoms of Portugal, Castile, and Aragon had retaken all the Muslim lands on the peninsula except the southern kingdom of Granada. United by a dynastic marriage in 1469, Castile and Aragon conquered Granada in 1492. These territories were gradually amalgamated into Spain, sixteenth-century Europe's most powerful state.

The Europeans' near constant fighting among themselves and with Muslim neighbors promoted the development of new military technology. In the course of the Hundred Years War (1337–1453) in France, medieval knights in armor were displaced by foot soldiers equipped with powerful crossbows and longbows and later by men using field cannon and hand-held muskets (see Chapter 13).

To pay for large and expensive standing armies, European monarchs promoted trade at home as well as overseas. In small trading states in many parts of the world, the ruling and commercial classes worked in close harmony, but the alliances that developed between the larger western European states and their merchants were something new. These mutually beneficial arrangements stood in sharp contrast to the practice common in China, the Mughal Empire, and the Ottoman Empire of taxing merchants heavily without regard to their long-term interests.

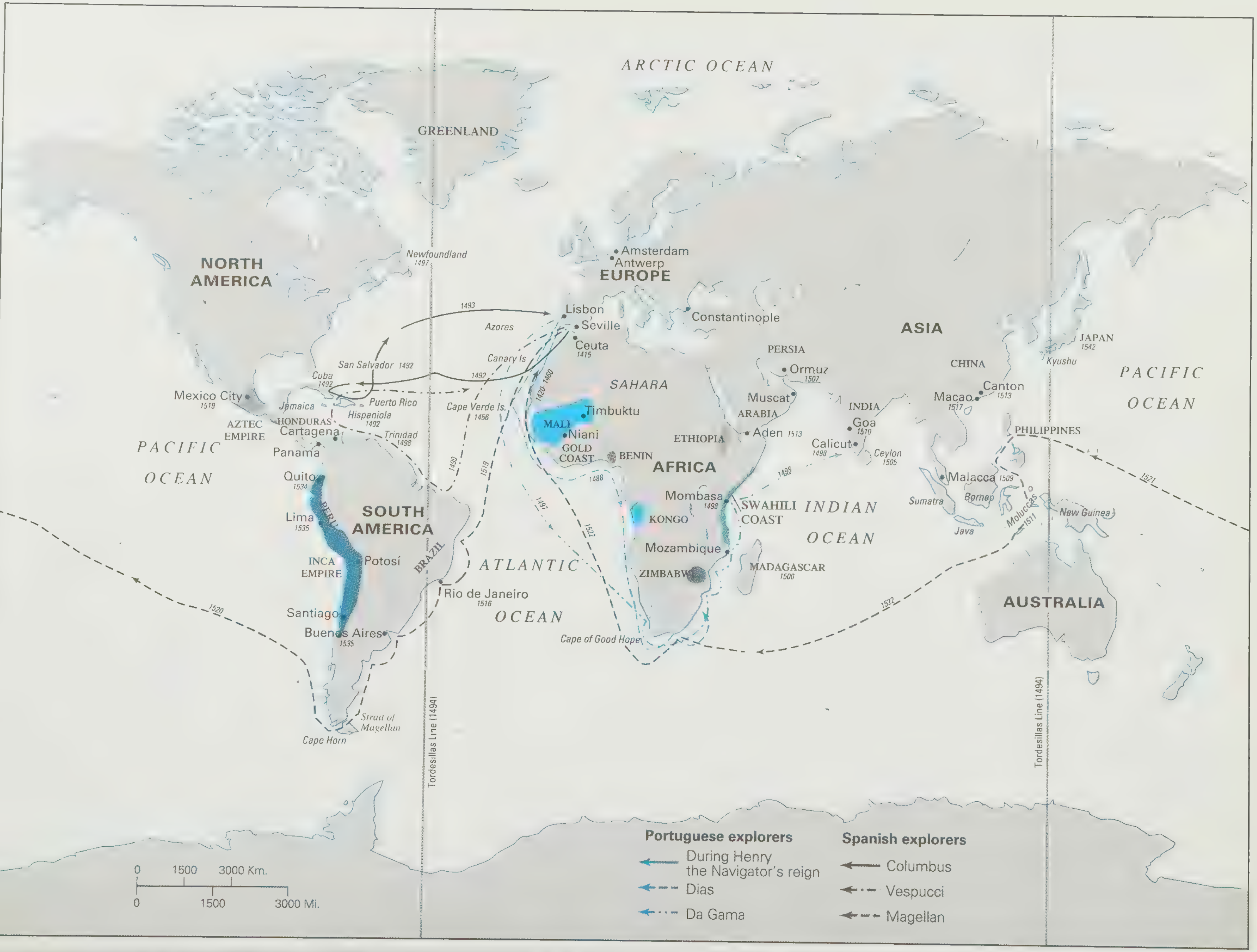
These commercial, religious, and military dynamics affected most of western Europe, but the first phase of western expansion was dominated by Spain and Portugal. The long Crusades to reclaim land from the Muslims left the Iberian kingdoms with strong religious and economic motives for challenging Muslim control of the Indian Ocean trade. Moreover, situated on the Iberian Peninsula between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, and having only a modest share of the Mediterranean trade, Portugal and Spain had much to gain by finding new routes through the Atlantic to the rich trade of the East. Those routes would bypass the ones dominated by the merchant states of northern Italy (see Map 14.1). Also, both Spain and Portugal were blessed with exceptional leaders.

Portuguese Voyages

In the eleventh century, Vikings from Scandinavia made successful voyages in their "long ships" across the North Atlantic and established settlements in Greenland and parts of coastal North America. In 1291 two Vivaldo brothers from Genoa set out to sail through the South Atlantic and around Africa to India, never to be heard of again. In the course of the fourteenth century small Portuguese and Genoese expeditions discovered the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Azores, and the Canaries. Fifteenth-century Iberian voyagers were building on these earlier efforts to explore the Atlantic.

Portugal's decision to invest significant resources in new exploration rested on well-established Atlantic fishing and the history of anti-Muslim warfare. When the Muslim government of Morocco in northwestern Africa showed weakness in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese went on the attack, beginning with the city of Ceuta in 1415. This assault combined aspects of a religious crusade, a plundering expedition, and a military tournament in which young Portuguese knights might display their bravery. The capture of this rich city, whose splendid homes, they reported, made those of Portugal look like pigsties, also made the Portuguese better informed about the caravans that brought gold to Ceuta from the African states south of the Sahara. Despite the capture of several more ports along Morocco's Atlantic coast, the Portuguese were unable to push inland and gain access to the gold trade. So they sought more direct contact with the gold producers by sailing down the African coast.

The attack on Ceuta was led by the young Prince Henry (1394–1460), third son of the king of Portugal. Prince Henry devoted the rest of his life to promoting exploration of the South Atlantic. He is celebrated as "the Navigator" because of his sponsorship of new explorations in the Atlantic (though he never ventured much farther from home than Ceuta). His staff collected existing knowledge about the lands beyond Muslim North Africa. They drew on the pioneering efforts of Italian merchants, especially the Genoese, who had learned some of the secrets of the trans-Saharan trade, and of fourteenth-century Jewish cartographers who used information from Arab and European sources to produce remarkably accurate sea charts and maps of distant places. Henry also oversaw the collection of


ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
NORTH AMERICA
Newfoundland 1497
Amsterdam
Antwerp
EUROPE
1493
Lisbon
Seville
Azores
Constantinople
Ceuta 1415
San Salvador 1492
Canary Is
1492
Cuba 1492
Mexico City 1519
Jamaica
Puerto Rico
Hispaniola 1492
AZTEC EMPIRE
HONDURAS
Cartagena
Trinidad 1498
Cape Verde Is. 1456
1420-1460
SAHARA
Timbuktu
MALI
Niani
GOLD COAST
BENIN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Panama
Quito 1534
PERU
Lima 1535
SOUTH AMERICA
INCA EMPIRE
Potosí
BRAZIL
1499
1519
1497
1488
1522
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Rio de Janeiro 1516
Santiago
Buenos Aires 1535
1520
Strait of Magellan
Cape Horn
Cape of Good Hope
Tordesillas Line (1494)
PERSIA
Ormuz 1507
Muscat
ARABIA
Aden 1513
ETHIOPIA
AFRICA
Mombasa 1498
SWAHILI COAST
KONGO
Mozambique
ZIMBABWE
MADAGASCAR 1500
1498
INDIA
Goa 1510
Calicut 1498
Ceylon 1505
INDIAN OCEAN
ASIA
CHINA
Macao 1517
Canton 1513
JAPAN 1542
Kyushu
PACIFIC OCEAN
PHILIPPINES
1521
Malacca 1509
Sumatra
Borneo
Java
Moluccas 1511
New Guinea
AUSTRALIA
Tordesillas Line (1494)
0 1500 3000 Km.
0 1500 3000 Mi.
Portuguese explorers
During Henry the Navigator's reign
Dias
Da Gama
Spanish explorers
Columbus
Vespucci
Magellan

new geographical information from sailors and travelers and sent out ships to explore the Atlantic. His ships established permanent contact with the islands of Madeira in 1418 and the Azores in 1439.

Henry also devoted his resources to solving the problems faced by mariners of sailing in unknown waters and open seas. His staff studied and improved navigational instruments that had come into Europe from China and the Islamic world, such as the magnetic compass and the astrolabe. Even with such instruments, however, voyages still depended most on the skill and experience of the navigators.

Another Portuguese achievement was the design of vessels appropriate for the voyages of exploration. The galleys in use in the Mediterranean were powered by oarsmen and were impractical for long ocean voyages. The square sails of the three-masted European ships of the Atlantic were propelled by friendly winds but could not sail at much of an angle against the wind. The voyages of exploration made use of a new vessel, the *caravel*. Caravels were small, only a fifth as big as the largest European ships of their day and the large Chinese junks. Their size permitted them to enter shallow coastal waters and explore upriver, but they were strong enough to weather ocean storms. When equipped with triangular lateen sails, caravels had great maneuverability; when sporting square Atlantic sails, they had great speed. The addition of small cannon made them super fighting ships as well. The caravels' economy, speed, agility, and power justified a contemporary's claim that they were "the best ships that sailed the seas."[1]

Map 14.1 European Exploration, 1420–1542 Portuguese and Spanish explorers showed the possibility and practicality of intercontinental maritime trade. Before 1450, European trade with Africa and Asia was much more important than trade with the Americas, but with the Spanish conquest of the Aztec and Inca Empires the transatlantic trade began to rise. Notice the Tordesillas line, which in theory separated the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of activity.

Besides conquering the seas, pioneering captains also had to overcome crews' fears that the South Atlantic waters were boiling hot or contained ocean currents that would prevent any ship entering them from ever returning home. It took Prince Henry fourteen years—from 1420 to 1434—to coax an expedition to venture beyond southern Morocco. The crews' fears proved unfounded, but the next stretch of coast, 800 miles (1,300 kilometers) of desert, offered little of interest to the explorers. Finally in 1444 the mariners reached the well-watered and populated lands below the Sahara beginning at a place they named "Cape Verde" (the Green Cape) because of its vegetation. By the time of Henry's death in 1460, his explorers had established a secure base of operations in the uninhabited Cape Verde Islands, and explored 600 miles (950 kilometers) of coast beyond Cape Verde, as far as what they named "Sierra Leone" (Lion Mountain). From there they knew the coast of Africa curved sharply toward the east (see Map 14.1).

To pay for the research, the ships, and the expeditions during the many decades before the voyages became profitable, Prince Henry drew on the income of the Order of Christ, a Catholic religious society of which he was the governor. In return, the Order received the exclusive right to promote Christianity in all the lands that were discovered. The first income from the voyages came from selling into slavery Africans captured by the Portuguese in raids on the northwest coast of Africa and the Canary Islands during the 1440s. Raiding for slaves was soon surpassed by trading for gold as the Portuguese made contact with the trading networks that flourished in West Africa and reached across the Sahara. By 1457 enough African gold was coming back to Portugal for the kingdom to issue a new gold coin called the *cruzado* (crusade), a reminder of another Portuguese motive.

It took the Portuguese four decades to cover the 1,500 miles (2,400 kilometers) from Lisbon to Sierra Leone; it took only three decades to explore the remaining 4,000 miles (6,400 kilometers) to the southern tip of the African continent. The Portuguese crown continued to sponsor the voyages of exploration, but speedier progress resulted from the growing participation of private commercial interests. In 1469 a prominent Lisbon merchant named Fernão Gomes purchased from the Crown the privilege of exploring 400 miles (650 kilometers) of new coast a year for five years in return for a monopoly on the trade he developed there. During the period of his contract, Gomes discovered the uninhabited island of São Tomé along the equator; in the next century it became a major source of sugar produced with African slave labor (see Chapter 16). He also explored what later Europeans called the Gold Coast, which became the headquarters of Portugal's West African trade.

The final thrust down the African coast was spurred along by the expectation of finding a passage around Africa to the rich trade of the Indian Ocean. Bartolomeu Dias was the first Portuguese explorer to reach the southern tip of Africa (in 1488) and sight the Indian Ocean beyond. In 1497–1498 a Portuguese expedition led by Vasco da Gama sailed around Africa and reached India. In 1500 an expedition under Pedro Alvares Cabral, while swinging wide to the west in the South Atlantic to catch the winds that would sweep the ships around southern Africa and on to India, came on the eastern coast of South America, laying the basis for Portugal's claim to Brazil. The gamble that Prince Henry had begun eight decades earlier was about to pay off handsomely.

Spanish Voyages

Portugal's century-long efforts to explore the South Atlantic are a testimony to persistence, but the new contacts exploited by the Iberians in the sixteenth century were also due to unexpected developments. Two months after Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498, Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), a Genoese mariner in the service of the Spanish kingdom of Castile, sighted the mainland of South America. On two previous voyages of exploration in the West Indies, Columbus had founded settlements and brought enslaved Amerindians and gold back to Spain.

As a younger man Columbus had gained considerable experience of the South Atlantic while participating in Portuguese explorations along the African coast. He had become convinced there was a shorter way to reach the riches of the East than the route around Africa. By his reckoning (based on a serious misreading of a ninth-century Arab authority), the Canaries were a mere 2,400 nautical miles (4,450 kilometers) from Japan, only one-fifth of the actual distance.

Though absolutely convinced of the feasibility of reaching Asia by sailing west, Columbus struggled for many years to persuade a sponsor to underwrite the costs of the voyage necessary to validate his theory. Portuguese authorities twice rejected his plan, first in 1485 after a careful study and again in 1488 after Bartholomeu Dias had established the feasibility of a route around Africa. Columbus received a sympathetic hearing in 1486 from Castile's able ruler, Queen Isabella, but no commitment of support. After a four-year study, a Castilian commission appointed by Isabella had found the geographical foundations of Columbus's plan weak, but his persistence finally won over the queen and her husband, King Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1492 they agreed to fund a modest expedition. Their elation at expelling the Muslims from Granada may have put them in a favorable mood.

Columbus and his mostly Spanish crew of ninety men "departed Friday the third day of August of the year 1492," he recorded in his log book, toward "the regions of India." Their mission, the royal contract stated, was "to discover and acquire certain islands and mainland in the Ocean Sea." He carried letters of introduction from the Spanish sovereigns to Eastern rulers, including one to the "Grand Khan" (meaning the Chinese emperor). Also on board was a Jewish convert to Christianity whose knowledge of Arabic was expected to facilitate communication with the peoples of eastern Asia. The expedition traveled in three small ships, the *Santa María*, the *Santa Clara* (nicknamed the *Niña*), and a vessel now known only by its nickname, the *Pinta*.

The expedition began well. Other attempts to explore the Atlantic west of the Azores had been impeded by unfavorable headwinds. But on his earlier voyages along the African coast, Columbus had learned that he could find west-blowing winds in the latitudes of the Canaries, which is why he chose that southern route. After reaching the Canaries, he even had the *Niña*'s lateen sails replaced with square sails, for he knew that from then on speed would be more important than maneuverability.

In October 1492 the expedition reached the islands of the Caribbean. Columbus insisted on calling the inhabitants "Indians," because he believed the islands were part of the East Indies. His three later voyages of exploration did nothing to change his mind, but other Europeans were convinced he had not reached the East Indies but had come upon islands and continents previously unknown to them. Amerigo Vespucci's explorations, first on behalf of Spain and then for Portugal, led mapmakers to name the new continents "America" after him, rather than "Columbia" after Columbus.

To prevent disputes, Spain and Portugal agreed by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 to divide the world into two hemispheres along an imaginary line down the middle of the North Atlantic Ocean. Lands east of the line in Africa and southern Asia could be claimed by Portugal; lands to the west in the Americas were Spain's. Cabral's discovery of Brazil, however, gave Portugal a valid claim to a part of South America bulging east of the line (see Map 14.1).

When the line was extended around the earth, where would Spain's and Portugal's spheres of influence divide in the East? Given Europeans' limited geographical knowledge in 1494, it was not clear whether the valuable Spice Islands (the Moluccas)—the goal of Columbus's voyages—were on Portugal's or Spain's side of the line. By chance, in 1513 a Spanish adventurer named Vasco Núñez de Balboa crossed the isthmus (a narrow neck of land) of Panama from the east and sighted the Pacific Ocean on the other side. The 1519 expedition of Ferdinand Magellan (ca. 1480–1521) was designed to complete Columbus's interrupted westward voyage by sailing around the Americas and across the Pacific, whose vast size no European then guessed. The Spice Islands turned out to lie well within Portugal's sphere, as Spain formally acknowledged in 1529.

Magellan's final voyage laid the basis for Spanish colonization of the Philippine Islands after 1564. His death in the Philippines did not prevent him from being considered the first person to encircle the globe, for a decade earlier he had sailed from Europe to the East Indies as part of an expedition sponsored by his native Portugal. His voyages thus took him across the Tordesillas line, into the separate spheres claimed by Portugal and Spain. Of course, the claims were largely theoretical; Portugal and Spain had only modest settlements overseas at this time.

Columbus's failure to find a new route to the East does not detract from the momentous consequences of his voyages for European expansion. Although Spain received little immediate benefit from Columbus's four expeditions, those who followed in his wake laid the basis for Spain's large colonial empires in the Americas and the empires of other European nations (see Chapter 16). In turn, these empires promoted the growth of a major new trading network among the four Atlantic continents that rivaled and eventually surpassed that of the Indian Ocean in importance. But the more immediately important consequence was Portugal's entry into the Indian Ocean, which quickly led to a major European presence and profit. Both the eastward and the westward voyages of exploration marked a tremendous expansion of Europe's role in world history.

ENCOUNTERS WITH EUROPE, 1450–1550

What resulted from these new contacts was not determined just by European actions. The ways in which Africans, Asians, and

Amerindians perceived their new visitors and reacted to them also influenced their future relations. Some welcomed the Europeans as potential allies; others viewed them as rivals or enemies. In general, Africans and Asians had little difficulty in recognizing the benefits and dangers occasioned by the arrival of European visitors. However, the long isolation of the Amerindians from the rest of the world added to the strangeness of their encounter with the Spanish and made them more vulnerable to the unfamiliar diseases that these explorers inadvertently introduced.

Western Africa

Along the West African coast, many Africans were eager for trade with the Portuguese. It would give them new markets for their exports and access to imports cheaper than those that reached them through the middlemen of the overland routes to the Mediterranean. This reaction was evident along the Gold Coast of West Africa, first visited by the Portuguese in 1471. Miners in the hinterland had long sold their gold to African traders who took it to the trading cities along the southern edge of the Sahara, where in turn it was sold to traders who had crossed the desert from North Africa. Recognizing that they might get more favorable terms from the new sea visitors, coastal Africans were ready to negotiate with the representative of King John II of Portugal who arrived in 1482 seeking permission to erect a trading fort.

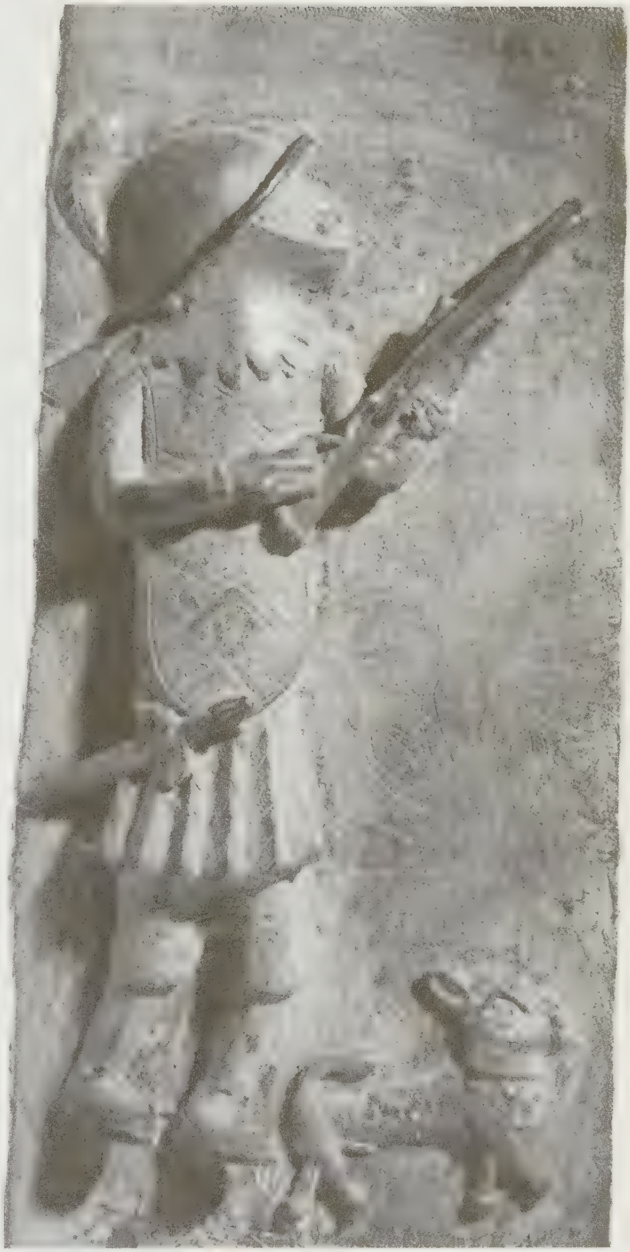
The Portuguese noble in charge, Diogo da Azambuja, and his officers (likely including the young Christopher Columbus, who had entered Portuguese service in 1476) were eager to make a proper impression. They dressed in their best clothes, erected and decorated a reception platform, celebrated a Catholic Mass, and signaled the start of negotiations with trumpets, tambourines, and drums. The African king, Caramansa, staged his entrance with equal ceremony, arriving with a large retinue of attendants and musicians. Through an African interpreter, the two leaders exchanged flowery speeches pledging goodwill and mutual benefit. Caramansa then gave his permission for a small trading fort to be built, assured, he said, by their appearance that these royal delegates were honorable persons, unlike the "few, foul, and vile" Portuguese visitors of the previous decade. Neither side made a show of force, but the Africans' upper hand was evident in Caramansa's warning that, should the Portuguese fail to be peaceful and honest traders, he and his people would simply move away, depriving their post of food and trade. Trade at the post of Saint George of the Mina (later called Elmina) enriched both sides. From there the Portuguese crown was soon purchasing gold equal to a tenth of the world's production at the time, in return for which Africans received large quantities of goods that Portuguese ships brought from Asia, Europe, and other parts of Africa.

Elsewhere, early contacts involved a mixture of commercial, military, and religious interests. Some African rulers were quick to appreciate that the Europeans' firearms could be a useful addition to their spears and arrows in conflicts with their enemies. Because African religions did not presume to have a monopoly on religious knowledge, coastal rulers were also willing to test the value of Christian practices that the Portuguese eagerly promoted. The ruler of Benin, one of the largest coastal kingdoms, invited Portuguese missionaries and soldiers to accompany him into battle to test the Christians' religion along with their muskets.

After a century of aggressive expansion, the kingdom of Benin in the Niger Delta was near the peak of its power when it first encountered the Portuguese. Its *oba* (king) presided over an elaborate bureaucracy from a spacious palace in his large capital city, also known as Benin. In response to a Portuguese visit in 1486, the oba sent an ambassador to Portugal to learn more about the homeland of these strangers. Then he established a royal monopoly on trade with the Portuguese, selling pepper and ivory tusks (to be taken back to Portugal) as well as stone beads, textiles, and prisoners of war (to be resold at

Elmina). In return, the Portuguese royal merchants provided Benin with copper and brass, fine textiles, glass beads, and a horse for the king's royal procession. In the early sixteenth century, as the demand for slaves for the Portuguese sugar plantations on the nearby island of São Tomé grew, the oba first raised the price of slaves and then imposed restrictions that limited their sale.

Portuguese efforts to persuade the king and nobles of Benin to accept the Catholic faith ultimately failed. Early kings showed some interest, but after 1538 the obas declined to receive further missionaries. They also closed the market in male slaves for the rest of the sixteenth century. Exactly why Benin chose to limit its contacts with the Portuguese is uncertain, but the obas clearly had the power to control how much interaction they wanted.



Portuguese soldier at Benin This detail from a bronze plaque by an African artist at Benin shows an armored European carrying a sword and an early firearm known as a matchlock. The many depictions of European visitors on other plaques that once decorated the palace of the oba of Benin suggest West Africans' interest in making contact with the Portuguese. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Eastern Africa

Different still were the reactions of the Muslim rulers of the trading coastal states of eastern Africa. As Da Gama's fleet sailed up the coast in 1498 (see Map 14.1), most rulers gave the Portuguese a cool reception, suspicious of the intentions of these visitors who painted crusaders' crosses on their sails. But one of the cities, Malindi, saw in the Portuguese an ally who could help them expand their trading position, and they provided Da Gama with a pilot to guide him to India. The suspicions of most rulers were justified seven years later when a Portuguese war fleet bombarded and looted most of the coastal cities of eastern Africa in the name of Christ and commerce, though they spared Malindi.

Another eastern African state that saw potential benefit in an alliance with the Portuguese was Christian Ethiopia. In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Ethiopia faced increasing conflicts with Muslim states along the Red Sea. Emboldened by the rise of the Ottoman Turks, who conquered Egypt in 1517 and launched a major fleet in the Indian Ocean to counter the Portuguese, the talented warlord of the Muslim state of Adal launched a furious assault on Ethiopia. Adal's decisive victory in 1529 reduced the Christian kingdom to a precarious state. At that point Ethiopia's contacts with the Portuguese became crucial.

Since 1452, delegations from Portugal and Ethiopia had been exploring a possible alliance between their states based on their mutual adherence to Christianity. A key figure was Queen Helena of Ethiopia, who in 1509 proposed an alliance of her land army and Portugal's fleet against the Turks. No such alliance was completed by the time Helena died in 1522. But as Ethiopia's situation grew increasingly desperate, renewed appeals for help were made.

Finally a small Portuguese force commanded by Vasco da Gama's son Christopher reached Ethiopia in 1539, at a time when what was left of the Ethiopian kingdom was being held together by another woman ruler, Queen Sabla Wangel. With Portuguese help the queen rallied the Ethiopians to renew their struggle. Christopher da Gama was captured and tortured to death, but the Muslim forces lost heart when their leader, Ahmed Gran, was mortally wounded in a later battle. Portuguese aid helped the Ethiopian kingdom save itself from extinction, but a permanent alliance faltered because Ethiopian rulers refused to transfer their Christian affiliation from the patriarch of Alexandria to the Latin patriarch of Rome (the pope) as the Portuguese wanted.

Indian Ocean States

Vasco da Gama's arrival on the Malabar Coast of India in May 1498 did not make a great impression on the citizens of Calicut. After more than ten months at sea, many members of the crew were in ill health. And Da Gama's four small ships were far less imposing than the Chinese fleets of gigantic junks that had called at Calicut sixty-five years earlier and were no larger than many of the dhows that filled the harbor of this rich and important trading city. The *zamorin* (ruler) of Calicut and his Muslim officials showed mild interest in the Portuguese as new trading partners, but the gifts Da Gama had brought for the samorin evoked derisive laughter. Twelve pieces of fairly ordinary striped cloth, four scarlet hoods, six hats, and six wash basins seemed inferior goods to those accustomed to the luxuries of the Indian Ocean trade.

Coastal rulers soon discovered that the Portuguese had no intention of remaining poor competitors in the rich trade of the Indian Ocean. Upon Da Gama's return to Portugal in 1499 the jubilant King Manuel styled himself "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India," setting forth the ambitious scope of his plans. Previously the Indian Ocean had been *mare librum*, an "open sea," used by merchants (and pirates) of all the surrounding states. The Portuguese crown intended to make it *mare nostrum*, "our sea," the private property of Portugal alone, which others might use only on its terms.

The ability of little Portugal to assert control over the Indian Ocean stemmed from the superiority of its ships and weapons over the smaller and lightly armed merchant dhows. Indian ports were next on the list of the Portuguese fleet of 81 ships and some 7,000 men. Goa fell to a well-armed fleet under the Duke of Albuquerque in 1510, becoming the base from which the Portuguese could menace the trading cities of Gujarat to the north and Calicut and other Malabar Coast cities to the south. The port of Hormuz, controlling the entry to the Persian Gulf, was taken in 1515. Aden, at the entrance to the Red Sea, with its intricate natural defenses was able to preserve its independence. The addition of the Gujarati port Diu in 1535 consolidated Portuguese dominance of the western Indian Ocean.

Meanwhile, Portuguese explorers had been reconnoitering the Bay of Bengal and the waters farther east. They seized the strategic trading center of Malacca on the strait between the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra in 1511. Force was not always necessary, however. In Macao on the China coast local officials and merchants interested in profitable new trade with the Portuguese persuaded the Chinese government to

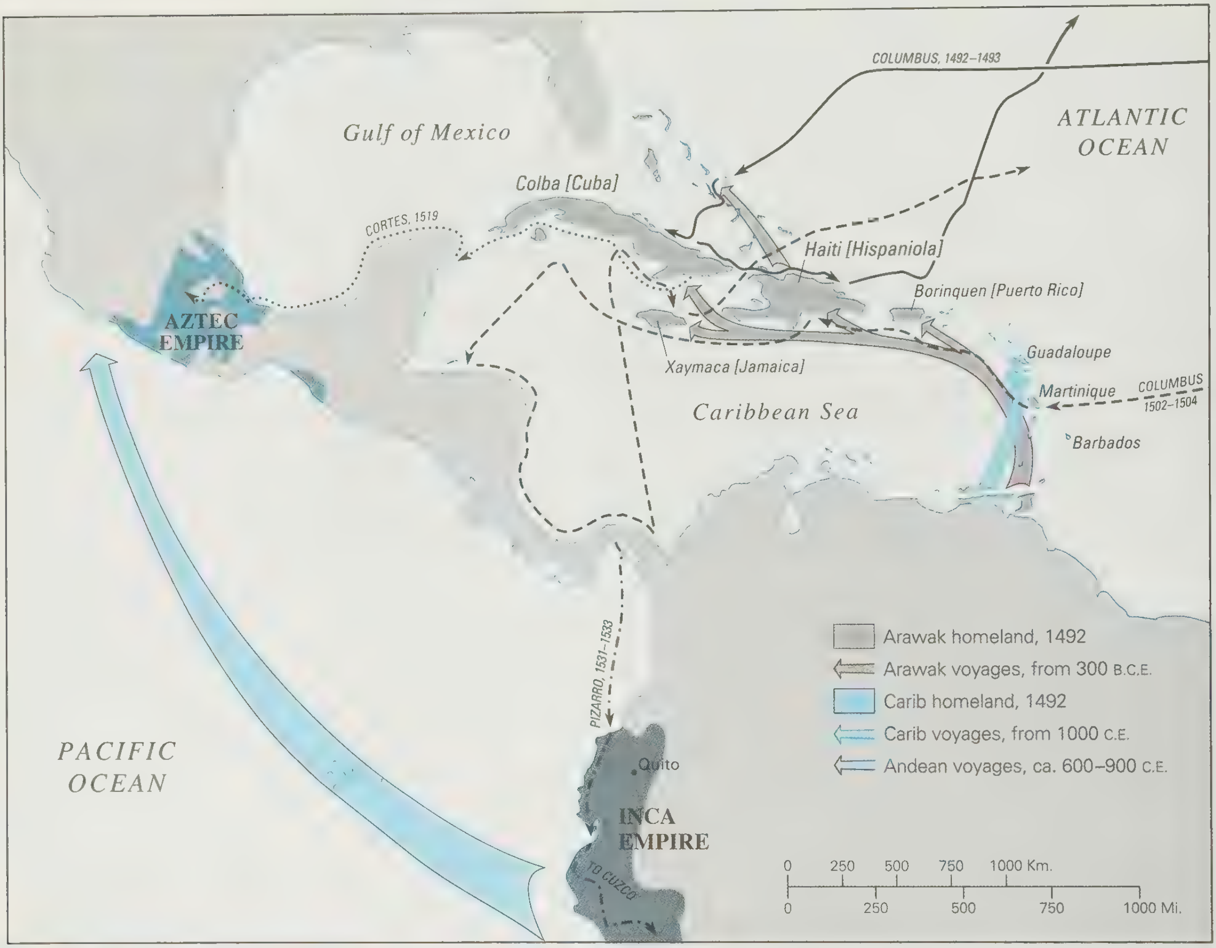
Portuguese in India Portuguese administrators and traders moved to the Indian Ocean basin after the Portuguese conquests in the early fifteenth century. This Indo-Portuguese drawing of ca. 1540 shows turbaned Indian men carrying a Portuguese noblewoman, trailed by two Portuguese men. The small female figures are probably servants, one of whom may be an African slave. (Ms. 1889, c. 97, Biblioteca Casanatense Rome. Courtesy, Ministero per I Beni Culturali e Ambientali)

sanction Portuguese occupation of the port in 1557. From Macao the Portuguese established a near monopoly over the trade between China and Japan.

The Portuguese used their control of the major port cities to enforce an even larger trading monopoly over the main routes in the Indian Ocean. All spices were to be carried in Portuguese ships, as were goods carried between distant ports such as Goa and Macao. The Portuguese also tried to control and tax other trade of the Indian Ocean. They required all ships entering and leaving one of their ports to carry a Portuguese passport and to pay customs duties on their way out and on their return with goods from elsewhere. Portuguese patrols seized vessels attempting to avoid these monopolies, confiscated their cargoes, and either killed the captain and crew or sentenced them to forced labor.

Reactions to this power grab varied. Like the emperors of China, the Mughal emperors of India largely ignored Portugal's maritime intrusions, seeing their interests as maintaining control over their vast land possessions. The Ottomans responded more aggressively. They supported Egypt's fleet of fifteen thousand men against the Christian intruders in the years 1507–1509. Then, having absorbed Egypt into their empire, in 1538 they sent another large expedition against the Portuguese. Both expeditions failed because the Ottoman galleys were no match for the faster, better-armed Portuguese vessels in the open ocean. However, the Ottomans had the advantage in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, where they had many ports of supply.

The Portuguese never gained complete control of the Indian Ocean trade, but their domination of key ports and the main trade routes during the sixteenth century brought them considerable profit, which they sent back to Europe in the form of spices and other luxury goods.



Map 14.2 Middle America to 1533 Early Amerindian voyages from South America brought new settlers to the West Indies and western Mexico. The arrival of Europeans in 1492 soon led to the conquest and depopulation of Amerindians.

Asian and East African traders were at the mercy of Portuguese warships, but their individual responses also affected their fates. Some were devastated, but others prospered by meeting the Portuguese demands or evading their patrols. The Portuguese strength was ocean based, however, and had little impact on the Asian and African mainland, in sharp contrast to what was occurring in the Americas.

The Americas

In the Americas the Spanish quickly established a vast *territorial* empire, in contrast to the *trading* empires the Portuguese created in Africa and Asia. Their varying approaches had little to do with differences between the two states. In fact, Spain and Portugal had similar motives for expansion and used identical ships and weapons, though the Spanish kingdoms did have somewhat greater resources to draw on. Rather, the isolation of the Amerindian peoples made their response to outside contacts different from the responses of peoples in Africa and the Indian Ocean cities. In dealing with the small communities in the Caribbean, the first European settlers resorted to conquest and plunder (rather than trade), a practice that was later extended to the more powerful Amerindian kingdoms on the American mainland. The spread of deadly new diseases among the Amerindians after 1518 weakened their ability to sustain resistance.

The first Amerindians to encounter Columbus were the Arawak of Hispaniola (modern Haiti) (see Map 14.2). They cultivated maize (corn), cassava (a tuber), sweet potatoes, and hot peppers, as well as cotton and tobacco, and they met their other material needs from the sea and wild plants. Although they were skilled at mining and working gold, the Arawak did not trade gold over long distances as Africans did. In 1493 Columbus returned to Hispaniola with several hundred settlers from southern Iberia who hoped to make their fortune. The Arawak extended a cautious welcome. Unprepared to sell large quantities of gold to the Spanish, they told Columbus exaggerated stories about gold in other places to persuade him to move on.

The Hispaniola Arawak were provoked to war in 1495 after the settlers stole gold ornaments, confiscated food, and raped women (see Voices and Visions: European Male Sexual Dominance Overseas: A Metaphor?). In this and later conflicts, horses and body armor gave the Spaniards a great advantage, and they slaughtered tens of thousands of the Arawak. Those who survived were forced to pay a heavy tax in gold, spun cotton, and food. Those who failed to meet the quotas were condemned to forced labor. Meanwhile, the cattle, pigs, and goats introduced by the settlers devoured the Arawaks' food crops, causing deaths from famine and disease. A governor appointed by the Spanish crown in 1502 forced the Arawak remaining on Hispaniola to be laborers under the control of Spanish settlers.

Arawak women making tortillas This sixteenth-century woodcut depicts techniques of food preparation in the West Indies. The woman at the left grinds cornmeal on a *metate;* the woman in the center pats cornmeal dough flat and fries the tortillas; the third woman serves tortillas with a bowl of stew. (Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University)

The actions of the Spanish in the Caribbean were reflections of Spanish actions and motives during the Crusades against the Muslims: seeking to serve God by defeating nonbelievers and placing them under Christian control—and becoming rich in the process. Individual *conquistadores* (conquerors) extended that pattern around the Caribbean. Some attacked the Bahamas to get gold and labor when these became scarce on Hispaniola. Many Arawak from the Bahamas were taken to Hispaniola as slaves. In 1508, Juan Ponce de León (1460–1521), who had participated in the conquest of Muslim Spain and the seizure of Hispaniola, conquered the island of Borinquen (Puerto Rico). From there in 1513 he explored southeastern Florida. On a later expedition to the

VOICES & VISIONS

European Male Sexual Dominance Overseas: A Metaphor?

European expansion and colonization were overwhelmingly the work of men. Missionaries remained celibate by choice; other men did not, as these two letters make clear. Some historians consider the exploitation of local women to be a metaphor for European dominance in other respects. The first letter, dated 1495, is from Michele de Cuneo, an officer on Columbus's second voyage across the Atlantic.

While I was in the boat I captured a very beautiful Carib woman, whom the said Lord Admiral [Columbus] gave to me, and with whom, having taken her into my cabin, she being naked according to their custom, I conceived desire to take pleasure. I wanted to put my desire into execution but she did not want it and treated me with her finger nails in such a manner that I wished I had never begun. But seeing that, (to tell you the end of it all), I took a rope and thrashed her well, for which she raised such unheard of screams that you would not have believed your ears. Finally we came to an agreement in such manner that I can tell you that she seemed to have been brought up in a school of harlots.

The second letter, dated 1550, is from an Italian Jesuit missionary in India to Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, in Rome.

Your reverence must know that the sin of licentiousness is so widespread in these regions [India] that no check is placed upon it, which leads to great inconveniences, and to great disrespect of the sacraments. I say this of the Portuguese, who have adopted the vices and customs of the land without reserve, including the evil custom of buying droves of slaves, male and female, just as if they were sheep, large and small. There are countless men who buy droves of girls and sleep with all of them, and subsequently sell them. There are innumerable married settlers who have four, eight, or ten female slaves and sleep with them, as is common knowledge. This is carried to such excess that there was one man in Malacca who had twenty-four women of various races, all of whom were his slaves, and all of whom he enjoyed. I quote this city because it is a thing that everybody knows. Most men, as soon as they can afford to buy a female slave, almost invariably use her as a girl-friend (*amiga*), besides many other dishonesties, in my poor understanding.

What circumstances made it virtually impossible for the women in question to resist the European men's advances? What phrases in the letters suggest that the writers attribute some responsibility for these encounters to the sexual license of the women involved? Are such inferences credible? Are such situations an appropriate metaphor for the growing global dominance of Europeans?

Sources: The first letter is reprinted from Samuel Eliot Morison, trans. and ed., *Journals and Other Documents in the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (New York: Heritage Press, 1963), 212; the second is from *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire: 1415–1825* by C. R. Boxer. Copyright © 1969 by C. R. Boxer. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

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west coast of Florida in 1521, he was fatally wounded in a battle with the Amerindians.

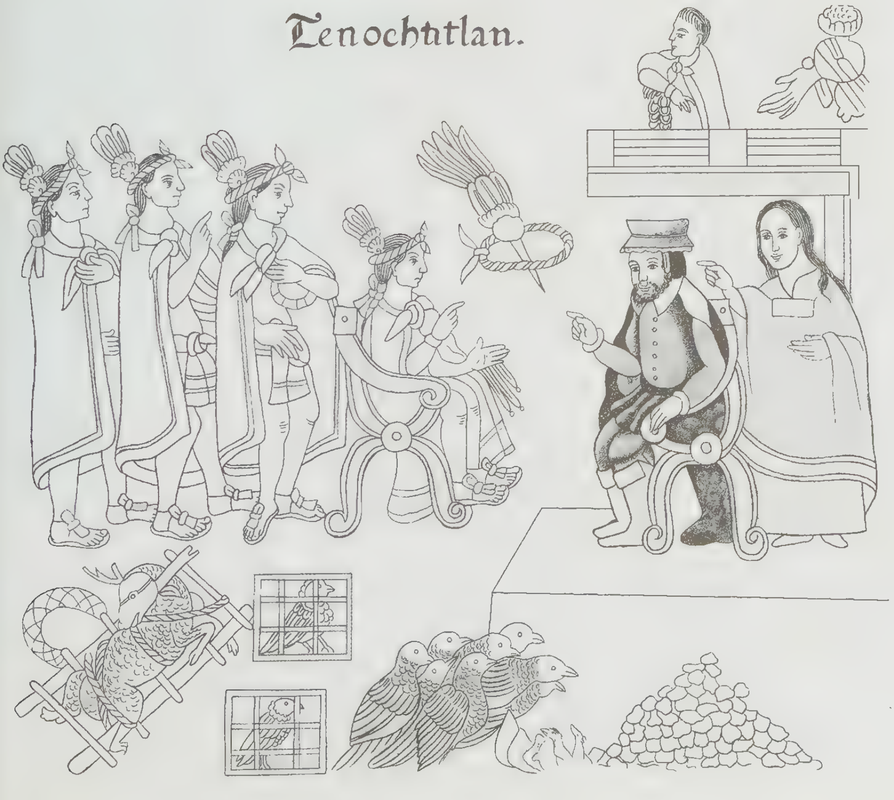
An ambitious and ruthless nobleman, Hernándo Cortés (1485–1547), led the most audacious expedition to the mainland. Cortés left Cuba in 1519 with six hundred fighting men and most of the island's stock of weapons to assault the rich Aztec Empire in central Mexico (see Chapter 10). He brought to the American mainland, on a massive scale, the exploitation and conquest that had begun in the Caribbean.

Like the Caribbean Indians, the people of Mexico had no precedent by which to judge these strange visitors. Later accounts suggest that some Indians believed Cortés to be the legendary ruler Quetzalcóatl, whose return to earth had been prophesied, and treated him with great deference. Other Indians saw the Spaniards as powerful human allies against the Aztecs, who had imposed their rule during the previous century.

From his glorious capital city Tenochtitlán, the Aztec emperor Moctezuma II (r. 1502–1520) sent messengers to greet Cortés and figure out whether he was god or man, friend or foe. Cortés advanced steadily toward the capital, overcoming Aztec opposition with cavalry charges and steel swords and gaining the support of thousands of Amerindian allies from among the Aztecs' unhappy subjects. When they were near, the emperor went out in a great procession, dressed in all his finery, to welcome Cortés with gifts and flower garlands.

Despite Cortés's initial promise that he came in friendship, Moctezuma quickly found himself a prisoner in his own palace. His treasury was looted, its gold melted down. Soon a battle was raging in and about the capital between the Spaniards (helped by their new Amerindian allies) and the Aztecs and their supporters. Briefly the Aztecs gained the upper hand. They destroyed half of the Spanish force and four thou-

Moctezuma and Cortés, November 1519 In the palace at Tenochtitlán the Emperor Moctezuma and his advisers receive the Spaniard Cortés and his Indian translator Dona Marina, or La Malinche. Offerings to the Spaniards of a deer, various birds, and maize are shown at the bottom. Curiously, the Tlaxcalan artist has shown the Aztec ruler and his companions in Tlaxcalan dress. (Neg. #330880, Courtesy, Department of Library Services, American Museum of Natural History)



sand of their Amerindian allies, and they sacrificed to their gods fifty-three Spanish prisoners and four horses, displaying their severed heads in rows on pikes. Reinforced by troops from Cuba, Cortés was able to regain the advantage by means of Spanish cannon and clever battle strategies. The capture of Tenochtitlán was also facilitated by the spread of smallpox from the Caribbean, which weakened and killed many of the city's defenders. When the capital fell, the conquistadores overcame other parts of Mexico.

As Mexico capitulated, other Spaniards were eyeing the vast Inca Empire, stretching nearly 3,000 miles (5,000 kilometers) south from the equator and containing half of the population in South America (see Chapter 10). The Inca had conquered the inhabitants of the Andes Mountains and the Pacific coast of South America during the previous century, and their rule was not fully accepted by all of the peoples whom they had defeated. With the vast Pacific Ocean on one side of their realm and sparsely inhabited Amazon forests on the other, it is not surprising that Inca rulers believed they controlled most of the world worth controlling. Theirs was a great empire with highly productive agriculture, exquisite stone cities (such as the capital, Cuzco), and rich gold and silver mines. The power of the Inca ruler was sustained by beliefs that he was descended from the sun-god and by an efficient system of roads and messengers that kept him informed about major events in his empire.

Yet all was not well. In the 1520s, an epidemic of smallpox resulting from chance encounters with the Spanish claimed countless Inca lives, perhaps including the Inca emperor Huayna Capac in 1525. Even more devastating was the threat awaiting the empire from Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1478–1541) and his motley band of 180 men, 37 horses, and two cannon.

In November 1532 Pizarro arranged to meet the new Inca ruler, Atahualpa (r. 1531–1533), in the valley of Cajamarca. With supreme boldness and brutality, Pizarro's men seized Atahualpa off a rich litter borne by eighty nobles as it passed through an enclosed courtyard. Though surrounded by an Inca army of at least forty thousand, the Spaniards were able to use their cannon to create confusion while their swords sliced the emperor's lightly armed retainers and servants to pieces by the thousands.

Noting the glee with which the Spaniards seized gold, silver, and emeralds, the captive Atahualpa offered them what he thought would satisfy even the greediest among them in exchange for his freedom: a roomful of gold and silver. But when the ransom of 13,400 pounds (6,000 kilograms) of gold and 26,000 pounds (12,000 kilograms) of silver was paid, the Spaniards gave Atahualpa a choice: he could be burned at the stake as a heathen or baptized as a Christian and then strangled. He chose the latter, and with him went the central unity of the complex Inca Empire.

In 1533 the Spaniards took Cuzco and from there set out to conquer and loot the rest of the empire. The defeat of a final rebellion in 1536 spelled the end of Inca rule. Five years later Pizarro himself met a violent death at the hands of Spanish rivals, but the conquest of the mainland continued. Incited by the fabulous wealth of the Aztecs and Incas, conquistadores extended Spanish conquest and exploration in South and North America, dreaming of new treasuries to loot.

Patterns of Dominance

Within fifty years of Columbus's first landing in 1492, the Spanish located and occupied all of the major population centers of the Americas and the penetration of the more thinly populated areas was well under way. In no other part of the world was European dominance so complete. Why did the peoples of the Americas suffer a fate so different from that of peoples in Africa and Asia? Why were the Spanish able to erect a vast land empire in the Americas so quickly? Three factors seem crucial.

First, long isolation from the rest of humanity made the inhabitants of the Americas vulnerable to new diseases. The unfamiliar illnesses first devastated the native inhabitants of the

Caribbean islands and then were unknowingly spread to the mainland by the conquistadores. Contemporaries estimated that between 25 and 50 percent of those infected with smallpox soon died. Repeated epidemics inhibited Amerindians' ability to regain control. Because evidence is very limited, estimates of the size of the population before Columbus's arrival vary widely, but there is no disputing the fact that the Amerindian population fell sharply during the sixteenth century. The Americas became a "widowed land," open to resettlement from across the Atlantic.

A second major factor was military. In many battles steel swords, protective armor, and horses gave the Spaniards an advantage over their Amerindian opponents. Though few in number, muskets and cannon gave the Spaniards a significant psychological as well as military edge. However, it should not be forgotten that the Spanish conquests depended heavily on large numbers of Amerindian allies armed with weapons the same as those of the people they defeated. But perhaps the Spaniards' most decisive military advantage came from the no-holds-barred fighting techniques they had developed during a long history of warfare at home.

The third factor in Spain's conquest of the New World was the ability of the Spanish to follow the precedent established in conquering Granada in 1492: forced labor, forced conversion, and the incorporation of conquered lands into a new empire.

The same three factors help explain the quite different outcomes elsewhere. Because of centuries of contact before 1500, peoples in Europe, Africans, and Asians shared the same Old World diseases. Only small numbers of very isolated peoples in Africa and Asia suffered the demographic calamity that undercut the ability of Amerindians to retain control of their lands. The Europeans' greatest military advantage was at sea, as the conquest of the Indian Ocean trade routes showed. On land, however, they had no decisive advantage against more numerous indigenous populations that were not weakened by disease. The religious zeal of the reconquest showed itself in the attacks on Muslims and other non-Christians, but existing trading networks in Africa and Asia helped ensure that commerce, not conquest, was the paramount objective in Africa and Asia in the first century of European expansion.

CONCLUSION

Historians agree that the century between 1450 and 1550 was a major turning point in world history, the beginning of the age they have named the "Vasco da Gama epoch," the "Columbian era," the "age of Magellan," or simply the "modern period." During those years European explorers opened new long-distance trade routes across the world's three major oceans, establishing regular contact among all the continents for the first time. By 1550 those who followed them had broadened trading contacts with sub-Saharan Africa, gained mastery of the rich trade routes of the Indian Ocean, and conquered a vast land empire in the Americas.

As dramatic and momentous as these events were, they were not completely unprecedented. The riches of the Indian Ocean trade that brought a gleam to the eye of many Europeans had been developed over many centuries by the trading peoples who inhabited the surrounding lands. What made the European expansion unusual had less to do with what happened between 1450 and 1550 than with what happened later. Europeans' overseas empires continued to expand for three-and-a-half centuries after 1550. Not content with dominance in the Indian Ocean trade, Europeans opened in the Atlantic a second maritime network that grew to rival the Indian Ocean network in the wealth of its trade. It was this growing dominance that made the period from 1450 to 1550 seem to mark the beginning of a new age—one that in time would affect areas of the world untouched by the first century of European expansion.

SUGGESTED READING

A simple introduction to the technologies of European expansion is Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns, Sails, and Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion, 1400–1700* (1965; reprint, 1985). More advanced is Roger C. Smith, *Vanguard of Empire: Ships of Exploration in the Age of Columbus* (1993).

The European exploration is well documented and the subject of intense historical investigation. Clear general accounts based on the contemporary records are Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Age of the Renaissance, 1420–1620* (1952); J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance: Discovery, Exploration, and Settlement, 1450–1650* (1963); and G. V. Scammell, *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires, c. 800–1650* (1981).

An excellent general introduction to Portuguese exploration is C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (1969). More detail can be found in Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (1977). John William Blake, ed., *Europeans in West Africa, 1450–1560* (1942), is an excellent two-volume collection of contemporary Portuguese, Castilian, and English sources. Elaine Sanceau, *The Life of Prester John: A Chronicle of Portuguese Exploration* (1941), is a very readable account of Portuguese relations with Ethiopia. *The Summa Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*, trans. Armando Cortesão (1944), provides a detailed firsthand account of the Indian Ocean during the Portuguese's first two decades there.

The other Iberian kingdom's expansion is well summarized by J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (1967). Samuel Eliot Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus* (1942) is a fine scholarly celebration of the epic mariner, also available in an abridged version as *Christopher Columbus, Mariner* (1955). More focused on the shortcomings of Columbus and his Spanish peers is Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, trans. Richard Howard (1985).

Detailed individual biographies of each of the individuals in Pizarro's band are the subject of James Lockhart's *Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (1972). A firsthand account of Magellan's expedition is Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation*, available in a two-volume edition (1969) that includes a facsimile reprint of the manuscript.

The trans-Atlantic encounters of Europe and the Americas are described by J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (1970). The early chapters of Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 2d ed. (1994), give a clear and balanced account of the Spanish conquest. For the Caribbean see Irvina Rouse, *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* (1992).

John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (1992), examines Africans' encounters with Europeans, importance in the Atlantic economy, and impact in the New World. *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*, ed. Miguel Leon-Portilla (1962), presents Amerindian chronicles in a readable package. Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680* (1988), deals with events in that region.

NOTE

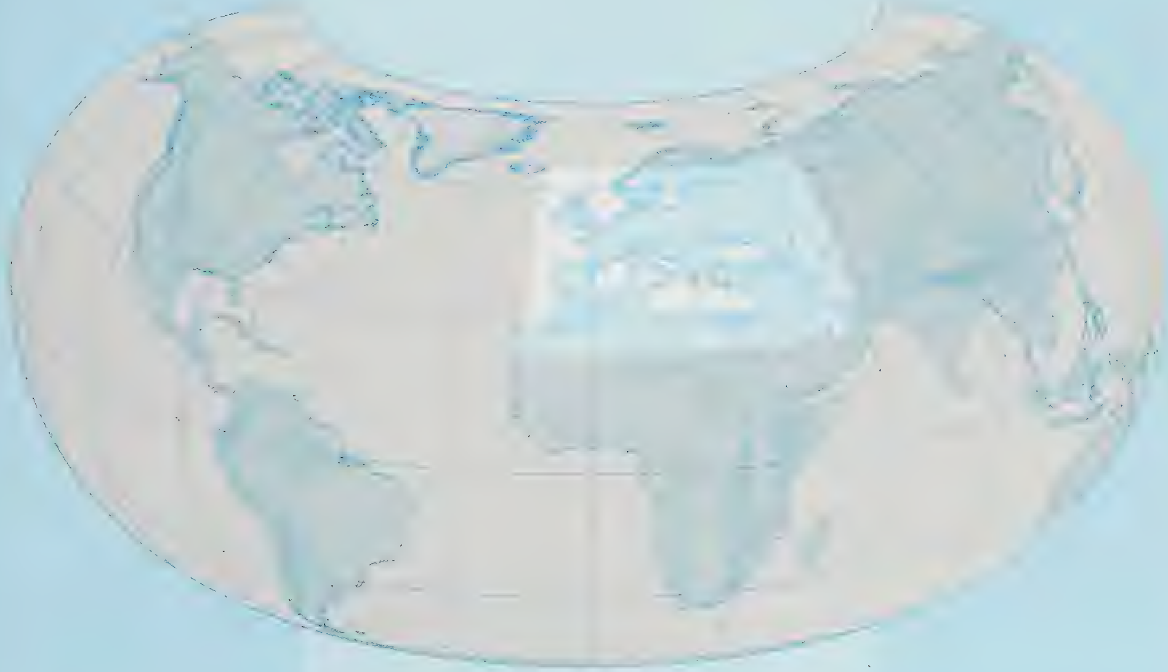
1. Alvise da Cadamosto in *The Voyages of Cadamosto and Other Documents*, ed. and trans. G. R. Crone (London: Hakluyt Society, 1937), 2.

The Transformation of Europe, 1500–1750

Religious and Political Innovations • Building State Power: War and Diplomacy

Urban Society and Commercial Technology

Rural Society and the Environment • The Realm of Ideas



In the winter of 1697–1698 Tsar Peter I, the young ruler of Russia, traveled in disguise through the Netherlands and England, eager to discover why western European societies were becoming so powerful and wealthy. With great insight, he perceived that western European success owed as much to trade and toleration as to technology. Trade generated the money to spend on weapons, while toleration attracted talented persons fleeing persecution.

Upon his return to Russia, Peter resolved to "open a window onto Europe," to reform features of his vast empire that he believed were backward. He ended the servile status of women and personally trimmed his noblemen's long beards to conform to Western styles. Peter also put the skilled technical advisers he brought back with him to work modernizing Russia's industry and military forces. Then he turned to redesigning Russia's government on a French model, imitating King Louis XIV's new palace at Versailles and his rituals of absolute royal power.

As Peter's actions imply, by the end of the seventeenth century, western European achievements in state administration, warfare, business, and ideas were setting standards that others wished to imitate. Along with maritime expansion, examined in Chapter 14, these internal transformations promoted Western global ascendancy. Yet such achievements did not come smoothly. Men like Tsar Peter, interested in increasing state power, paid little attention to the misery that rapid change produced; for ordinary men and women, however, early modern times were difficult and dangerous.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL INNOVATIONS

Two bitter struggles in the early sixteenth century marked the end of Europe's medieval era and the beginning of the early modern period. One was the Reformation, a movement that brought about many religious reforms but shattered Latin Christian unity. The other was the unsuccessful attempt to unite Christian Europe to block the Muslim armies of the Ottoman Empire. Instead of achieving unity, early modern Europe was plagued by divisions and warfare among its national monarchies.

Religious Reformation

In 1500 the papacy, the central administration of Latin Christianity, was simultaneously gaining stature and suffering from corruption and dissent. Economic prosperity was increasing revenues from taxes and donations, allowing successive popes to fund ambitious construction projects in Rome, their capital city. During the sixteenth century they built fifty-four new churches and other buildings that were showcases of the artistic Renaissance then under way. The church's wealth and power also attracted into ecclesiastical careers some ambitious individuals whose personal lives became the source of scandal.

The personal life of Pope Leo X was free from scandal, but he was more a man of action than a spiritual leader. One technique that he used to raise funds for the church's building projects was to authorize the sale of indulgences—forgiveness for past sins, granted as a reward for a pious act such as making a pilgrimage, saying a particular prayer, or making a donation to a religious cause. Pope Leo's agents promoted indulgences in ways that many felt emphasized fundraising more than religious piety. In one German state a young monk named Martin Luther (1483–1546) protested Pope Leo's claims that believers could be saved by purchasing indulgences. The conflict between these two churchmen quickly moved beyond the question of indulgences, and in 1519 the papacy condemned Luther.

Luther burned the papal bull (document) of condemnation, rejecting the pope's authority and beginning the movement now known as the *Protestant Reformation*. Luther insisted that the only way to salvation was through faith in Jesus Christ. He declared that Christian belief must be based on the word of God in the Bible and on Christian tradition, not on the authority of the pope, as Catholics held. His conclusions led him to leave the monastery, and later he married a former nun.

Inspired by Luther, others raised their voices to denounce the ostentation and corruption of the leaders of the Catholic Church. In France, John Calvin (1509–1564) became a highly influential Protestant leader. Calvin's teaching differed from that of Roman Catholics and Lutherans in two respects.

First, while agreeing with Luther's emphasis on faith over works, Calvin denied that even human faith could merit salvation. Salvation, said Calvin, was God's free gift to those "predestined" for it. Second, Calvin went further than Luther in curtailing the power of ordained clergymen and in simplifying religious rituals.

The Reformers appealed to sincere religious sentiments. But many who joined them had political and economic agendas. Rising national consciousness often became identified with religious affiliation, as in the spread of Lutheranism in the German-speaking states. Peasants and urban laborers sometimes adopted a different faith in defiance of their masters. Since Protestants and Roman Catholics believed in male dominance in both the church and the family, neither tradition had a special attraction for women. Most Protestants, however, rejected the medieval tradition of celibate priests and nuns and advocated Christian marriage for all adults.

Shaken by the intensity of the Protestant Reformers' appeal, the Catholic Church undertook some reforms. The church issued decrees reforming the education, discipline, and practices of the Roman Catholic clergy, reaffirmed the supremacy of the pope, and clarified Catholic beliefs (including those concerning indulgences) in light of Protestant challenges. Also important to this *Catholic Reformation* were the activities of a new religious order—the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits. Jesuits helped stem the Protestant tide and win back some adherents by their teaching and preaching.

Given the complexity of the issues and the intensity of the emotions that the Protestant Reformation raised, it is not surprising that violence often flared up. Both sides persecuted and sometimes executed those of differing views. Bitter "wars of religion," fought over a mixture of religious and secular issues, continued until 1648.

The Failure of Empire

Meanwhile, another great medieval institution, the Holy Roman Empire, was also in trouble. The threat to Europe that the Ottoman Turks posed after their capture of the important Greek Christian city of Constantinople in 1453 stirred interest in a Pan-European coalition to stop the Muslim advances. A Christian coalition led by Emperor Charles V, ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, eventually halted the Ottomans at the gates of Vienna in 1529, but Charles's efforts to forge his extensive possessions into Europe's strongest state met strong resistance. King Francis I of France, who had lost to Charles in the election for Holy Roman Emperor, openly supported the Muslim Turks to weaken his rival. Nor were the heads of the many states that made up the Holy Roman Empire eager to share their powers and revenues with the emperor.

After decades of bitter fighting, Charles V gave up his efforts at unification. He brought peace to the empire in 1555 by giving the princes the right to choose whether Catholicism or Lutheranism would prevail in their particular states (see Map 15.1), and he allowed them to keep any church lands they had seized before 1552.

Thus the two institutions that had symbolized Western unity during the Middle Ages—the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire—were seriously weakened by the mid-sixteenth century. Neither institution disappeared, but after the year 1500 national kingdoms took over religious and political leadership in western Europe. Indeed, the final collapse of religious and imperial unity was partly the work of their ambitious rulers, who were eager to enhance their own states by bringing all other institutions under their control and preventing the emergence of any imperial superpower.

Royal Centralization

Talented rulers and their able ministers guided the rise of these European kingdoms, working to enhance royal authority by limiting the autonomy of the church. Well before the Reformation, rulers in Spain, Portugal, and France had gained control over church appointments and used church revenues to enhance royal power. This co-opting of the church by the state helps explain why religious uniformity was such a hot political issue. Following a pattern used by his predecessors to suppress Jewish and Muslim practices, King Philip II of Spain used an ecclesiastical court, the Spanish Inquisition, to bring into line those who resisted his authority. In France, Prince Henry of Navarre switched his faith from Calvinist to Catholic so that, as King Henry IV (r. 1589–1610)—the first of the Bourbon kings—he would share the faith of the majority of his subjects.

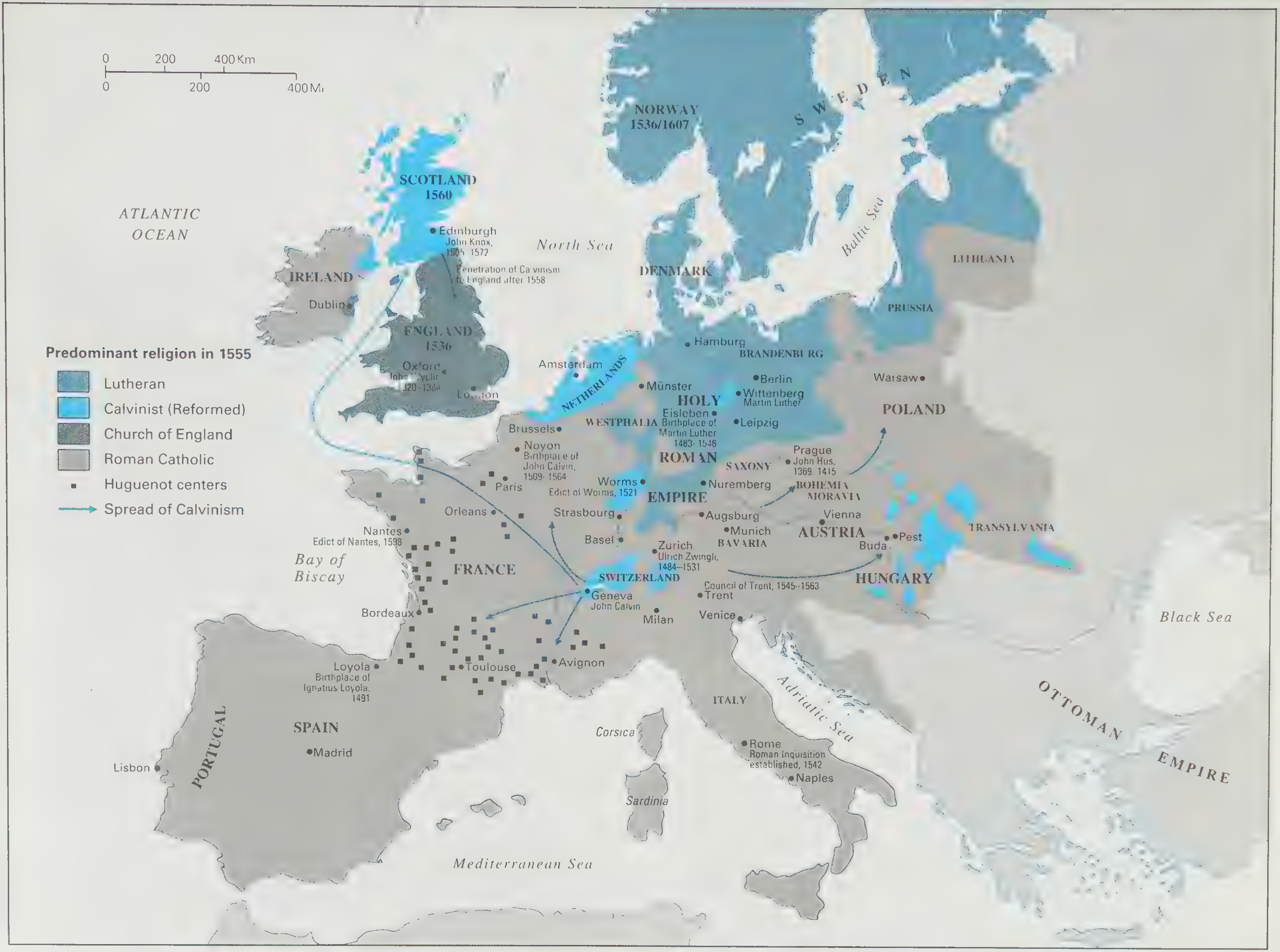
Elsewhere, the Protestant Reformation made it easier for monarchs to increase their control of the Catholic Church. In England the church lost its autonomy after the pope turned down King Henry VIII's petition for an annulment of his marriage to Katharine of Aragon and Henry ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to annul the marriage. The breach with Rome was sealed in 1534 when Parliament made the English monarch head of the Church of England. Henry used his authority to disband Catholic monasteries and convents, giving some of their landholdings to his powerful allies and selling others to pay for his new navy. In other respects religion in England changed little under Henry and his successors, despite growing pressures from English Calvinists known as *Puritans* to "purify" the Church of England of Catholic practices and beliefs.

In addition to gaining control of the church, western European kings and queens enhanced their powers by promoting national institutions. By 1750 rulers had achieved greater uniformity in law and administration. The growth of a common language, especially among the elites, further strengthened national unity. In Spain the Castilian dialect was increasingly spoken, while in France people increasingly imitated the speech of Paris. The Protestant emphasis on reading the Bible in vernacular languages (instead of in Latin) sped the standardization of German and English.

Absolutism and Constitutionalism

As monarchs sought to concentrate power in their own hands, they had to confront another central institution: representative assemblies, such as the Estates General in France and Parliament in England, that traditionally had to

Map 15.1 The European Empire of Charles V Charles was Europe's most powerful ruler from 1519 to 1556, but his efforts failed to unify the Christian West. In addition to being the elected head of the Holy Roman Empire, he was the hereditary ruler of the Spanish realms of Castile and Aragon and the Central European possessions of the Austrian Hapsburgs. The map does not show his extensive American and Asian holdings.


Predominant religion in 1555
Lutheran
Calvinist (Reformed)
Church of England
Roman Catholic
Huguenot centers
Spread of Calvinism
0 200 400 Km
0 200 400 Mi
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Bay of Biscay
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
NORWAY 1536/1607
SWEDEN
DENMARK
SCOTLAND 1560
Edinburgh
John Knox, 1505-1572
Penetration of Calvinism to England after 1558
IRELAND
Dublin
ENGLAND 1536
Oxford
John Wyclif 1320-1384
London
LITHUANIA
PRUSSIA
Hamburg
BRANDENBURG
Amsterdam
NETHERLANDS
Münster
Berlin
Wittenberg
Martin Luther
HOLY
Eisleben
Birthplace of Martin Luther 1483-1546
WESTPHALIA
Leipzig
ROMAN
EMPIRE
Brussels
Noyon
Birthplace of John Calvin, 1509-1564
Paris
Worms
Edict of Worms, 1521
SAXONY
Prague
John Hus, 1369-1415
Nuremberg
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Warsaw
POLAND
Orleans
Strasbourg
Augsburg
Vienna
Munich
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
Buda
Pest
TRANSYLVANIA
HUNGARY
Nantes
Edict of Nantes, 1598
Basel
Zurich
Ulrich Zwingli, 1484-1531
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
John Calvin
Council of Trent, 1545-1563
Trent
Bordeaux
Milan
Venice
Loyola
Birthplace of Ignatius Loyola, 1491
Toulouse
Avignon
ITALY
SPAIN
Madrid
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Corsica
Sardinia
Rome
Roman Inquisition established, 1542
Naples
OTTOMAN EMPIRE

approve important royal actions, such as making war and levying new taxes. The absence of any limitation on a ruler's power is called *absolutism*, a theory that many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European rulers tried to put into practice. French kings succeeded in circumventing the Estates General. In England, Parliament checked royal power and established *constitutionalism*, the limitation of the ruler's power by laws.

The Estates General represented three estates, or social classes: the clergy, the nobility, and the towns (townspeople with wealth and high status). But, except in 1614 when Queen Marie de' Medici was ruling in the name of her young son, the Bourbon kings refused to summon it into session. Unable to impose new taxes without summoning the Estates General, Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) turned to his astute finance minister, Colbert, who devised new, efficient tax collection methods that tripled the funds reaching the royal treasury. Later, when wars waged by Louis XIV strained the treasury to the breaking point, the king raised additional sums by selling high offices, again bypassing the Estates General.

In England, King Charles I (r. 1625–1649) ruled for eleven years without summoning Parliament. To raise money, he coerced "loans" from wealthy subjects and twisted tax laws to new uses. Then in 1640, a rebellion in Scotland forced

Versailles, 1688 King Louis XIV inspects plans for a reservoir to provide water for his new suburban palace and its many fountains. The gigantic palace symbolized the French monarch's triumph over the traditional rights of the nobility. Capable of housing ten thousand people and surrounded by elaborately landscaped grounds and parks, it can be seen as a sort of theme park of royal absolutism. The main palace buildings are in the background, and the old village of Versailles is on the right. (Giraudon/Art Resource, NY)

him to summon the members of Parliament to approve new taxes to pay for an army. Before authorizing new taxes, Parliament insisted on strict guarantees that the king would never again ignore its traditional rights. The king refused to grant these guarantees, ordered the arrest of his leading critics in the House of Commons in 1642, and plunged the kingdom into civil war. When Charles refused to compromise even after being defeated on the battlefield, a "Rump" Parliament purged of his supporters ordered him executed in 1649 and replaced the monarchy with a Puritan Republic ruled by Oliver Cromwell.

The English monarchy was restored in 1660, but when King James II (r. 1685–1688) refused to respect Parliament's rights and had his heir baptized a Roman Catholic, Parliament forced him into exile in the bloodless Glorious Revolution of 1688. The Bill of Rights of 1689 specified that Parliament had to be called "frequently" and had to consent to changes in laws and to the raising of an army in peacetime.

German Wars of Religion	1546–1555
Ottoman wars	1526–1571
French Wars of Religion	1562–1598
Revolt of the Netherlands	1566–1609, 1621–1648
Thirty Years War	1618–1648
English Civil War	1642–1648
Anglo-Dutch Wars	1652–1678
Wars of Louis XIV	1667–1697
Ottoman wars	1683–1697
War of Spanish Succession	1702–1714
Great Northern War	1702–1721
Ottoman wars	1714–1718
War of Austrian Succession	1740–1748

Table 15.1 Major Wars in Early Modern Europe

BUILDING STATE POWER: WAR AND DIPLOMACY

The remarkable successes of early modern European states in unifying under powerful rulers, whether absolutist or constitutional, would have been of modest global significance if those states had not also developed some of the world's most powerful armed forces. Warfare was almost constant in early modern Europe (see Table 15.1). These struggles for dominance first produced a dramatic change in the size, skill, and armaments of armed forces and then an advance in diplomacy.

The numbers of men in arms increased steadily throughout the early modern period. Spanish armies doubled in size from about 150,000 in the 1550s to 300,000 in the 1630s. French forces, about half the size of the Spanish in the 1630s, grew to an estimated 300,000 to 400,000 by the early eighteenth century. Even smaller European states built up impressive armies. Prussia, with fewer than 2 million inhabitants in 1700, devoted so many resources to building a splendid army that it was recognized as one of Europe's major powers.

Large armies required better command structures. New signaling techniques improved control of battlefield maneuvers, and better discipline was achieved by frequent drills. Military victories by the giant armies were not assured, however. New fortifications able to withstand cannon bombardments made cities harder to capture, and battles between evenly matched armies often ended in stalemates, as in the Thirty Years War (1618–1648). As a result, victory in war increasingly depended on naval superiority.

In a series of eighteenth-century wars, beginning with the War of Spanish Succession

(1702–1714), the combination of Britain's naval strength with the land armies of its Austrian and Prussian allies was able to prevent France from uniting the thrones of France and Spain. This defeat of the French monarchy's empire-building efforts illustrated the *balance-of-power principle* in international relations—the formation of temporary alliances to prevent any one state from becoming too powerful. Russia emerged as a major power in Europe after Peter the Great's modernized armies defeated Sweden in the Great Northern War (1702–1721). During the next two centuries, though adhering to four different branches of Christianity, the great powers of Europe—Catholic France, Anglican Britain, Catholic Austria-Hungary, Lutheran Prussia, and Orthodox Russia (see Map 15.2)—maintained an effective balance of power in Europe by shifting their alliances for geopolitical rather than religious reasons.

URBAN SOCIETY AND COMMERCIAL TECHNOLOGY

Just as palaces were early modern Europe's centers of political power, cities were its economic power centers. The urban growth under way since the eleventh century was accelerating and spreading. In 1500, Paris was the only northern European city with over 100,000 inhabitants. By 1700, both Paris and London had populations over 500,000, Amsterdam had burgeoned from a fishing village to a metropolis of some 200,000, and twenty other European cities contained over 60,000 people.

Most city dwellers had to struggle for a living, and many were very poor. The cities' growth depended primarily on the prosperous merchants who managed the great expansion of regional and overseas commerce. Improved business techniques and manufacturing technologies also sped the growth of commerce.

Urban Social Classes

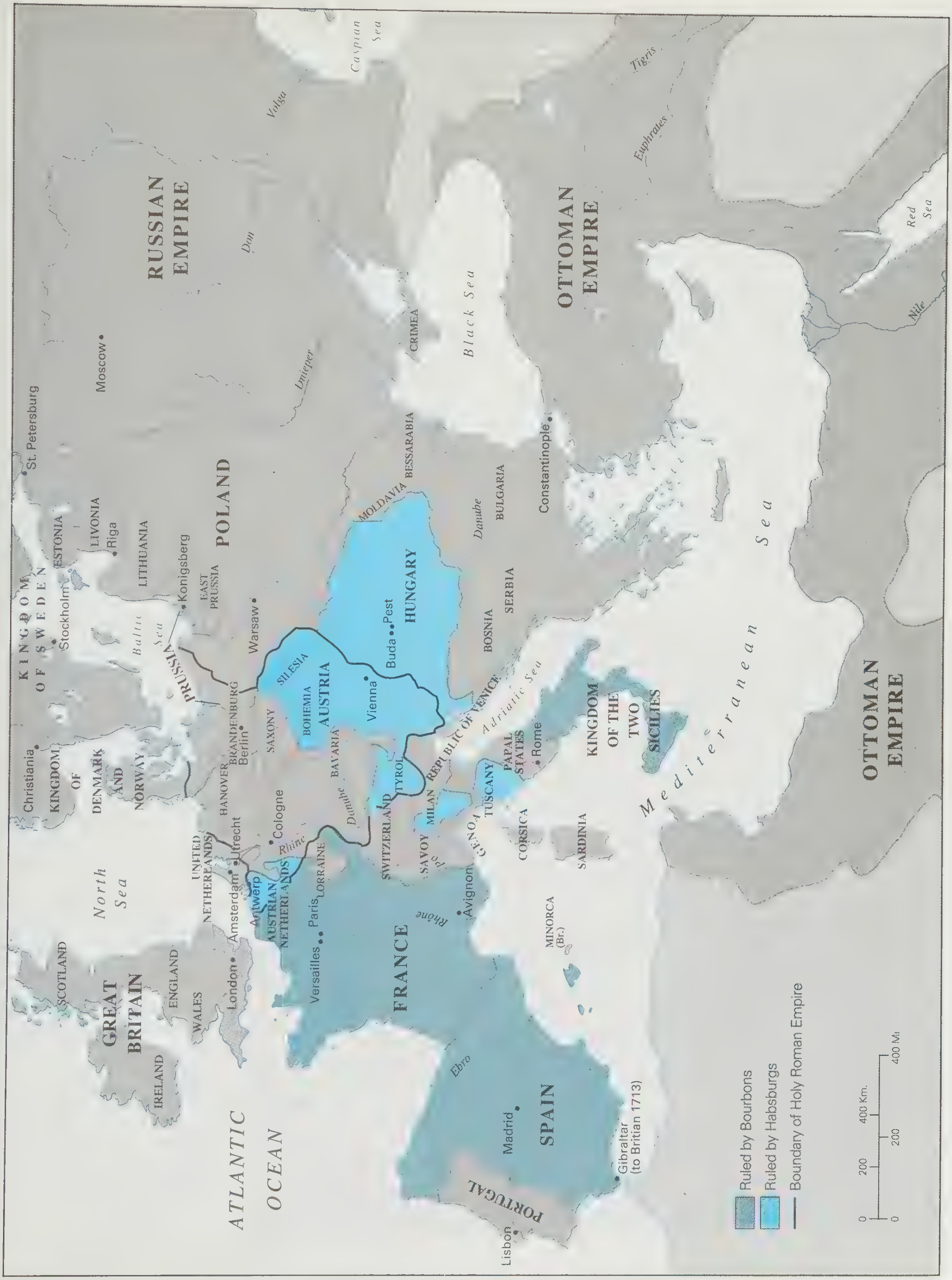
When asked by the mayor of the French city of Bordeaux what impressed them most about European cities in about 1580, a group of visiting Amerindian chiefs is said to have expressed astonishment at the disparity between the fat, well-fed people and the poor, half-starved men, women, and children in rags. Why, the visitors wondered, did the poor not grab the rich by the throat or set fire to their homes? The contrasts of wealth in European cities were indeed startling, and social tension often ran high.[1]

The well-off who dominated the cities were what the French called the *bourgeoisie* (town dwellers). Their wealth came from manufacturing, finance, and especially trade, both regional and overseas. Unlike the old nobility, who shunned productive labor, the bourgeoisie devoted long hours to their businesses and poured their profits into new business ventures or other investments rather than spending them. Even so, they still had enough money to live comfortably in large houses with many servants.

Besides the bourgeoisie, Europe's cities included a middle category of craftworkers and many poor people. From 10 to 20 percent of the city dwellers were so poor they were exempt from taxation. This number included only the "deserving poor," whom officials considered permanent residents. Cities also contained large numbers of "unworthy poor"—recent migrants from impoverished rural areas, peddlers traveling from place to place, and beggars (many with horrible deformities and sores) who tried to survive on charity. There were also criminals, usually organized in gangs, ranging from youthful pickpockets to highway robbers.

Some people managed to improve their lot in life and others slipped lower, but most followed the careers of their parents. In contrast to the

Map 15.2 Europe in 1740 By the middle of the eighteenth century the great powers of Europe were France, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia. Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Ottoman Empire were far weaker in 1740 than they had been two centuries earlier.


RUSSIAN EMPIRE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
KINGDOM OF DENMARK AND NORWAY
GREAT BRITAIN
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
WALES
IRELAND
POLAND
PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
HANOVER
UNITED NETHERLANDS
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
LORRAINE
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
GENOA
MILAN
TYROL
BAVARIA
BOHEMIA
SILESIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
BULGARIA
SERBIA
BOSNIA
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MINORCA (Br.)
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
ESTONIA
LIVONIA
LITHUANIA
CRIMEA
St. Petersburg
Moscow
Riga
Konigsberg
Stockholm
Christiania
Warsaw
Berlin
Vienna
Buda
Pest
Constantinople
Cologne
Utrecht
Amsterdam
Antwerp
London
Paris
Versailles
Avignon
Rome
Madrid
Lisbon
Gibraltar (to Britian 1713)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Red Sea
Adriatic Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Volga
Don
Dnieper
Danube
Danube
Rhine
Rhône
Po
Ebro
Tigris
Euphrates
Nile
Ruled by Bourbons
Ruled by Habsburgs
Boundary of Holy Roman Empire
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arranged marriages common in much of the rest of the world, young men and women in early modern Europe generally chose their own spouses and after marriage set up their own households rather than living with their parents. Thus they had to delay marriage until they could afford to live on their own. The typical groom in early modern Europe could not hope to marry before his late twenties, and his bride would be a few years younger—in contrast to the rest of the world, where people usually married in their teens.

Marriage came late in bourgeois families to allow men to finish their education. Bourgeois parents promoted the establishment of municipal schools to provide a solid education, including Latin and perhaps Greek, for their sons, who were then sent abroad to learn modern languages or to a university to earn a law degree. Daughters were less likely to be groomed for a business career, but wives often helped their husbands as bookkeepers and sometimes inherited businesses.

Besides enabling young people to be independent of their parents, the late age of marriage in early modern Europe held down the birthrate and thus limited family size. Even so, about a tenth of the births in a city were to unmarried women, often servants, who generally abandoned their infants on the doorsteps of churches, convents, or rich families. Delayed marriage also had links to the existence of public brothels,

The Fishwife, 1672 Women were essential partners in most Dutch family businesses. This scene by the Dutch artist Adriaen van Ostade shows a woman preparing fish for retail sale. (Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

where young men could satisfy their lusts, often with unfortunate young women newly arrived from impoverished rural villages. Rape, too, was a common occurrence, usually perpetrated by gangs of young men.

Commercial Techniques and Technology

The expansion of trade in early modern Europe prompted the development of new techniques to manage far-flung business enterprises and invest the profits they produced. As elsewhere in the world, most businesses in Europe operated with family-owned funds or money borrowed from private money-lenders. But a key change in Europe was the rise of *investment banks*, large financial institutions to serve the interests of big business and big government. In the seventeenth century, even though private Dutch banks paid modest rates of interest on deposits, they developed such a reputation for security that wealthy individuals and governments from all over western Europe entrusted them with their money. To make a profit, the banks invested these funds in real estate, local industries, loans to governments, and overseas trade.

Another commercial innovation was the *joint-stock company*, which sold shares to individuals. Often backed by a government charter, such companies offered a way to raise large sums for overseas enterprises while spreading the risks (and profits) among many investors (the operation of chartered joint-stock companies in the overseas trade is examined in Chapter 16). After the initial offering, investors could buy and sell shares in specialized financial markets called *stock exchanges*, Italian innovation transferred to the cities of northwestern Europe in the sixteenth century.

Changes in technology also facilitated economic growth. Improvements in water transport expanded Europe's already superb natural network of seas and navigable rivers for moving bulk items such as grain, wine, and timber. The Dutch built numerous canals to drain the lowlands for agriculture and for transport. The expansion of maritime trade led to new designs for merchant ships. Using timber imported from northern Europe, in the 1590s shipyards in Dutch ports developed the *fluit*, or "flyboat," a capacious cargo ship. It was cheap to build and required only a small crew. Another successful type of merchant ship, the heavily armed "East Indiaman," helped the Dutch establish their supremacy in the Indian Ocean.

RURAL SOCIETY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

For all its new political, military, and commercial strength, early modern Europe rested on a fragile agrarian base. European agricultural techniques had improved little since 1300. The result of this slow progress was famine in bad years and small surpluses in good ones. Overall, the circumstances of the majority of rural Europeans worsened between 1500 and 1750 as adverse economic conditions, warfare, environmental deterioration, and social change added to their misery.

Rural Lives

The bright side of western European rural life was the remarkable personal freedom of the peasantry compared to people of similar status in many other parts of the world. Serfdom, which bound peasant men and women to land owned by a local lord, declined sharply after the great plague of the mid-fourteenth century. Most remaining serfs in western Europe gained their freedom by 1600. By that date slavery in southern Iberia, which had been fed by large numbers of captives from Africa, had also come to an end. Coincidentally, the appearance of a free peasantry in early modern western Europe parallels the rapid increase of serfdom in much of eastern Europe.

The peasants' legal freedom in western Europe did little to make their lives less precarious.

They tended to fall deeper and deeper into debt until they lost their land. This transformation of rural ownership was accelerated by the desire of many successful members of the bourgeoisie to use their wealth to raise their social status by retiring from their professions and purchasing country estates. Landowning made them *gentry*, able to enjoy not only the rural lifestyle of the old feudal aristocracy but also its exemption from taxation.

In Spain the old nobility were responsible for the consolidation of landownership and the impoverishment of the peasantry. By 1600 only 3 percent of the population controlled 97 percent of the land. When Spanish landowners decided that they could increase their incomes by turning cropland into pastures for their sheep, food production and population declined.

Even in prosperous Dutch towns half of the population lived in acute poverty. Other rural poor in the eighteenth century worked at home spinning yarn and weaving cloth from materials supplied by entrepreneurs. So many single women supported themselves by spinning yarn that *spinster* became the normal English word for an unmarried woman. Despite some changes, most Europeans continued to live at a precarious level of existence.

Environmental Crises

Rural Europeans also felt the adverse effects of a century of relatively cool climate that began in the 1590s. During this "Little Ice Age" average temperatures fell only a few degrees, but the effects were startling. Glaciers in the Alps grew much larger. Rivers and canals froze solid from bank to bank. In some places during the coldest years the growing season shrank by two months.

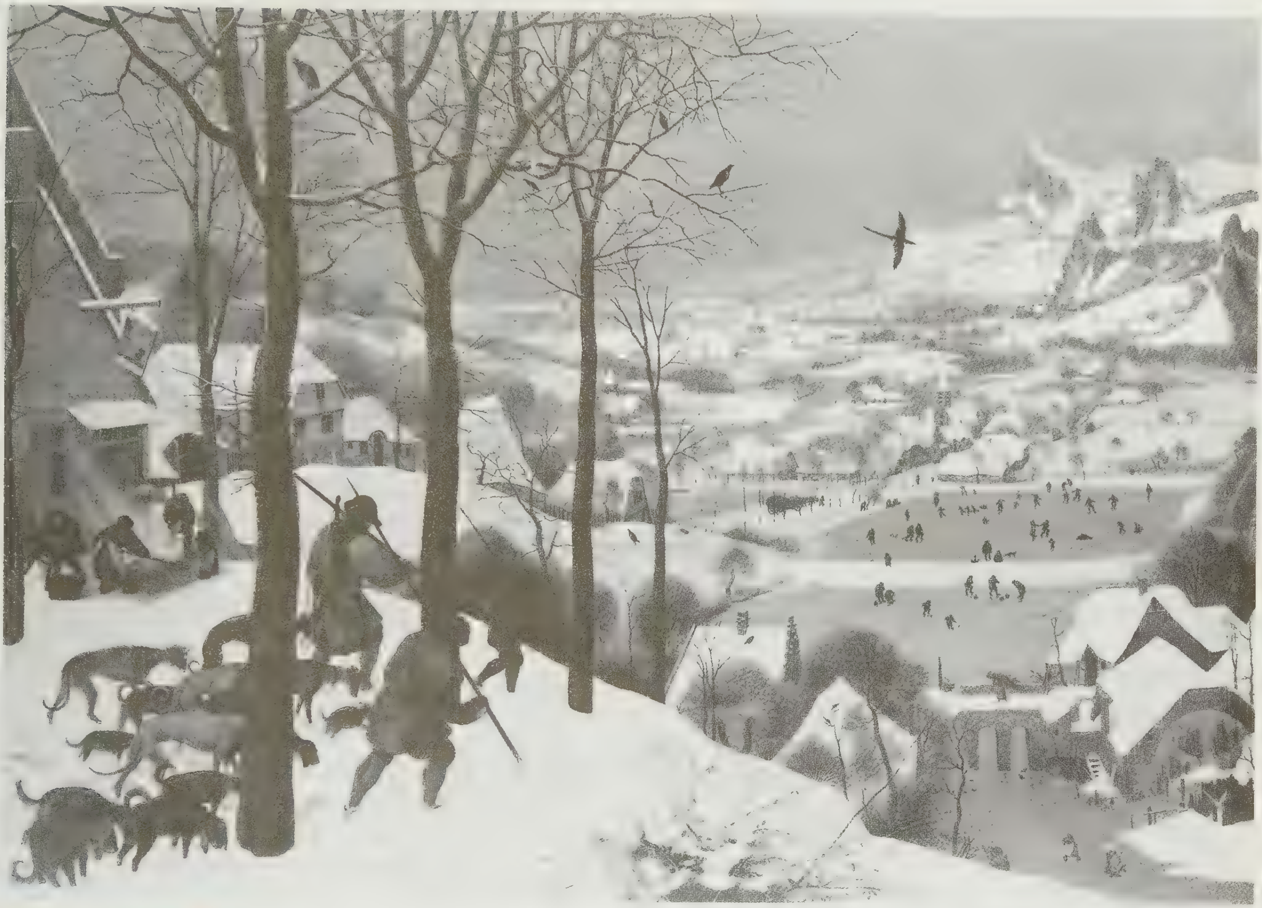
People could survive a smaller-than-average harvest in one year with reserves left from the year before. But when there were successive cold years, the consequences were devastating. The cold spell of 1694–1695 caused a famine in Finland that carried off from one-quarter to one-third of the population. It is difficult to isolate the harm done by the Little Ice Age, however, since European wars (see Table 15.1), changing patterns of landownership, and other social and economic circumstances also had adverse effects.

Another threat to the rural life was deforestation. Early modern Europeans cut down their great hardwood forests to provide timber for ships, lumber for buildings, wagons, and barrels, fuel for heating and cooking, and charcoal for smelting ores and other industrial processes. Given this consumption of wood for Europe's rising population and expanding economy, forest depletion emerged as a serious issue in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The shortages were particularly acute in England, where high wood prices encouraged the use of coal as an alternative fuel. England's coal mining increased twelvefold from 210,000 tons in 1550 to 2.5 million tons in 1700. From 1709, when it was discovered how to remove impurities, coal (in the form of coke) began to replace charcoal in the smelting of iron. By 1750 English coal production was approaching 5 million tons a year.

Everywhere in Europe the depletion of the forests was felt most by the rural poor, who depended on woodlands for abundant supplies of wild nuts and berries, free firewood and building materials, and wild game. Many poor men and women flocked to the cities in hopes of finding better jobs, but most were disappointed.

Land Enclosure and the "Agricultural Revolution"

In parts of the Netherlands and southeastern England consolidation of land led to the adoption of more productive agricultural practices, as Dutch drainage techniques transformed large marshes into fertile fields. This reclaiming of wasteland was part of the *enclosure movement*, in which land formerly in common use was fenced to make farming and the pasturing of sheep more efficient. New laws accelerated enclosure after 1750.



Winter in Flanders, 1565 This January scene by the Flemish artist Pieter Bruegel shows many everyday activities besides the one featured in the painting's usual title, *Hunters in the Snow*. The women under the sign are singeing the bristles off a slaughtered pig. On the frozen ponds people skate and play hockey and curling. An old woman trudges home under a load of faggots. A February scene that Bruegel painted as part of this series shows the snow all melted. A few decades later, winters became longer and colder. (Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

Progressive English farmers also abandoned the traditional practice of allowing a field to lie idle every second or third year so as to regain its fertility. Instead, they adopted the Dutch technique of alternating nitrogen-using crops (such as grain) with nitrogen-restoring crops (such as peas and beans) or using idled fields as pastures so that animal droppings would fertilize the soil. This rotation put more land under cultivation and increased crop yields per unit of land. Large English landowners also tried to improve their animal stocks by mating animals selectively to enhance desirable characteristics. Though not yet scientific, such selective breeding resulted in larger hogs, cows that gave more milk, and faster horses.

In 1750 this "agricultural revolution" was confined to a small area of northwestern Europe and so did little to relieve the general wretchedness. Indeed, the condition of the average person in western Europe seems to have fallen sharply during the century after 1530. English peasants were reduced to a diet of black bread and little else. In other parts of Europe, new crops from the Americas helped the rural poor avert starvation: In northeastern and Central Europe and in Ireland the potato sustained life. Peasants along the Mediterranean, who could not afford to eat the wheat they raised for urban markets, grew maize (corn) for their own consumption.

Social Rebellion and Witch-Hunts

Rising discontent in early modern Europe often spilled over into rebellion. In southwestern France alone some 450 uprisings occurred between 1590 and 1715, many of them set off by food shortages and tax increases. The exemption of the wealthy from taxation was a frequent source of complaint.

Many distressed individuals turned their anger and jealousy inward or against their neighbors. An expression of social tension was a rash of witchcraft trials in northern Europe in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nearly one hundred thousand people—some three-fourths of them women—were tried for practicing witchcraft. Some were acquitted, some recanted, but as many as a third were executed. The trial records make it clear that neither the accusers nor the accused doubted that Satanic magic could make people and domesticated animals sicken or die or cause crops to wither in the fields. Indeed, many of the accused confessed to casting spells and described in vivid detail their encounters with the Devil and their attendance at nighttime assemblies of witches.

Not believing that such confessions were true, modern historians have sought to explain why witch-hunting increased and why so many of the accused were women. The fact that many of the accused were older women, especially widows, may reflect the widespread belief that women not directly under the control of fathers or husbands were likely to turn to evil. However, large numbers of men were also tried for witchcraft, and some accused persons seem to have been eager to admit to witchcraft.

Modern researchers who have studied witchcraft in parts of the world where belief in witches still exists and actual witch-hunts still take place offer another view. They find that witch-hunts tend to arise at times of social stress and that people marginalized by poverty and by the suspicions of others often relish the celebrity that public confession brings. From this perspective there is a plausible linkage between the rise in witchcraft accusations and fears in early modern Europe and the rising social tension, rural poverty, and environmental strains.

THE REALM OF IDEAS

As the widespread witch-hunts suggest, a blend of biblical and folk beliefs dominated the thinking of most early modern Europeans. The educated were also influenced by writings from Greco-Roman antiquity as well as from the Renaissance and Reformation. A few thinkers broke new scientific ground in deciphering the motion of the planets. Such scientific advances encouraged a reevaluation of traditional social and political systems. Although these new ideas had only limited effects before 1750, they illustrate the dynamic changes under way in Europe.

Traditional Thinking

Prevailing European ideas about the natural world drew on three distinct traditions: popular folk beliefs, the authority of the Bible, and the classical tradition of ancient Greece and Rome.

European folk cultures, like cultures in other parts of the world, believed natural disasters, such as crop failure or unexpected death, were due to unseen spiritual forces. Christian leaders reinforced such beliefs by attributing unexpected events to divine intervention. When Lisbon was destroyed by an earthquake in November 1755, for example, Christian leaders saw a parallel with the biblical account of God destroying the city Sodom for its sinfulness.

Even those who studied the natural world held beliefs that seem more mystical than scientific. Those who probed the properties of different metals and chemicals hoped to find formulas that would transform ordinary metals into gold. In the universities, the prevailing orthodoxy was the physics of Aristotle, which held that everything on earth was reducible to four elements: earth and water, which composed the surface of the planet, and air and fire, which floated above the surface. Higher still were the sun, moon, planets, and stars, which, according to Aristotelian physics, were so light and pure that they floated in crystalline spheres. This division between the ponderous, heavy earth and the airy, celestial bodies accorded perfectly with the common-sense perception that all heavenly bodies revolved around earth.

Scientific Thinking

Without questioning the existence of a spiritual world, some daring and imaginative European investigators demonstrated that the workings of the universe could be explained by natural causes, thereby founding modern science. This "scientific revolution" began with Copernicus (1473–1543). This Polish monk used mathematics to describe the movement of the moon, planets, and stars. By calculating that the planets (including the earth) revolved around the sun, Copernicus challenged the prevailing view that the earth was the center of the universe and (indirectly) that humans were the pinnacle of creation (see Environment and Technology: New Cosmologies).

The most brilliant of the scientists who followed Copernicus was the Italian Galileo (1564–1642), who built a telescope through which he took a closer look at the heavens. The moon, Galileo reported, had mountains and valleys, the sun had spots, and other planets had their own moons. In other words, the earth was not unique in being heavy and changeable, as the Aristotelians thought; instead, all celestial bodies shared those qualities.

The Copernican universe at first found more critics than supporters. Aristotelian professors were reluctant to abandon the classical tradition of Aristotle. Theologians defended accounts in the Bible that told of the sun revolving around the earth, not the other way around. Galileo's enemies succeeded in having him censored, condemned, and arrested for holding the new scientific views.

Despite official opposition, printed books spread the new scientific ideas among scholars across Europe. The work begun by Copernicus, Galileo, and others was carried to completion by the English scientist Isaac Newton (1642–1727), living in a freer country and time. Newton devised a new branch of mathematics, calculus, which he used to show that the force of gravity—not angels—produced the elliptical orbits of heavenly bodies. His laws of motion applied equally to the orbit of planet Mercury and to the trajectory of a cannonball on earth.

Enlightened Thinking

Advances in scientific thought had little practical application until long after 1750, but they inspired other European thinkers to reexamine everything from agricultural methods to law, religion, and social hierarchies. The belief that one could discover scientific laws that governed social behavior like the laws of natural science that governed physical objects energized the movement known as the *Enlightenment*. Like the "scientific revolution," this movement attracted a few educated and "enlightened" individuals who often faced bitter opposition from the political, intellectual, and religious establishment. The leading Enlightenment thinkers became accustomed to having their books burned or banned and often spent long periods in exile to escape similar fates themselves.

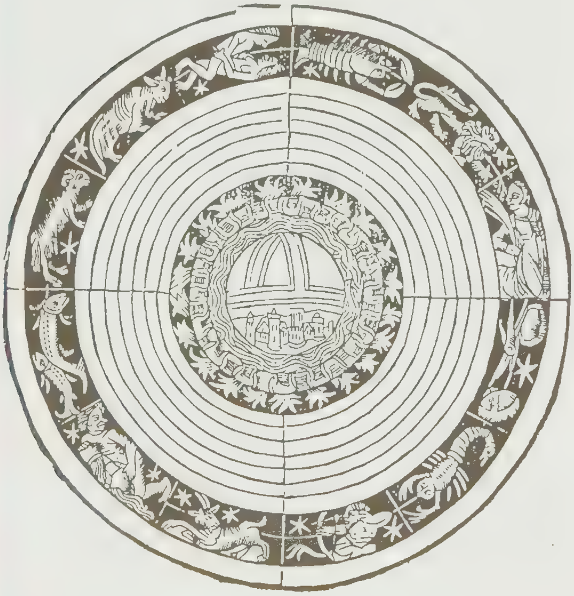
ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

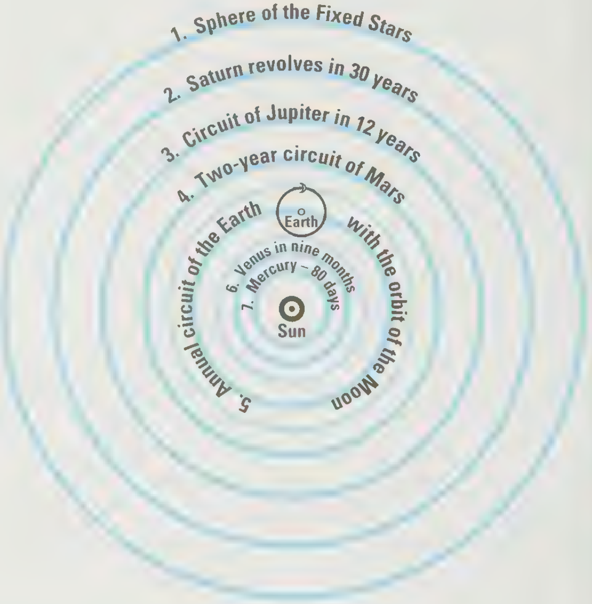
New Cosmologies

According to the classical view of the universe, widely accepted in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe (below left), the earth was at the center of the universe and was surrounded by spheres of air and fire. Circling around them, in individual orbits, were the moon and the seven known planets. Farther out lay the stars, divided into the astrological sectors devised in antiquity.

The Copernican system (below right) placed the sun at the center of the universe and the planets in orbit around it. The moon's orbit around the earth was shown. The circling spheres and outer parts of the classical plan remained unchanged.

Why did Copernicus's simple adjustment in the structure of the universe arouse so much opposition from theologians? Why might some delight in the human mind's ability to figure out the structure of the solar system while others believed humans were diminished by the Copernican cosmology?




1. Sphere of the Fixed Stars
2. Saturn revolves in 30 years
3. Circuit of Jupiter in 12 years
4. Two-year circuit of Mars
5. Annual circuit of the Earth with the orbit of the Moon
Earth
6. Venus in nine months
7. Mercury – 80 days
Sun

Influences besides the scientific revolution affected the Enlightenment. The Reformation had aroused many to champion one creed or another, but partisan bigotry and bloodshed led others to doubt the truth of any of the theological positions and to recommend religious toleration. The killing of suspected witches also shocked many thoughtful people. In the words of Voltaire (the pen name of François Marie Arouet, 1694–1778), a leading French thinker, "No opinion is worth burning your neighbor for."

Accounts of cultures in other parts of the world made some European thinkers question assumptions about the superiority of European political institutions, moral standards, and religious beliefs. Reports of Amerindian life, though romanticized, led some to conclude that those whom they had called savages were in many ways nobler than European Christians.

Another influence on Enlightenment thinkers was the argument of the English political philosopher John Locke, who disputed the common claim of continental monarchs—that they held absolute authority over their subjects. For Locke, absolute monarchy was at odds with human nature. He believed that the monarch, like everyone else, was subject to the law that lay at the basis of the compact that had brought civil society into existence. If monarchs overstepped the law, Locke argued, citizens had not only the right but the duty to rebel (the consequences of this idea are considered in Chapter 20).

Despite the enthusiasm the Enlightenment aroused in some circles, it was decidedly unpopular with many absolutist rulers and with clergymen of all faiths. Eighteenth-century Europe was neither enlightened nor scientific, but it was a place where political and religious division, growing literacy, and the printing press made possible the survival of new ideas that profoundly changed life in the centuries that followed.

CONCLUSION

The word *revolution* has been applied to many different changes in Europe between 1500 and 1750. The inflation of the sixteenth century has been called a price revolution, the expansion of trade a commercial revolution, the reform of state spending a financial revolution, the changes in weapons and warfare a military revolution. We have also encountered the scientific revolution, the agricultural revolution, not to mention the religious revolution of the Reformation.

These important changes in early modern European government, economy, society, and thought were parts of a dynamic process that began in the later Middle Ages and led to even bigger industrial and political revolutions before the eighteenth century was over. Yet the years from 1500 to 1750 were not simply—perhaps not even primarily—an age of progress for Europe. For many, the ferocious competition of European armies, merchants, and ideas was a wrenching experience. The growth of powerful states extracted a terrible price in death, destruction, and misery. The Reformation brought greater individual choice in religion but widespread religious persecution as well. Individual women rose or fell with their social class, but few gained equality with men. The expanding economy benefited members of the emerging merchant elite and their political allies, but most Europeans became worse off as prices rose faster than wages. New scientific and enlightened ideas produced new controversies that did not immediately yield tangible benefits.

The historical significance of this period of European history is clearer from a global context. What stands out are the powerful and efficient European armies, economies, and governments. From a global perspective, the balance of political and economic power shifted slowly but inexorably in the Europeans' favor from 1500 to 1750. In 1500 the Ottomans threatened Europe. By 1750, as the remaining chapters of Part Five detail, Europeans had brought much of the world's seas and a growing part of its land and people under their control. Other changes—the more representative and financially stable government begun in Britain, the new ideas of the scientific revolution and the Enlightenment, and the innovations in agriculture and manufacturing—had not yet begun to affect Europe's position in the world.

SUGGESTED READING

Overviews of this period include H. G. Koenigsberger, *Early Modern Europe: Fifteen Hundred to Seventeen Eighty-Nine* (1987); Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *The Foundations* *of Early Modern Europe, 1460–1559* (1970); and Richard S. Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559–1715,* 2d ed. (1979).

Excellent and accessible overviews of social and economic life are George Huppert, *After the Black Death: A Social History of Early Modern Europe* (1986), and Carlo M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000–1700,* 2d ed. (1980). Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978), offers a broad treatment of nonelite perspectives. For more economic detail see Myron P. Gutmann, *Toward the Modern Economy: Early Industry in Europe, 1500–1800* (1988). Merry E. Wiesner summarizes a body of new research in *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (1994).

Technological and environmental changes are the focus of Geoffrey Parker, *Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800,* 2d ed. (1996); William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society Since A.D. 1000* (1982); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: A History of Climate Since the Year 1000,* trans. Barbara Bray (1971); and Jean M. Grove, *The Little Ice Age* (1988).

A. R. Hall, *The Scientific Revolution, 1500–1800: The Formation of the Modern Scientific Attitude,* 2d ed. (1962), is the classic study of the scientific revolution; but Hugh Kearney, *Science and Change, 1500–1700* (1971), is a more accessible introduction. Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (1995), provides a recent summary of research on that subject.

H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and Other Essays* (1967), remains a useful introduction. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft & Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries,* trans. Hohn and Anne Tedechi (1983), and Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Hennisen, eds., *Early Modern Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (1990), are more recent additions.

Good single-country surveys are John Greg and John Morrill, *The Tudors and Stuarts,* vol. 3 of *The Oxford History of Britain,* ed. Kenneth Morgan (1992); Christopher Hill, *Reformation to Industrial Revolution, 1530–1780* (1969); Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806* (1995); and J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716,* rev. ed. (1977).

NOTE

1. Michel de Montaigne, *Essais,* ch. 31, "Des Cannibales."

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

American Colonial Societies and the Atlantic System, 1530–1800

The Columbian Exchange • Spanish America and Brazil

English and French Colonies in North America • The Atlantic System

Creating the Atlantic Economy • Africa and the Atlantic System

Shulush Homa—an eighteenth-century Choctaw leader called "Red Shoes" by the English—faced a dilemma common to many Amerindian leaders. For years he had befriended the French who had moved into the lower Mississippi Valley, protecting outlying settlements from other native groups and producing a steady flow of deerskins for trade. In return, he received guns and gifts as well as honors previously given only to chiefs. Though born a commoner, he had parlayed his skillful politicking with the French—and the shrewd distribution of the gifts he received—to enhance his position in Choctaw society. Then his fortunes turned. In the course of yet another war between England and France, the English cut off French shipping. Faced with followers unhappy over his sudden inability to supply French guns, Red Shoes decided to make a deal with the English. Unfortunately, the new tactic backfired. His former allies, the French, put a price on his head, which was soon collected. His murder in 1747 launched a Choctaw civil war, a conflict that left the French settlements unprotected and the Choctaw people weakened.

The story of Red Shoes reveals a number of themes from the period of European colonization of the Americas. First, although the wars, epidemics, and territorial loss associated with European settlement threatened indigenous peoples, many adapted the new technologies and new political possibilities to their own purposes and thrived—at least for a time. In the end, though, the best they could achieve was a holding action. The people of the New World were becoming dominated by people from the Old—the known continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia.

Second, after centuries of isolation, the Americas were being drawn into global events, influenced by the political and economic demands of Europe. The influx of Europeans and Africans resulted in a vast biological and cultural transformation, as the introduction of new plants, animals, diseases, peoples, and technologies fundamentally altered the natural environment of the Western Hemisphere. This was not a one-way transfer, however. Staple crops introduced from the Americas provided highly nutritious foods that helped fuel a population spurt in Europe, Asia, and Africa. As we saw in Chapter 15, riches and products funneled from the Americas changed economic, social, and political relations in Europe.

As well, the fluidity of the Choctaws' political situation reflects the complexity of colonial society, where indigenous peoples, Europeans, and Africans all contributed to the creation of new cultures. The society that arose in each colony reflected its mix of native peoples, the characteristics of the European society establishing the colony, and the colony's connections to the slave trade.

Finally, the slave trade from Africa to the New World was one piece of a major business enterprise in the Atlantic Ocean. European investors, with the help of their governments, created a trading circuit that linked Europe, Africa, and the Americas. This Atlantic trade and the plantations the investors established in the Americas brought them profit, but the lasting effects were far broader. The forced migration of so many slaves across the Atlantic transformed the West Indies and other parts of the Americas into centers of African population and culture. The Atlantic system is a prime example of the growing global impact of European commercial expansion.

THE COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE

The term *Columbian Exchange* refers to the transfer of peoples, animals, plants, and diseases between the New and Old Worlds. The European invasion and settlement of the Western Hemisphere opened a long era of biological and technological transfers that altered American environments. Within a century of first settlement, the domesticated livestock and major agricultural crops of the Old World had spread over much of the Americas, and the New World's useful staple crops had enriched the agricultures of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Old World diseases that entered the Americas with European immigrants and African slaves devastated indigenous populations. These dramatic population changes weakened native peoples' capacity for resistance and facilitated the transfer of plants, animals, and related technologies. As a result, the colonies of Spain, Portugal, England, and France became vast arenas of cultural and social experimentation.

Demographic Changes

Because of their long isolation from other continents (see Chapter 10), the peoples of the New World lacked immunity to diseases introduced from the Old World. As a result, death rates among Amerindian peoples during the epidemics of the early colonial period were very high. Scholars disagree about the size of the precontact population but generally agree that native populations were overwhelmed by Old World diseases following contact. According to one estimate, in the century that followed the triumph of Hernán Cortés in 1521, the population of central Mexico fell from between 13 million and 25 million to approximately 700,000, and nearly 75 percent of the Maya population disappeared. In the region of the Inca Empire, population fell from about 9 million to approximately 600,000. Other estimates begin with smaller precontact populations but agree that the epidemics had a catastrophic effect on indigenous peoples.

Smallpox appeared for the first time on the island of Hispaniola in 1519 and was then transmitted to Mexico by an infected member of the Cortés expedition in 1520. It spread with deadly efficiency. Measles arrived in the New World in the 1530s and was followed by diphtheria, typhus, influenza, and the bubonic plague. By the mid-seventeenth century, malaria and yellow fever were also present in tropical regions. Malaria arrived with the African slave trade, ravaging the already reduced native populations and afflicting European immigrants as well. Although most scholars believe that yellow fever was also brought from Africa, new research suggests that the disease was present before the conquest in the tropical low country near present-day Veracruz on the Gulf of Mexico. Whatever its origins, yellow fever killed Europeans in the Caribbean Basin and in other tropical regions nearly as efficiently as smallpox had earlier extinguished Amerindians. Syphilis is the only significant disease believed to have been transferred from the Americas to Europe. The development of English and French colonies in North America in the seventeenth century led to similar patterns of contagion and mortality. Although there is very little evidence that Europeans consciously used disease as a tool of empire, the deadly results of contact clearly undermined the ability of indigenous peoples to resist settlement.

Transfer of Plants and Animals

Even as epidemics swept through the indigenous population, the New and the Old Worlds were participating in an exchange of plants and animals that radically altered diet and lifestyles in both regions. In a remarkably short time, the staples of southern European agriculture—such as wheat, olives, grapes, and garden vegetables—were being grown in the Americas. Indigenous peoples remained loyal to their traditional staples but added many Old World plants to their diet, such as bananas, coconuts, breadfruit, sugar cane, citrus fruits, melons, and figs. In return, New World staples—such as maize, potatoes, and manioc—revolutionized agriculture and diet in parts of Europe, Africa, and Asia. Many experts assert that the rapid growth of world population after 1700 resulted in large measure from the dissemination of these useful crops, which provided more calories per acre than any of the Old World staples except rice. Beans, squash, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, peanuts, chilies, and chocolate also gained widespread acceptance in the Old World. The New World also provided many other useful plants—for example, plants that provided dyes, medicinal plants, varieties of cotton, and tobacco.

The introduction of European livestock had a dramatic impact on the environments and cultures of the New World. Faced with few natural predators, cattle, pigs, horses, and sheep, as well as pests like rats and rabbits, multiplied rapidly in the open spaces of the Americas. On the plains of South America, northern Mexico, and Texas, wild cattle provided indigenous peoples with abundant supplies of meat and hides. In the present-day southwestern United States, the Navajo became sheepherders and weavers. Even in the centers of European settlement, individual Amerindians turned European animals to their own advantage by becoming muleteers, cowboys, and sheepherders. No animal had a more striking effect on the cultures of native peoples than the horse, which increased the efficiency of hunters and the military capacity of warriors on the plains.

SPANISH AMERICA AND BRAZIL

The frontiers of conquest and settlement expanded rapidly. Within one hundred years of Columbus's first voyage to the Western Hemisphere, the Spanish Empire in America included most of the islands of the Caribbean, Mexico, the American southwest, Central America, the Caribbean and Pacific coasts of South America, the Andean highlands, and the vast plains of the Rio de la Plata region (the region that includes the modern nations of Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay). Although Portuguese settlement in the New World developed more slowly, most of the Brazilian coast was occupied before the end of the sixteenth century.

Early settlers from Spain and Portugal moved quickly to recreate the religious, social, and administrative institutions of their still-feudal homelands. They viewed society as a vertical arrangement of estates (social classes), as uniformly Catholic, and as an arrangement of patriarchal extended-family networks. Nevertheless, despite the massive loss of life caused by epidemics in the sixteenth century, indigenous peoples exercised a powerful influence on the development of colonial societies. Once defeated, Aztec and Inca elite families sought to protect their traditional privileges and rights through marriage or less formal alliances with the *conquistadores* (conquerors). They quickly learned to use Spanish courts to defend their lands. Nearly everywhere, Amerindian religious beliefs and practices survived beneath the surface of the Christianity imposed on them. Amerindian languages, cuisines, medical practices, and agricultural techniques also survived the conquest and influenced the development of Latin American culture.

The African slave trade added a third cultural stream to colonial Latin American society and is discussed later in this chapter. By the end of the colonial era, Africans and their descendants were living throughout Latin America, enriching colonial societies with their traditional agricultural practices, music, religious beliefs, cuisine, and social customs.

State and Church

The Spanish crown moved quickly to curb the independent power of the conquistadores and to establish royal authority over both the defeated native populations and the rising tide of European settlers. Created in 1524, the Council of the Indies in Spain supervised all government, ecclesiastical, and commercial activity in the Spanish colonies. Distance from Europe increased the authority of the viceroys of New Spain and Peru, who were the highest-ranking Spanish officials in the colonies. Political and economic power was concentrated in Mexico City, capital of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, and in Lima, capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Each viceroyalty was subdivided into judicial and administrative districts. Until the seventeenth century, almost all of the officials appointed to high positions in Spain's colonial bureaucracy were born in Spain. Later, when an economic crisis in Spain forced the Crown to sell appointments to these offices, local-born members of the colonial elite gained many offices.

Portugal hesitated to establish expensive mechanisms of colonial government in Brazil, because its explorers had found neither mineral wealth nor native empires there and a large share of Portugal's resources and energies were concentrated on Asia (see Chapter 15). Finally, in 1549, the king of Portugal appointed a governor-general and established a colonial capital in Salvador, in the northern province of Bahia. The position was upgraded to viceroy in 1720.

The colonial bureaucracies made the colonies more responsive to the initiatives of Spain and Portugal. They also thwarted local economic and political experimentation.

The Catholic Church became the primary agent for the introduction and transmission of both Christian belief and European secular culture in Spanish America and Portuguese Brazil. Spain and Portugal justified their American conquests by accepting an obligation to convert native populations to Christianity. Although this religious objective was sometimes forgotten and some members of the clergy were themselves exploiters of native populations, the evangelical effort among America's native peoples imitated in scale and reach Christianity's expansion in the era of Constantine, some three or four hundred years after the death of Christ. In Mexico alone hundreds of thousands of conversions and baptisms were achieved within a few years of the conquest.

The Catholic clergy sought to convert the Amerindians by first converting native elites. But these efforts were abandoned when church authorities discovered that many converts were secretly observing old beliefs and rituals. In the 1560s, Bishop Diego de Landa used torture, executions, and the destruction of native manuscripts to eradicate idolatry among the Maya. Repelled, the church hierarchy ended both the violent repression of native religious practice and efforts to recruit a native clergy.

However, evangelization had led to the appearance of an Amerindian Christianity that, while superficially Catholic, included essential elements of traditional native cosmology and ritual. Indigenous beliefs and rituals were commonly blended with the celebration of saints' days or rituals associated with the Virgin Mary. The Catholic clergy and most European settlers viewed this mixture as the work of the Devil or evidence of Amerindian inferiority. Instead it was one component of the process of cultural borrowing and innovation that contributed to a distinct and original Latin American culture.

Evangelical enthusiasm waned after 1600, and the church redirected most of its resources from the Amerindian countryside to the European cities and towns of colonial society. The founding of universities and secondary schools and the stimulation of intellectual life were the greatest achievements of this mature period.

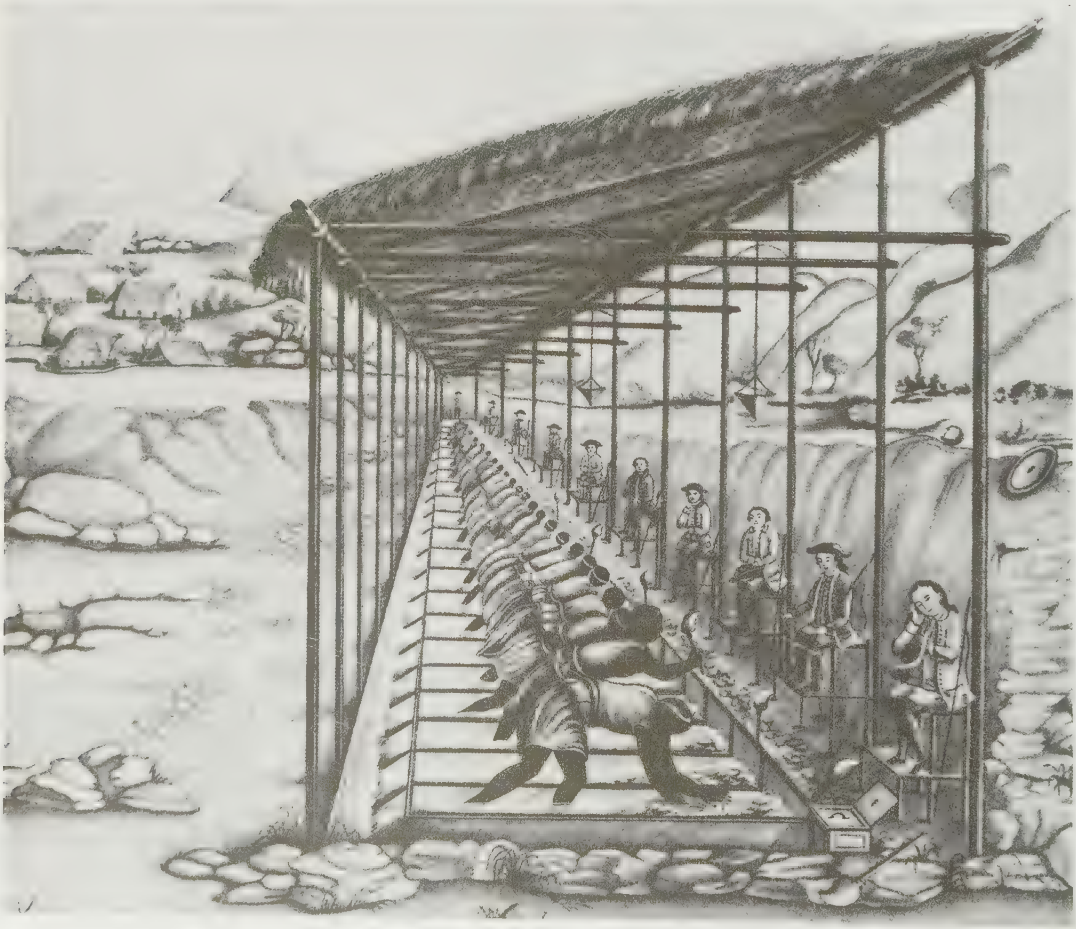
Colonial Economies

The silver mines of Peru and Mexico and the sugar plantations of Brazil dominated regional economic development. The mineral wealth of the New World fueled the early development of European capitalism and funded a greatly expanded trade with Asia. Profits produced in these centers of production promoted the growth of colonial cities, concentrated scarce investment capital and labor resources, and stimulated the development of livestock raising and agriculture in neighboring rural areas. Once established, this dependence on mineral and agricultural exports lasted until the end of the colonial period.

Although millions of pesos of gold were produced in the mines of Latin America, the silver mines of the Spanish colonies generated more wealth and exercised greater economic influence. At first silver was extracted from ore by smelting. The ore was crushed in giant stamping mills, packed with charcoal in a furnace, and fired. Within a short time the need for fuel had stripped many mining regions of their forests. Miners in Mexico then developed an efficient method of chemical extraction using mercury to refine silver from ore. Mercury amalgamation led to greater yields, but use of the poison mercury contaminated the environment and sickened the work force.

In the early years Spanish mines in both Mexico and Peru depended on the forced labor of Amerindians. Because the mines of Mexico were

Brazilian diamond mine From the late seventeenth century into the early eighteenth century, Brazil experienced gold, emerald, and diamond booms. Slave labor was essential for the exploitation of these new resources. Close supervision by Europeans prevented slaves from hiding diamonds in order to purchase their freedom. (Courtesy, Fundacao Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro)



located away from the major Amerindian populations, mineowners there relied more on wage laborers. In Peru, by contrast, a rotational labor draft called the *mita* was imposed on indigenous communities, and was retained to the end of the colonial period despite the slow development of a supplemental wage labor system. (This practice was based on the ancient Andean *mit'a* (see Chapter 10), a reciprocal system of labor obligations that provided protections for the elderly and incapacitated as well as support for the elite.) The colonial mita required indigenous communities to send one-seventh of all adult males to silver mines or other Spanish enterprises.

The Portuguese first developed sugar plantations that relied on slave labor on the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Azores, the Cape Verdes, and São Tomé, then brought this profitable form of agriculture to Brazil. By the seventeenth century, sugar dominated the Brazilian economy. At first Portuguese sugar planters in Brazil enslaved Amerindians captured in war or seized from their villages, but eventually they came to rely more on African slaves, although Amerindians continued to be enslaved as late as the eighteenth century. Africans cost much more than indigenous slaves, but planters found them to be more productive and more resistant to disease. As profits from the plantations rose, imports of African slaves rose from an average of 2,000 per year in the late sixteenth century to approximately 7,000 per year a century later.

The mining centers of Mexico and Peru exercised broad economic influence. American silver increased the European money supply, fueling commercial expansion and, later, industrialization. American silver also flowed across the Pacific to the Spanish colony of the Philippines, where it was exchanged for Asian spices, silks, and pottery. In the Americas, the rich mines of Peru, Bolivia, and Mexico stimulated the production of agriculturalists, livestock producers, and textile manufacturers in distant regions.

The sugar plantations of Brazil played a similar role in integrating the economy of the south Atlantic region, connecting Brazil to Spanish settlements in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. At the end of the seventeenth century the discovery of gold in Brazil helped overcome this large region's currency shortage and promoted further economic integration.

In 1503 the government of Spain had designated Seville as the only Spanish port permitted to trade with Spain's American colonies, and it authorized a single institution, the House of Trade, to supervise colonial commerce. Merchant guilds were granted monopoly control of trade both in Spain and in the colonies. Because the fleets of foreign rivals and pirates attacked ships returning to Spain with silver and gold, the Spanish government came to rely on escorted convoys to supply the colonies. By 1650, Portugal had instituted a similar system of monopoly trade and fleets.

The combination of monopoly commerce and convoy systems that Spain and Portugal imposed proved to be remarkably effective in protecting shipping and facilitating the collection of taxes. It also slowed the flow of European goods to the New World and kept prices high. Colonial populations, however, became frustrated in their efforts to promote a greater volume of trade with Europe. By the middle of the seventeenth century a majority of European imports were arriving in Latin America illegally.

Society in Colonial Latin America

With the exception of a few early viceroys, few members of Spain's great noble families came to the New World. Lesser nobles (called *hidalgos*) were well represented as were Spanish merchants, artisans, miners, priests, and lawyers. Small numbers of criminals, beggars, and prostitutes also found their way to the colonies. Spanish settlers, however, were a tiny minority in a colonial society numerically dominated by Amerindians and rapidly growing populations of Africans, American-born whites (called *creoles*), and people of mixed descent, referred to as "castes" (*castas*) in Voices and Visions: Society in Colonial Mexico.

Society in Colonial Mexico

Great inequalities in wealth and power developed in the wake of conquest and European settlement in colonial Spanish America. The vast majority of the Amerindians lived in poverty and were excluded from full participation in the institutions of church and state. In 1799 Antonio de San Miguel, bishop of Michoacán in Mexico, wrote to the king of Spain to warn that these injustices would lead to violence. As a preface to a suggested program of reforms, the bishop provided this summary of social conditions.

The population of New Spain is composed of three classes of men: whites or Spaniards, Indians, and castes. I suppose the Spaniards to compose the tenth part of the whole mass. In their hands almost all the property and all the wealth of the kingdom are centered. The Indians and the castes cultivate the soil; they are in the service of the better sort of people; and they live by the work of their hands. Hence there results between Indians and whites that opposition of interests and that mutual hatred which universally takes place between those who possess all and those who possess nothing, between masters and those who live in servitude. Thus we see, on the one hand, the effects of envy and discord, deception, theft, and the inclination to prejudice the interests of the rich; and on the other, arrogance, severity and the desire to take every advantage of the helplessness of the Indian. I am not ignorant that these evils everywhere spring from a great inequality of condition. But in America they are rendered still more terrific because there exists no intermediate state; we are rich or miserable, noble or degraded. . . .

Now, Sire, what attachment can the Indian have to the government, despised and degraded as he is, and almost without property and without hope of ameliorating his existence? He is merely attached to social life by a tie which affords him no advantage. Let not your majesty believe that the dread of punishment alone is sufficient to preserve tranquillity in this country; there must be other motives, there must be more powerful motives. If new legislation . . . do[es] not occupy itself with the situation of the Indians and people of color, the influence which the clergy possess over the hearts of these unfortunate people, however great it may be, will not be sufficient to contain them in the submission and respect due to their sovereign.

What conditions are imposed on Amerindians and castes? What obstacles to progress does the bishop mention? Does the bishop believe that these problems threaten Spanish rule in New Spain (Mexico)?

Source: Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain,* edited with an introduction by Mary Maples Dunn (New York: Knopf, 1972), 67.

Encomenderos, conquistadores who received grants of labor and tribute (encomiendas) from indigenous communities as rewards for service to the Crown, dominated society in early Spanish America. Encomiendas were initially based on obligations that Amerindian communities owed to native rulers before the conquest. Although laws attempted to prevent the mistreatment of Amerindians, abuse was common. Encomenderos sought to create a hereditary social and political power similar to European feudalism, but their position was undermined by the catastrophic loss of Amerindian life during the epidemics of the sixteenth century and by the growing power of viceroys, judges, and bishops appointed by the king.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the elite of Spanish America included both European immigrants and American-born creoles. Europeans dominated the highest levels of the church and government as well as trade with Europe. Creoles controlled colonial agriculture and mining.

Painting of *Castas* This is an example of a common genre of colonial Spanish American painting. In the eighteenth century there was increased interest in ethnic mixing, and wealthy colonials as well as some Europeans commissioned sets of paintings that showed mixed-descent families. Commonly the paintings also indicated what the artist believed was an appropriate class setting. In this painting a richly dressed Spaniard is depicted with his Amerindian wife dressed in European clothing. Notice that the painter has the *mestiza* daughter look to her European father for guidance. (Private Collection. Photographer: Camilo Garza/Fotocam, Monterrey, Mexico)

Although tensions between Spaniards and creoles were inevitable, most elite families had members from both groups.

The indigenous Amerindian elites survived only briefly in the Spanish colonies and in Brazil. Some of the conquistadores and early settlers married or established less formal relations with Amerindian women of this class. Fewer of these alliances occurred when European women arrived on the scene. However, the descendants of the once-powerful indigenous elites proved indispensable in the Spanish colonies, where they helped organize draft labor and collect taxes. Some members of this class prospered in the colonial period as ranchers, muleteers, and merchants; many others lived in the same materially deprived conditions as indigenous commoners.

Thousands of blacks participated in the conquest and settlement of Spanish America. The majority were Spanish-speaking, Catholic slaves who had been born in Spain or Portugal. Some black freemen were also present. More than four hundred blacks, most of them slaves, participated in the conquest of Peru and Chile. In the fluid social environment of the conquest era, many slaves gained their freedom. Others simply ran away from their masters.

The status of the black population of colonial Latin America declined with the opening of a direct slave trade with Africa (discussed later in this chapter). Africans were culturally different from culturally assimilated blacks who had been brought to the New World from Spain and Portugal. Their differences in language, religious belief, and cultural practice were viewed as signs of their inferiority and ultimately served as a justification for enslaving them. Soon anyone with black ancestry was barred from positions in church and government as well as from many skilled crafts.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA

The North American colonial empires of England and France and the colonies of Spain and Portugal had many characteristics in common. The governments of England and France hoped to find easily extracted forms of wealth or great indigenous empires like those of the Aztecs or Incas. English and French settlers responded to native peoples with a mixture of diplomacy and violence, as had the Spanish and Portuguese. African slaves proved crucial to the development of all these colonial economies.

There also were some important differences. The English and French colonies were developed nearly a century after Cortés's conquest of Mexico, a hundred-year period of significant economic and demographic growth in Europe. Distracted by ventures elsewhere, neither England nor France had the fiscal resources or political will necessary to imitate the bureaucracy established in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. As a result, the English and French governments granted private companies and individual proprietors the right to develop colonies. This practice led to greater regional variety in economic activity, political culture, and social structure than was evident in the colonies in Latin America.

The South

The first privately funded colonial venture appeared in the New World when London investors, organized as the Virginia Company, took up the challenge of colonizing Virginia in 1606. A year later 144 settlers disembarked at Jamestown, an island 30 miles (48 kilometers) up the James River in the region of Chesapeake Bay. Additional settlers arrived in 1609. Although the location was easily defended, it was a swampy and unhealthy place; indeed, nearly 80 percent of all settlers in the first fifteen years died from disease or Amerindian attacks. When the English crown dissolved the Virginia Company in 1624 because of its mismanagement of the colony, the colonists pushed deeper into the interior, developing a sustainable economy based on furs, timber, and, increasingly, tobacco. The profits from tobacco soon attracted new immigrants and new capital. Along the shoreline of Chesapeake Bay and the rivers that fed it, settlers spread out, developing plantations and farms.

White indentured servants accounted for approximately 80 percent of the English immigrants to Virginia and neighboring Maryland. Young men and women unable to pay their transportation to the New World accepted indentures (contracts) that bound them to a term of from four to seven years of labor in return for passage, a small parcel of land, and some tools and clothes. During the seventeenth century, approximately 1,500 indentured servants, mostly male, arrived each year. As mortality rates declined, however, the pattern changed. White planters relied less on indentured servants and more on slaves. Virginia's slave population grew from 300 in 1650 to 10,000 by 1700.

By the 1660s many of the elements of the mature colony were in place in Virginia. In politics, the governor and his council were joined by the representatives of "burghs" (towns), called *burgesses*. These representatives began meeting alone as a deliberative body, thus originating a system of representation that would distinguish the English colonies of North America from those of other European powers. Ironically, this expansion in colonial liberties and political rights occurred along with the development of slavery. The intertwined evolution of American freedom and American slavery gave England's southern colonies a unique and conflicted political character.

As profits from rice and indigo (a plant that produced a blue dye) rose, the importation of African slaves created a black majority. African languages and Gullah, a dialect with African and English roots, as well as African religious beliefs and diet, strongly influenced this unique colonial culture. These cultural divisions also contributed, in 1739, to the revolt known as the Stono Rebellion. The rebel slaves were soon defeated by the colonial militia, and many were executed. Nevertheless, the rebellion shocked slave owners throughout the South and led to greater repression.

Colonial South Carolina was the most hierarchical society in British North America. Planters controlled both the economy and political life. Small farmers, cattlemen, artisans, merchants, and fur traders held an intermediate but clearly subordinate social position. Although native peoples remained influential participants in colonial society through commercial contacts and alliances, they were increasingly marginalized.

New England

Colonization sprang from different origins and took a different course in New England. Two separate groups of Protestant dissenters, Pilgrims and Puritans, undertook the settlement of this region.

Approximately one hundred Pilgrims—men, women, and children—established the colony of Plymouth on the Atlantic coast in 1620. Although nearly half of the settlers died during the first winter, the colony survived, In 1691, Plymouth was absorbed into the larger Massachusetts Bay Colony of the Puritans.

The Puritan leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Company brought the company charter with them from England to Massachusetts, thereby limiting Crown efforts to control them (the Crown could revoke but not alter the terms of the charter). Large numbers of Puritans began emigrating from England in 1630. By 1643, more than 20,000 had settled in the Bay Colony.

Immigration to Massachusetts differed from immigration to the Chesapeake and to South Carolina. Most newcomers to Massachusetts arrived with their families. Whereas 84 percent of Virginia's population in 1625 was male, Massachusetts had a normal gender balance in its population almost from the beginning. Massachusetts was also more racially and culturally homogeneous and, at the same time, less hierarchical than the southern colonies, in large measure because of the small number of indentured servants or African slaves brought to this region of small farms.

Political institutions evolved out of the terms of the charter. A governor was elected, along with a council of magistrates drawn from the board of directors of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Disagreements between this council and elected representatives of the towns led, by 1650, to the creation of a lower legislative house that selected its own speaker and began to develop procedures and rules similar to those of the House of Commons in England.

Economically, Massachusetts Bay differed dramatically from the southern colonies. Agriculture met basic needs, but poor soils and harsh climate offered no opportunity to develop cash crops. To pay for imported tools, textiles, and other essentials, the colonists began to provide commercial and shipping services in a dynamic and far-flung commercial arena that included the southern colonies, the smaller Caribbean islands, Africa, and Europe (see below). In Spanish and Portuguese America, heavily capitalized monopolies dominated international trade. In New England, by contrast, merchants survived by discovering smaller but more sustainable profits in diversified trade across the Atlantic. The colony's commercial success required superior market intelligence, flexibility, and streamlined organization. The success of this development strategy is demonstrated by urban population growth. With 16,000 inhabitants in 1740, Boston was the largest city in British North America.

The Middle Atlantic

The future success of English-speaking America was rooted in the rapid economic development and remarkable cultural diversity of the Middle Atlantic colonies. In 1624 the Dutch West India Company established a colony called "New Netherland" and located its capital on Manhattan Island. In 1664 James, duke of York and later king of England, became proprietor of the colony and renamed it "New York." New York's success was guaranteed in large measure by the development of New York City as a commercial entrepôt. Inexpensive transportation by boat gave the region's grain farmers access to the booming markets of the Caribbean and southern Europe. By the early eighteenth century, New York had a diverse population that included (in addition to English colonists) Dutch, German, and Swedish settlers as well as a large slave community.

Pennsylvania began as a proprietary colony and as a refuge for a persecuted religious minority, the Quakers. The proprietor, William Penn, in 1682 secured an enormous grant of territory (nearly the size of England) because England's King Charles II was indebted to Penn's father. As owner of the land, Penn had sole right to establish a government, subject only to the requirement that he provide for an assembly of freemen.

Penn quickly lost control of the political process, but his colony was an immediate success. By 1700 Pennsylvania had a population of more than 21,000, and Philadelphia, its capital, soon passed Boston to become the largest city in the British colonies.

Pennsylvania and South Carolina were both grain-exporting colonies, but they were very different societies. Whereas South Carolina's rice plantations required large numbers of slaves, Pennsylvania's grains were overwhelmingly produced on family farms by free workers, including a large number of German families. As a result, Pennsylvania's economic expansion in the late seventeenth century occurred without reproducing South Carolina's hierarchical and repressive social order. The prosperous city of Philadelphia, however, did have a large population of black slaves and freedmen by the early eighteenth century. Many were servants in the homes of wealthy merchants, but the fast-growing economy offered many opportunities in skilled trades as well.

French America

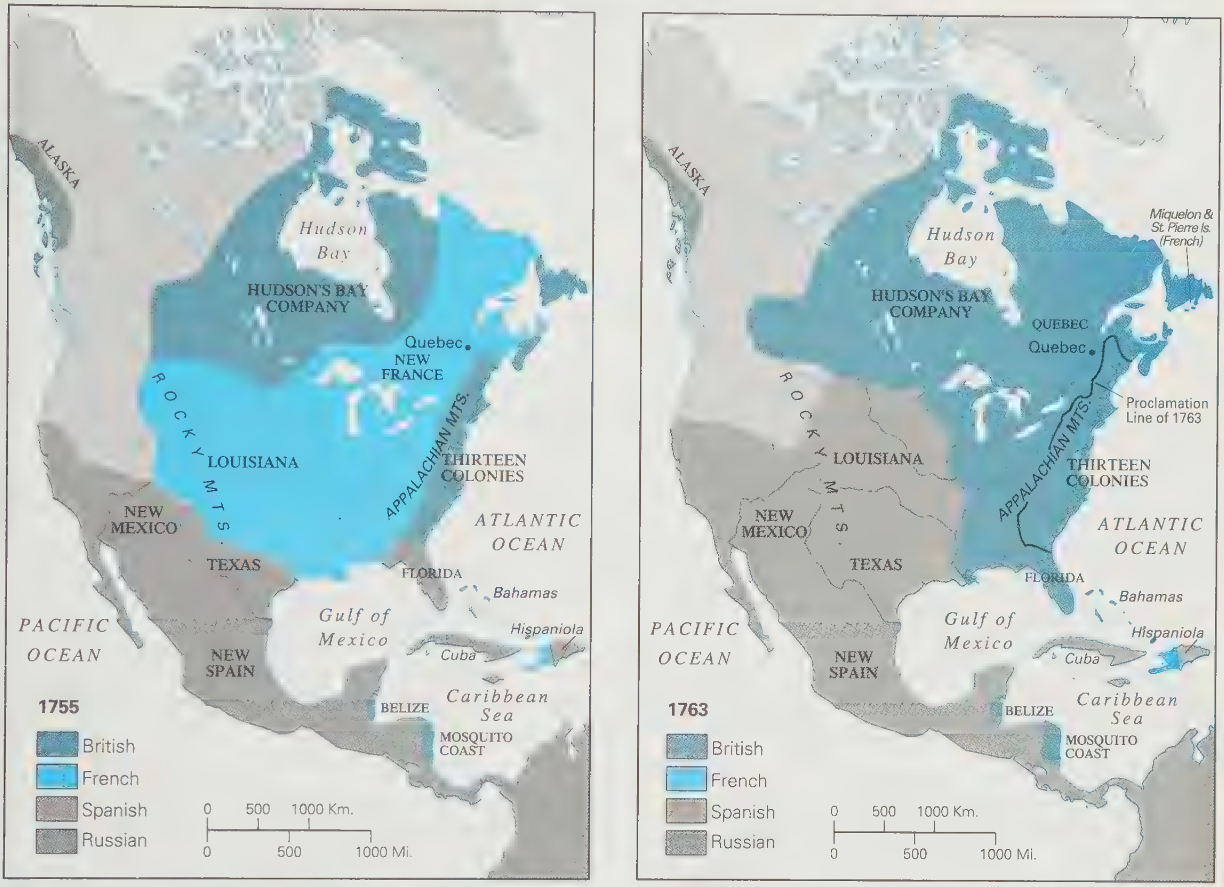
French settlement patterns more closely resembled those of Spain and Portugal than of England. There was a strong commitment to missionary activity and emphasis on extracting resources—in this case, furs.

Coming to Canada after spending years in the West Indies, Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec on the banks of the St. Lawrence River in 1608. The European market for fur, especially beaver, fueled French settlement. Young Frenchmen were sent to live among native peoples to master their languages and customs. These *coureurs de bois*, or "runners of the woods," dominated the fur trade and led French expansion into the West and South. Amerindians actively participated in this trade because they quickly came to depend on the goods they received in exchange—firearms, metal tools and utensils, textiles, and alcohol.

The Iroquois Confederation responded to the increased military strength of their Algonquin enemies allied with the French by forging commercial and military links with Dutch and later English settlements in the Hudson Valley. At the high point of their power in the early 1680s, Iroquois hunters and war parties ranged to the Great Lakes region and the Ohio Valley. Increased attacks by French forces on Iroquois villages, burning fields and destroying stored crops, led to peace in 1701.

The fur trade, together with the growing military rivalry between Algonquin and Iroquois peoples and their respective European allies, led to the rapid spread of firearms in North America. Use of firearms for hunting and warfare moved west and south, reaching indigenous plains cultures that previously had adopted the horse introduced by the Spanish. This intersection of horse and gun frontiers dramatically increased the military power and hunting efficiency of the Sioux, Comanche, Cheyenne, and other indigenous peoples, slowing the pace of European settlement.

In French Canada, the Jesuits led the effort to convert native peoples to Christianity. Building on earlier evangelical efforts in Latin America, Catholic missionaries mastered native languages, created boarding schools for young boys and girls, and set up model agricultural communities for converted Amerindians. The Jesuits' greatest successes coincided with a destructive wave of epidemics and renewed warfare among native peoples in the 1630s. Eventually, churches were established throughout Huron and Algonquin territories.



Map 16.1 European Claims in North America, 1755–1763 The French and Indian War dramatically altered the map of North America. France's losses precipitated conflicts between Amerindian peoples and the rapidly expanding population of the British colonies.

Responsibility for finding settlers and supervising the colonial economy was first granted to a monopoly company chartered in France. Even though the fur trade flourished, population growth was slow. Nevertheless, despite Canada's small population, limited resources, and increasing vulnerability to attack by the English and their indigenous allies, the French aggressively expanded, founding Louisiana in 1699.

France's North American colonies were threatened by a series of wars fought by France and England and by the population growth and increasing prosperity of neighboring English colonies. The French and Indian War (also known as the Seven Years War, 1756–1763), however, proved to be the final contest for North American empire (see Map 16.1). England committed a larger military force to the struggle and, despite early defeats, took the French capital of Quebec in 1759. The peace agreement forced France to yield Canada to the English and cede Louisiana to Spain. The French then concentrated their efforts on protecting their sugar-producing colonies in the Caribbean (see below).

THE ATLANTIC SYSTEM

As the ship bearing a cargo of slaves from West Africa neared the West Indian island of Barbados in 1757, the English crew gave a joyful shout, glad that this leg of their trading tour around the Atlantic was over. Since leaving England, some of their number had died of African tropical diseases, and one had been flogged to death for insubordination. The survivors, thankful to put the risk of disease and slave insurrection behind them, looked forward to returning to England.

According to the autobiography of Olaudah Equiano, one of the slaves on board, the sight of Barbados filled his shackled African shipmates with apprehension. Although fortunate to have survived long weeks of suffocating heat and loathsome smells packed side by side in the cargo hold, the captive African men, women, and children feared they were going to be eaten by the white people who rushed to inspect them after the ship anchored in the harbor of Bridgetown. To ease the new arrivals' panic, local sugar planters sent veteran slaves on board to assure them in several African languages that they would not be eaten. Instead, most were destined to work on the island's sugar plantations. After landing, Equiano relates, he and his companions were relieved to discover that most of the island's inhabitants were Africans. The eleven-year-old Equiano found many of his own Igbo people there.

After examining the slaves for physical defects, the local merchants divided them into "parcels" of several slaves each and penned them up in a yard, in Equiano's words, "like so many sheep in a fold without regard to sex or age." A few days later they were sold to the planters, not by auction, but in a terrifying "scramble." At the beat of a drum, buyers rushed into the yard and seized the parcel of slaves they wanted. "In this manner," Equiano commented, "without scruple, are relations and friends separated, most of them never to see each other again."

By the time this ship arrived in Barbados, the island was past its prime as a sugar colony, so Equiano and some companions were shipped off to the colony of Virginia. There for a time he was put to work weeding; he later worked on a ship. In 1766 at the age of twenty-one, Equiano was able to buy his freedom with money he earned in private trading. During the rest of his life he worked as a seaman and then resided in England, where he joined the campaign against the slave trade.

Sugar and Slaves

Spanish settlers had introduced sugar-cane cultivation into the West Indies shortly after 1500, but these colonies soon fell into neglect as attention shifted to colonizing the American mainland. After 1600 the West Indies revived as a focus of colonization, this time by northern Europeans interested in growing tobacco and other crops. The colonies' value mushroomed after the Dutch reintroduced the cultivation of sugar from Brazil in the 1640s and organized the supply of African slaves and European capital sufficient to sustain rapid growth. The English colony of Barbados best illustrates the dramatic transformation that sugar brought to the seventeenth-century Caribbean. In 1640 Barbados's economy depended on tobacco, mostly grown by European settlers, both free and indentured. By the 1680s sugar had become the colony's principal crop, and enslaved Africans were three times as numerous as Europeans. By 1700, the West Indies had surpassed Brazil as the world's principal source of sugar.

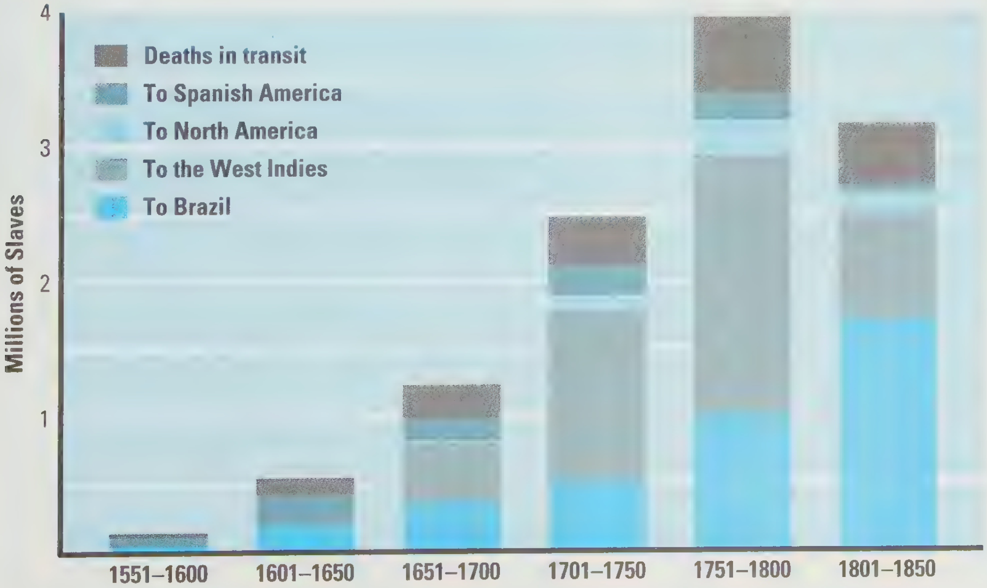
The expansion of sugar plantations in the West Indies was made possible by a jump in the volume of the slave trade from Africa (see Figure 16.1). During the first half of the seventeenth century about 10,000 slaves a year had been brought from Africa. Most were destined for Brazil and the mainland Spanish colonies. In the second half of the century the trade averaged 25,000 slaves a year. More than half were intended for the English, French, and Dutch West Indies and most of the rest for Brazil. A century later the volume of the Atlantic slave trade was three times larger.

What factors account for the shift in favor of African slaves? Recent scholarship casts doubt on the once-common assertion that Africans were more suited than Europeans to field labor, for newly arrived Africans and Europeans both died in large numbers in the American tropics. The West Indian historian Eric Williams refutes the idea that prejudice was the primary motivator. Citing the West Indian colonies' prior use of enslaved Amerindians and indentured Europeans, along with European convicts and prisoners of war, he argues, "Slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery."[1] Williams suggests that the initial shift was due to the low cost of African labor.

Yet slaves were far from cheap. Cash-short tobacco planters in the seventeenth century preferred indentured Europeans because they cost half as much as African slaves. But as the cultivation of sugar spread after 1750, rich speculators drove the price of land in the West Indies up so high that end-of-term indentured servants could not afford to buy it. As a result, poor Europeans chose to indenture themselves in the mainland North American colonies, where cheap land was still available. Rather than raise wages to attract European laborers, Caribbean sugar planters switched to slaves.

Rising sugar prices in the late eighteenth century helped the West Indian sugar planters afford the higher cost of African slaves. The fact that the average slave lived seven years, and the typical indentured labor contract was for only three or four years, also made slaves a better investment. The planters could rely on the Dutch and other traders to supply them with enough new slaves to meet the demands of the expanding plantations. Rising demand for slaves (see Figure 16.1) drove their sale price up steadily during the eighteenth century. These high labor costs

Figure 16.1 Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1551–1850 (in millions)



Source: Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), tables 33, 34, 65; Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis," *Journal of African History* 23 (1982): 473–501; David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), table A.8.

were one more factor favoring large plantations over small operations.

Slaves' Lives

During the eighteenth century, West Indian plantation colonies were the world's most polarized societies. On most islands 90 percent or more of the inhabitants were slaves. Power resided in the hands of the *plantocracy*, a small number of very rich men who owned most of the slaves and most of the land as well. It is only a slight simplification to describe eighteenth-century Caribbean society as being made up of a large, abject class of slaves and a small, powerful class of masters.

The profitability of a Caribbean plantation depended on extracting as much work as possible from the slaves. Their long workday might stretch to eighteen hours or more when the cane harvest and milling were in full swing. Sugar plantations achieved exceptional productivity through the use of force and the threat of force. As Table 16.1 shows, on a typical Jamaican plantation about 80 percent of the slaves actively engaged in productive tasks; the only exceptions were infants, the seriously ill, and the very old. Everyone on the plantation, except those disabled by age or infirmity, had an assigned task.

Table 16.1 also illustrates how slave labor was organized by age, sex, and ability. As in other Caribbean colonies, only 2 or 3 percent of the slaves served as house servants. About 70 percent of the able-bodied slaves worked in the fields, generally in one of three labor gangs. A "great gang," made up of the strongest slaves in the prime of life, did the heaviest work, such as breaking up the soil at the beginning of the planting season. A second gang of youths, elders, and less fit slaves did somewhat lighter work. A "grass gang," composed of children under the supervision of an elderly slave, was responsible for weeding and other simple work, such as collecting grass for the animals. Women formed the majority of the field laborers, even in the great gang. Nursing mothers took their babies with them to the fields. Slaves too old for field labor tended the toddlers.

Table 16.1 Slave Occupations on a Jamaican Sugar Plantation, 1788

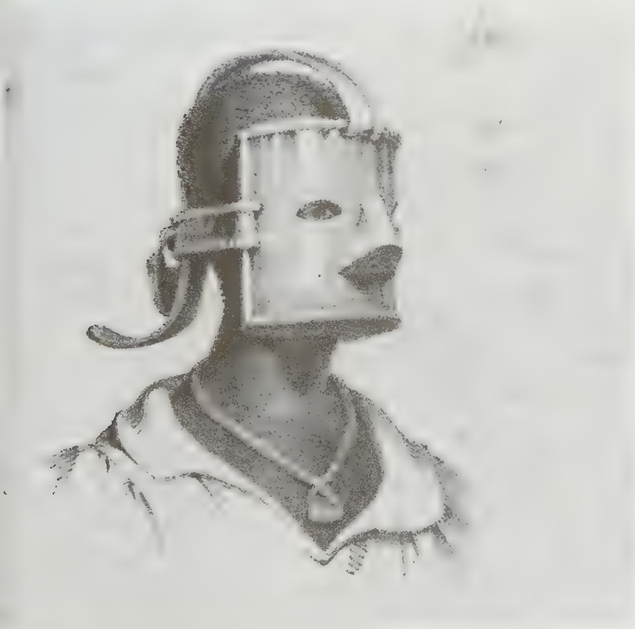
Occupations and Conditions	Men	Women	Boys and Girls	Total
Field laborers	62	78		140
Tradesmen	29			29
Field drivers	4			4
Field cooks		4		4
Mule-, cattle-, and stablemen	12			12
Watchmen	18			18
Nurse		1		1
Midwife		1		1
Domestics and gardeners		5	3	8
Grass-gang			20	20
Total employed	*125*	*89*	*23*	*237*
Infants			23	23
Invalids (18 with yaws)				32
Absent on roads				5
Superannuated [elderly]				7
Overall total				*304*

Source: Adapted from Edward Long to William Pitt, in Michael Craton, James Walvin, and David Wright, eds., *Slavery, Abolition, and Emancipation* (London: Longman, 1976), 103. Published and reprinted by permission of Addison Wesley Longman, Ltd.

Because slave ships brought twice as many males as females from Africa, men outnumbered women on Caribbean plantations. As Table 16.1 shows, a little over half of the adult males were employed in nongang work. Some tended the livestock, including the mules and oxen that did the heavy carrying work; others were skilled tradesmen, such as blacksmiths and carpenters. The most important artisan slave was the head boiler, who oversaw the delicate process of reducing the cane sap to crystallized sugar and molasses.

Skilled slaves received rewards of food and clothing or time off for good work, but the most common reason for working hard was to escape punishment. The slave gangs were headed by privileged male slaves, appropriately called "drivers," whose job was to ensure that the gangs completed their work. Since production quotas were high, slaves toiled in the fields from sunup to sunset, except for meal breaks. Those who fell behind due to fatigue or illness soon felt the sting of the whip. Openly rebellious slaves, who refused to work, disobeyed orders, or tried to escape, were punished with flogging, confinement in irons, or mutilation. On a Virginia plantation Equiano was shocked to see a woman slave being punished with an "iron muzzle" that "locked her mouth so fast that she could scarcely speak, and could not eat nor drink."

Punishment for slaves In addition to whipping and other cruel punishments, slave owners devised other ways to shame and intimidate slaves into obedience. This metal face mask prevented the wearer from eating or drinking. (By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)



Even though slaves did not work in the fields on Sunday, it was no day of rest, for they had to farm their own provisioning grounds, maintain their dwellings, and do other chores, such as washing and mending their rough clothes. Sunday markets, where slaves sold small amounts of produce or animals they had raised to get a little spending money, were common in the British West Indies.

Except for occasional holidays—including the Christmas-week revels in the British West Indies—there was little time for recreation and relaxation. Slaves might sing in the fields, but singing was simply a way to distract themselves from their fatigue and the monotony of the work. There was certainly no time for schooling, and no willingness to educate slaves, beyond skills useful to the plantation.

Time for family life was also inadequate. Although the large proportion of young adults in plantation colonies ought to have led to a high rate of natural increase, the opposite occurred. Poor nutrition and overwork lowered fertility. A woman who did become pregnant found it difficult to carry a child to term while continuing heavy fieldwork or to ensure her infant's survival. As a result of these conditions, along with disease and accidents from dangerous mill equipment, deaths heavily outnumbered births on West Indian plantations. Life expectancy for slaves in nineteenth-century Brazil was only 23 years of age for males and 25.5 years for females. The figures were probably similar for the eighteenth-century Caribbean. A callous opinion, common among slave owners in the Caribbean and in parts of Brazil, held that it was cheaper to import a youthful new slave from Africa than to raise one to the same age on a plantation.

The harsh conditions of plantation life played a major role in shortening slaves' lives, but the greatest killer was disease. The very young were carried off by dysentery caused by contaminated food and water. Slaves newly arrived from Africa went through a period of "seasoning," during which one-third on average died of unfamiliar diseases. Slaves also suffered from diseases brought with them, including malaria. On the plantation profiled in Table 16.1, for example, more than half of the slaves incapacitated by illness had yaws, a painful and debilitating skin disease common in Africa.

Such high mortality greatly added to the volume of the Atlantic slave trade, since plantations had to purchase new slaves every year or two just to replace those who died. The additional imports of slaves to permit the expansion of the sugar plantations meant that the majority of slaves were African-born on most West Indian plantations. As a result, African religious beliefs, patterns of speech, styles of dress and adornment, and music were prominent parts of West Indian life.

Given the harsh conditions of their lives, it is not surprising that slaves in the West Indies often sought to regain the freedom into which most had been born. Individual slaves often ran away, hoping to elude the men and dogs who would track them. Sometimes large groups of plantation slaves rose in rebellion against their bondage and abuse. For example, a large rebellion in Jamaica in 1760 was led by a slave named Tacky, who had been a chief on the Gold Coast of Africa. One night his followers broke into a fort and armed themselves. Joined by slaves from other nearby plantations, they stormed several plantations, setting them on fire and killing the planter families. Tacky died in the fighting that followed, and three other rebel leaders stoically endured cruel deaths by torture that were meant to deter others from rebellion.

Because they believed rebellions were usually led by slaves with the strongest African heritage, European planters tried to curtail African cultural traditions. They required slaves to learn the colonial language and discouraged the use of African languages by deliberately mixing slaves from different parts of Africa. In French and Portuguese colonies, slaves were encouraged to adopt Catholic religious practices, though African deities and beliefs also survived. In the British West Indies, where only Quaker slave owners encouraged Christianity among their slaves before 1800, African herbal medicine remained strong, as did African beliefs concerning nature spirits and witchcraft.

CREATING THE ATLANTIC ECONOMY

At once archaic in their cruel system of slavery and oddly modern in their specialization in a single product, the West Indian plantation colonies were the bittersweet fruits of a new Atlantic trading system. The rise of the new system is illustrated by the transformation of the type and number of ships that crossed the Atlantic after the first European conquests of the Americas. The symbol of the Atlantic trade of the sixteenth century was the treasure fleet, an annual convoy of from twenty to sixty ships laden with silver and gold bullion from Spanish America. Two different vessels—sugar ships and slave ships—made the far more numerous Atlantic voyages of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Sugar ships returning to Europe from the West Indies or Brazil were crammed with barrels of brown sugar destined for further refinement. At the end of the seventeenth century an average of 266 sugar ships sailed just from the small island of Barbados every year. At the peak of the slave trade between 1760 and 1800, some 300 slave ships crammed with an average of 250 African captives each made the passage from Africa every year.

Many separate pieces went into the creation of the new Atlantic economy. Besides the plantation system itself, three other elements merit investigation: new economic institutions, new partnerships between private investors and governments in Europe, and new working relationships between European and African merchants. The new trading system is a prime example of how European capitalist relationships were reshaping the world.

Capitalism and Mercantilism

The Spanish and Portuguese voyages of exploration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were government ventures, and both countries tried to keep their overseas trade and colonies royal monopolies. Monopoly control, however, proved both expensive and inefficient. The success of the Atlantic economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries owed much to private participation, which made trading ventures more efficient and profitable.

Two European innovations—capitalism and mercantilism—enabled private investors to fund the rapid growth of the Atlantic economy. *Capitalism* is an economic system in which private investors own and invest in the means of production and distribution. The engine driving early modern capitalism was a series of large financial institutions—banks, stock exchanges, and chartered trading companies—that enabled investors to reduce risks and increase profits. Originally developed for business dealings in Europe, capitalism expanded overseas in the seventeenth century when slow growth in Europe led many investors to seek greater profits abroad. Buttressing early capitalism was *mercantilism*—policies that European governments adopted to promote their citizens' overseas trade and defend their interests, by armed force when necessary.

Banks were a central capitalist institution. By the early seventeenth century, individuals and governments from all over western Europe were entrusting Dutch banks, known for their security, with large sums of money. To make a profit, the banks invested these funds in real estate, local industries, loans to governments, and overseas trade. Individuals seeking returns higher than the low rate of interest paid by banks could purchase shares in *joint-stock companies*, sixteenth-century forerunners of modern corporations. Shares were bought and sold in specialized financial markets called *stock exchanges*. The Amsterdam Exchange, founded in 1530, became the greatest stock market in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Chartered companies were one of the first manifestations of mercantilist capitalism. In 1602 the government of the Netherlands issued a charter giving the Dutch East India Company a legal monopoly over all Dutch trade in the Indian Ocean. This privilege encouraged private investors to buy shares in the company. They were amply rewarded when the Dutch East India Company captured control of the long-distance trade routes in the Indian Ocean from the Portuguese. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company was chartered to engage in the Atlantic trade and to seize sugar-producing areas in Brazil and African slaving ports from the Portuguese.

Such successes inspired other governments to set up chartered companies. By 1672, all English trade with West Africa was in the hands of the Royal African Company, which established its headquarters at Cape Coast Castle, east of Elmina on the Gold Coast. The French government chartered French East India and French West India Companies to reduce French colonies' dependence on Dutch and English traders. To reduce the risks of overseas trading, merchants and trading companies could insure their ships and cargoes with specialized companies that agreed to cover losses.

French and English governments also used military force in pursuit of commercial dominance, especially to break the trading advantage of the Dutch in the Americas. In a series of wars with the Netherlands between 1652 and 1678 (see Chapter 15), the larger English and French navies defeated the Dutch and drove the Dutch West India Company into bankruptcy.

With Dutch competition in the Atlantic reduced, the French and English governments moved to revoke the monopoly privileges of their chartered companies. England opened trade in Africa to any English subject in 1698 on the grounds that ending monopolies would be "highly beneficial and advantageous to this kingdom." It was hoped that such competition would also cut the cost of slaves to West Indian planters, though the demand for slaves soon drove the prices up again. Such new mercantilist polices fostered competition among a nation's own citizens, while using high tariffs and restrictions to exclude foreigners. In the 1660s England had passed a series of Navigation Acts that confined trade with its colonies to English ships and cargoes. The French called their mercantilist legislation, first codified in 1698, the *Exclusif*, highlighting its exclusionary intentions. Other mercantilist laws defended manufacturing and processing interests in Europe against competition from colonies, imposing prohibitively high taxes on any manufactured goods and refined sugar imported from the colonies.

As a result of such mercantilist measures, the Atlantic became Britain's, France's, and Portugal's most important overseas trading area in the eighteenth century. Britain's imports from its West Indian colonies accounted for over one-fifth of the value of total British imports. The French West Indian colonies played an even larger role in France's overseas trade. Only the Dutch, closed out of much of the American trade, found Asian trade of greater importance. Profits from the Atlantic economy, in turn, helped promote further economic expansion and increase the revenues of European governments.

Great Circuit and Middle Passage

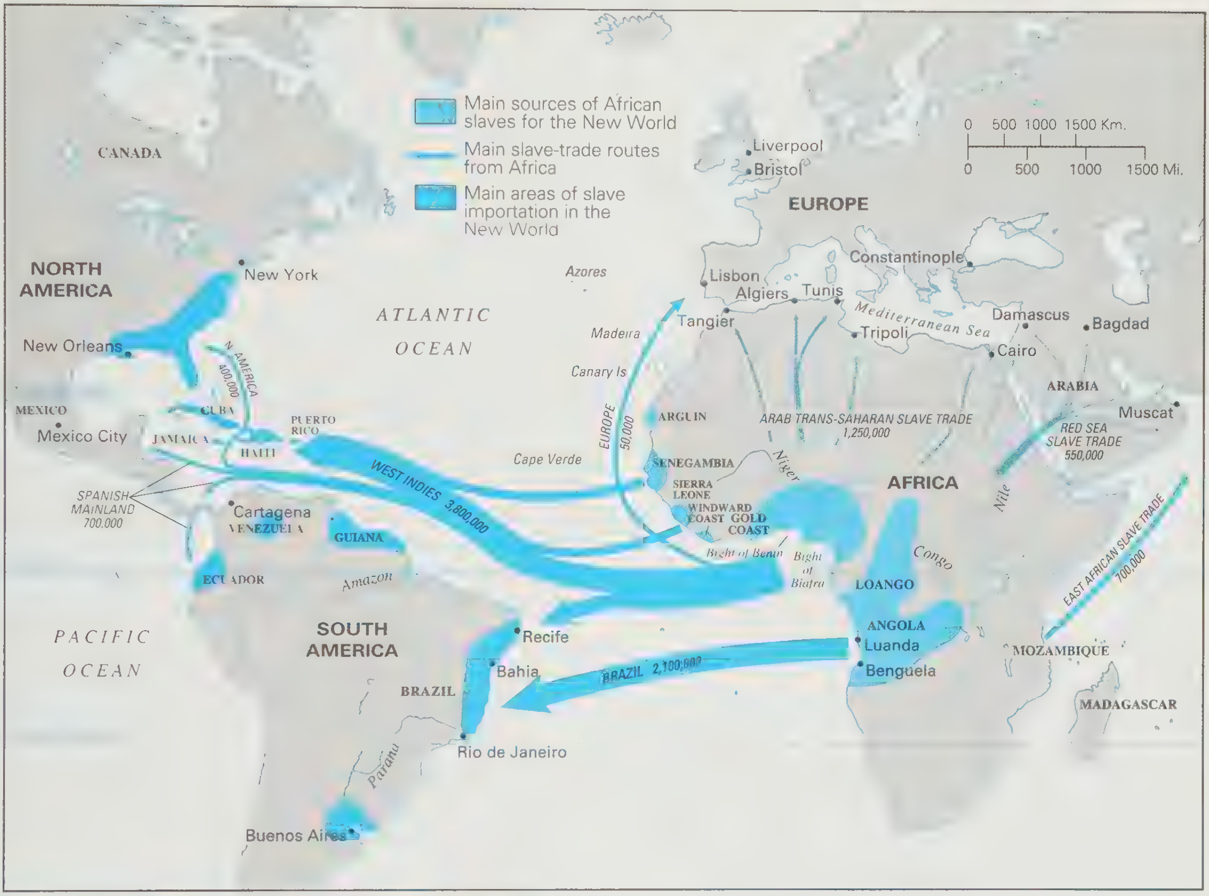
At the heart of the Atlantic system was a great clockwise network of trade routes known as the "Great Circuit." It began in Europe, ran south to Africa, turned west across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, and then swept back to Europe. Like Asian sailors in the Indian Ocean, Atlantic mariners depended on the prevailing winds and currents to propel their ships. What drove the ships as much as the winds and currents was the desire for the profits that each leg of the circuit was expected to produce.

The first leg, from Europe to Africa, carried European manufactures—notably metal bars, hardware, and guns—as well as great quantities of cotton textiles brought from India. Some of these goods were traded for West African gold, timber, and other products, which were taken back to Europe. Some were traded for slaves, who were shipped across the Atlantic to the plantation colonies in the part of the Great Circuit known as the "Middle Passage." On the third leg, plantation goods from the colonies were carried to Europe. Each leg of the circuit took goods from places where they were abundant and relatively cheap to places where they were scarce and therefore more valuable. Thus, in theory, each leg of the Great Circuit could earn much more than its costs, and a ship that completed all three legs could return a handsome profit to its owners. But in practice, the risks of these ventures could turn profit into loss.

The three-sided Great Circuit is the simplest model of Atlantic trade. Many other trading voyages supplemented the basic circuit. Cargo ships made long voyages from Europe to the Indian Ocean, passed southward through the Atlantic with quantities of African gold and American silver, and returned with the cotton textiles necessary to the African trade. Other sea routes brought to the West Indies manufactured goods from Europe or foodstuffs and lumber from New England. In addition, some Rhode Island and Massachusetts merchants participated in a "Triangular Trade" that carried rum to West Africa, slaves to the West Indies, and molasses and rum back to New England.

European interests dominated the Atlantic system. The manufacturers who supplied the trade goods and the investors who provided the capital were all based in Europe, but so too were the principal consumers of the plantation products. Before the seventeenth century, sugar had been rare and expensive in western Europe. By 1700 annual consumption of sugar in England had risen to about 4 pounds (nearly 2 kilograms) per person. Rising western European prosperity and declining sugar prices promoted additional consumption, starting with the upper classes and working its way down the social ladder. People spooned sugar into popular new beverages imported from overseas—tea, coffee, and chocolate. By 1750 annual sugar consumption in Britain had doubled, and it doubled again to about 18 pounds (8 kilograms) per person by the early nineteenth century.

The flow of sugar to Europe depended on another key component of the Atlantic trading system: the flow of slaves from Africa (see Map 16.2). The rising volume of the Middle Passage is another measure of the Atlantic system's expansion.



Map 16.2 The African Slave Trade 1500–1800 After 1500 a vast new trade in slaves from sub-Saharan Africa to the Americas joined the ongoing slave trade to the Islamic states of North Africa, the Middle East, and India. The West Indies were the major destination of the Atlantic slave trade, followed by Brazil.

The exporting of slaves from Africa became a highly specialized business, although it regularly attracted amateur traders hoping to make a quick profit. Most slaves were carried in ships specially built for the trade or modified by the between-decks construction of platforms on which the human cargo was packed as tightly as possible. During the first 150 years after the European discovery of the Americas, some 800,000 Africans began the journey across the Atlantic. During the boom in sugar production between 1650 and 1800, the slave trade rose to nearly 7,500,000. Of the survivors, over half landed in the West Indies and nearly a third in Brazil. Plantations in North America imported another 5 percent, and the rest went to other parts of Spanish America (see Figure 16.1).

Seventeenth-century mercantilist policies placed much of the Atlantic slave trade in the hands of chartered companies. The Dutch West India Company and the English Royal Africa Company each carried about 100,000 slaves across the Atlantic. In the eighteenth century, private English traders from Liverpool and Bristol controlled about 40 percent of the slave trade. The French, operating out of Nantes and Bordeaux, handled about half as much, and the Dutch hung on to only 6 percent. The Portuguese supplying Brazil and other places had nearly 30 percent of the Atlantic slave trade, in contrast to the 3 percent carried in North American ships.

To make a profit, European slave traders had to buy slaves in Africa for less than the cost of the goods they traded in return. Then they had to deliver as many healthy slaves as possible across the Atlantic for resale in the colonies. The treacherous voyage to the Americas lasted from six to ten weeks. Some ships completed it with all of their slaves alive, but large, even catastrophic, losses of life were common. On average between 1650 and 1800, about one slave in every six perished during the Middle Passage (see Figure 16.1).

Some deaths resulted from the captives' efforts to escape. On his voyage Equiano witnessed two of his Igbo countrymen, who were chained together, jump into the sea, "preferring death to such a life of misery." To inhibit such attempts, most male slaves were confined below deck during most of the voyage, and special netting was installed around the outside of the ship. Some slaves fell into deep psychological depression, known to contemporaries as "fixed melancholy," from which many perished. Others, including Equiano, refused to eat, so forced feeding was used to keep slaves alive. When opportunities presented themselves (nearness to land, illness among the crew), some cargoes of enslaved Africans tried to overpower their captors. Such "mutinies" were rarely successful and were put down with brutality that occasioned further losses of life.

Other deaths during the Middle Passage were due to the ill treatment slaves received. Although it was in the interests of the captain and crew to deliver their slave cargoes in good condition, whippings, beatings, and even executions were used to maintain order and force the captives to take nourishment. Moreover, the dangers and brutalities of the slave trade were so notorious that many ordinary seamen shunned such work. As a consequence, many of the officers and crews on slave ships were cruel and brutal characters.

Although examples of unspeakable cruelties abound in the records, most deaths in the Middle Passage, as on the plantations, were the result of disease rather than abuse. Dysentery spread by contaminated food and water killed many. Others died of contagious diseases such as smallpox carried by persons whose infections were not detected during the medical examinations of slaves prior to boarding. Such maladies spread quickly in the crowded and unsanitary holds of the ships, claiming the lives of many slaves already physically weakened and mentally traumatized by their ordeals.

Crew members who were in close contact with the slaves were equally exposed to the epidemics and regularly suffered heavy losses. Moreover, sailors often fell victim to tropical diseases, such as malaria, to which Africans had acquired resistance. It is a measure of the callousness of the age, as well as the cheapness of European labor, that over the course of a Great Circuit voyage the proportion of crew deaths could be as high as the slave deaths on the Middle Passage.

AFRICA AND THE ATLANTIC SYSTEM

The Atlantic system took a terrible toll in African lives during the Middle Passage and on the colonial plantations. Many Africans died while being marched to African coastal ports for sale overseas. The overall effects on Africa of these losses and of other aspects of the slave trade are the subject of considerable historical debate. It is clear that the trade's impact depended on the intensity and terms of different African regions' involvement.

Any assessment of the Atlantic system's effects in Africa must also take into consideration the fact that some Africans profited from the trade by capturing and selling slaves. They chained the slaves together or bound them to forked sticks for the march to the coast, then bartered them to the European slavers for trade goods. The effects on the enslaver were different from the effects on the enslaved.

Gold Coast and Slave Coast

The transition to slave trading was not sudden. Even as slaves were becoming Atlantic Africa's most valuable export, nonslave goods such as gold, ivory, and timber remained a significant part of the total trade. For example, during its eight decades of operation from 1672 to 1752, the English Royal African Company made 40 percent of its profits from dealings in gold, ivory, and forest products. In some parts of West Africa, nonslave exports remained predominant even at the peak of the trade.

African merchants were very discriminating about what merchandise they received for slaves or other goods. A European ship that arrived with goods of low quality or not suited to local tastes found it hard to purchase a cargo at a profitable price. Although preferences for merchandise varied, Africans' greatest demands were for textiles, hardware, and guns. Of the goods the Royal African Company traded in West Africa in the 1680s, over 60 percent were Indian and European textiles, 30 percent hardware and weaponry. Beads and other jewelry formed 3 percent. The rest consisted of cowrie shells that were used as money. In the eighteenth century, tobacco and rum from the Americas also were among the imports.

Both Europeans and Africans naturally attempted to drive the best bargain for themselves and sometimes engaged in deceitful practices. The strength of the African bargaining position, however, may be inferred from the fact that as the demand for slaves rose, so too did their price in Africa. In the course of the eighteenth century the value of the goods needed to purchase a slave on the Gold Coast doubled and in some places tripled or quadrupled.

African governments on the Gold and Slave Coasts that forced Europeans to observe African trading customs and prevented them from taking control of African territory reinforced West Africans' trading strengths. Indeed, some African states grew stronger as a result of their participation in the trade. Rivalry among European nations, each of which established its own trading "castles" along the Gold Coast, also reduced Europeans' bargaining strength.

How did African kings and merchants obtain slaves for sale? Most accounts agree that prisoners taken in war were the greatest source of slaves for the Atlantic trade, but it is difficult to say how often capturing slaves for export was the main cause of warfare. "Here and there," conclude two respected historians of Africa, "there are indications that captives taken in the later and more peripheral stages of these wars were exported overseas, but it would seem that the main impetus of conquest was only incidentally concerned with the slave-trade in any external direction."[2]

An early-nineteenth-century king of Asante had a similar view: "I cannot make war to catch slaves in the bush, like a thief. My ancestors never did so. But if I fight a king, and kill him when he is insolent, then certainly I must have his gold, and his slaves, and his people are mine too. Do not the white kings act like this?"[3] English rulers had indeed sentenced seventeenth-century Scottish and Irish prisoners to forced labor in the West Indies.

The Bight of Biafra and Angola

In the eighteenth century the slave trade expanded eastward to the Bight (bay) of Biafra. In contrast to the Gold and Slave Coasts, where strong kingdoms predominated, the densely populated interior of the Bight of Biafra contained no large states. Even so, the powerful merchant princes of the coastal ports still made European traders give them rich presents. Because of the absence of sizable states, there were no large-scale wars and consequently few prisoners of war. Instead, kidnapping was the major source of slaves, as

Equiano's autobiography indicates. In about 1756, while their parents were away working in the fields, the eleven-year-old Equiano and his younger sister were snatched from their yard by two men and a woman. After passing through many hands, Equiano finally reached a coastal port, where, he relates, he was astonished at the sight of the slave ship and alarmed at his first sight of "white men with horrible looks, red faces, and loose hair." By then he had become separated from his sister, whose fate he never learned.

As the volume of the Atlantic trade along the Bight of Biafra expanded in the late eighteenth century, some inland markets evolved into giant fairs with vendors specializing in slaves or imported goods. An English ship's doctor reported that in the 1780s slaves were "bought by the black traders at fairs, which are held for that purpose, at a distance of upwards of two hundred miles from the sea coast." He reported seeing from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred enslaved men and women arriving at the coast from a single fair.[4]

Angola, south of the Congo estuary, was the source of most of the slaves shipped to Brazil (see Map 16.2). This was the one place along Africa's Atlantic coast where a single European nation, Portugal, controlled a significant amount of territory. Portuguese residents of the coastal ports acted as middlemen between caravans from the interior and ships from Brazil. Many of the slaves sold at Angolan markets were prisoners of war captured by expanding African states. Such prisoners seem to have been casualties of African wars rather than the purpose for which the wars were fought.

Recent research also links enslavement with environmental crises in the hinterland of Angola.[5] During the eighteenth century grasslands periodically suffered severe droughts, which drove famished refugees to better-watered areas. In return for food and water, powerful African leaders took control of these refugees and sold into slavery the adult men, who were more likely than the women and children to escape or challenge the ruler's authority. The most successful of these inland Angolan leaders became the heads of powerful new states that stabilized areas devastated by war and drought and repopulated them with the refugees and prisoners they retained. The slave frontier then moved farther inland. This cruel system worked to the benefit of a few African rulers and merchants at the expense of the many thousands of Africans sent to death or bondage in the Americas.

CONCLUSION

The New World colonial empires of Spain, Portugal, France, and England subjugated Amerindian peoples and enslaved large numbers of Africans. Within all four empires, forests were cut down, virgin soils were turned with the plow, and Old World animals and plants were introduced. Colonists from all four applied the technologies of the Old World to the resources of the New, producing wealth and exploiting the commercial possibilities of the emerging Atlantic market. Yet each of the New World empires reflected the distinctive cultural and institutional heritages of its colonizing power.

Mineral wealth allowed Spain to develop the most centralized empire. Political and economic power was concentrated in the great capital cities of Mexico City and Lima. The Portuguese and French pursued similar objectives in their colonies. However, neither Brazil's agricultural economy nor French Canada's fur trade produced the financial resources that made possible the centralized control achieved by Spain. Nevertheless, all three of these Catholic powers were able to impose and enforce significant levels of religious and cultural uniformity, especially in comparison with the British.

Cultural and religious diversity characterized British North America. Colonists came from throughout the British Isles and included participants in all of Britain's numerous religious traditions. They were joined by German, Swedish, French, and Dutch immigrants. British colonial government varied somewhat from colony to colony, and local interests had a say in how it was run. Thus colonists in British North America were better able than colonists in the areas controlled by Spain, Portugal, and France to respond to changing economic and political circumstances. Most important, the British colonies attracted many more European immigrants than did the other New World colonies. New France, for example, received only 11,000 immigrants between 1608 and 1763, and British settlements welcomed nearly a half-million European immigrants between 1630 and 1780. Population in British North America—free and slave combined—reached 2.5 million by 1775.

The new Atlantic trading system had great importance and momentous implications for world history. In the first phase of their expansion Europeans conquered and colonized the Americas and captured already established Indian Ocean trade routes. The development of the Atlantic system showed that Europeans had the ability to create a major new trading system and transform a region almost beyond recognition. The transformation was destructive as well as creative, producing victims as well as victors. Historians see the Atlantic system as a prototype of the interactive global economy of later centuries. The system derived its awesome power from its ability to generate wealth. As the next chapter describes, Southwest Asia and the Indian Ocean basin also were beginning to feel the effects of Europeans' rising power.

SUGGESTED READING

Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., is the best-known student of the Columbian exchange. See his *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (1972) and *Ecological Imperialism* (1986). Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Spanish Conquest of Mexico* (1994), is the most important recent contribution to this field.

Colonial Latin America, 2d ed. (1994), by Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, is a good introduction to colonial Latin American history. For the early period of the American colonial empires see Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests* (1987), and John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (1978). Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society Under Spanish Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (1984), is an important work on colonial Spanish America. On political culture see Colin M. MacLachlan, *Spain's Empire in the New World: The Role of Ideas in Institutional and Social Change* (1988). For the place of women see Asunción Lavrin, ed., *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (1989).

For a general study of the British colonies see Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History: The Settlements*, 3 vols. (1934–1937). On the economy see John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (1979). For slavery see David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (1966). A useful work on the relations between Europeans and Indians is James Merrill, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal* (1989).

On French North America, William J. Eccles, *France in America*, rev. ed. (1990), is an excellent overview. Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (1927), remains indispensable.

The larger structures and dynamics of early modern capitalism and the Atlantic economy are examined by Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, 3 vols. (1974–1989), and by Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, 3 vols. (1982–1984); both works cover much more than the Atlantic system.

The best introduction to the Atlantic slave trade and New World slavery is Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex* (1990), which Curtin summarized in an American Historical Association pamphlet, *The Tropical Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade* (1991). Herbert S. Klein, *The Middle Passage* (1978), and Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (1969), are indispensable. Recent scholarly articles on subjects considered in this chapter are available in *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas and Europe*, ed. Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman (1992); in *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*, ed. Barbara L. Solow (1991); and in *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and* *the Slave Trade,* ed. Paul Lovejoy (1986). Edward Reynolds, *Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (1985), provides an overview of research. A useful collection of primary and secondary sources is David Northrup, ed., *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (1994). Herbert S. Klein's *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (1986) is a fine synthesis of research on New World slavery, including North American slave systems. Michael Craton, James Walvin, and David Wright, eds., *Slavery, Abolition, and Emancipation* (1976), is a valuable collection of primary sources about slavery in the British West Indies.

Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *The African Middle Ages, 1400–1800* (1981), summarize African history in this period. Students can pursue specific topics in more detail in Richard Gray, ed., *The Cambridge History of Africa,* vol. 4 (1975). For recent research on slavery and the African, Atlantic, and Muslim slave trades within Africa see Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (1983), and Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa* (1983).

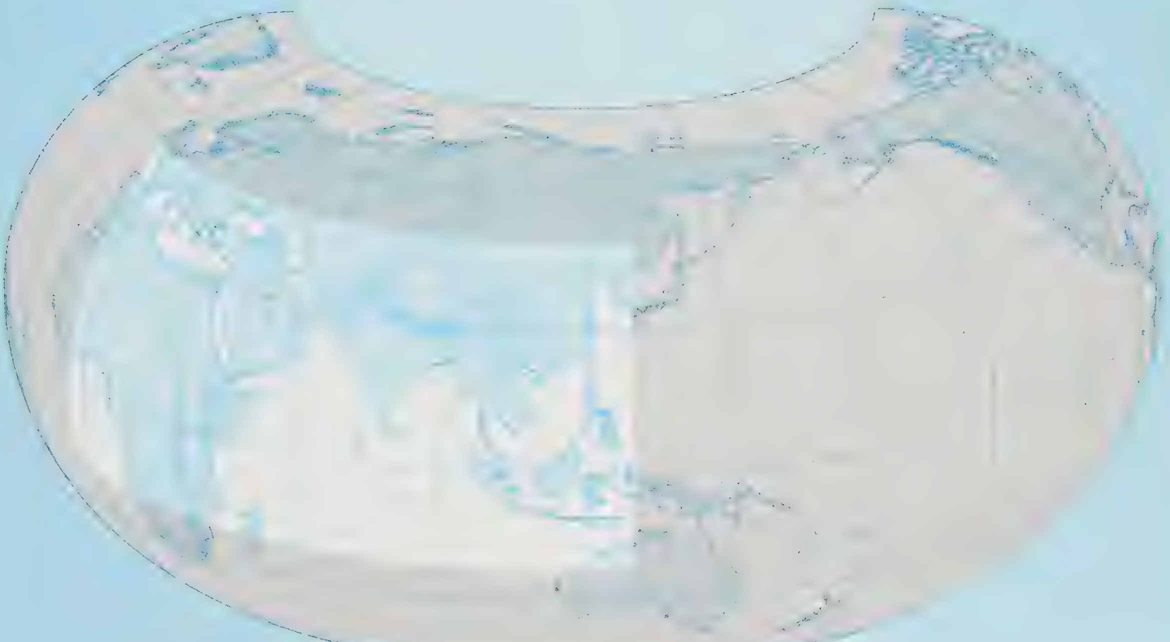
NOTES

1. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Charlotte: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 7.
2. Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *The African Middle Ages, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 100.
3. King Osei Bonsu, quoted in David Northrup, ed., *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1994), 93.
4. Alexander Falconbridge, *Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (London: J. Phillips, 1788), 12.
5. Joseph C. Miller, "The Significance of Drought, Disease, and Famine in the Agriculturally Marginal Zones of West-Central Africa," *Journal of African History* 23.1 (1982): 17–61.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Southwest Asia and the Muslim Empires, 1500–1750

The Ottoman Empire • The Safavid Empire • The Mughal Empire



In 1637, John Greaves, a professor of geometry and astronomy at Oxford, set out on a scientific journey to the East. When he returned from Istanbul and Cairo two years later, he had acquired five copies of the Samarkand Tables, an exhaustive and precise record of astronomical observations made under the sponsorship of the Central Asian astronomer-king Ulugh Beg (r. 1447–1449). At the time of their compilation, in an observatory whose primary observing instrument had a phenomenally large radius of over 120 feet (36 meters), they were the most accurate astronomical readings ever made; and two centuries later, they were still an impressive achievement.

Although only a handful of scientists in England knew of Ulugh Beg, his grandfather had become a figure of sensation in London in 1587 as the title character in Christopher Marlowe's play *Tamburlaine the Great*. The Tamburlaine of Marlowe's imagination—"I that am termed the scourge and wrath of God, / the only fear and terror of the world"—fit well the European image of Central Asian conquerors established long before by the great Mongol leader Genghis Khan (ca. 1162–1227). His real name was Timur. Although he claimed descent from Genghis Khan, he actually was the son of a Turkish nomad chieftain. Being lamed in youth, he was called Timur Lenk, "Timur the Lame," from which Marlowe got "Tamburlaine." Between 1369 and his death in 1405, he brilliantly and brutally conquered an empire that stretched from Ankara and Damascus in the west to Delhi in the east. He died on the way to a projected conquest of China.

The sensational stories of Timur's bloody conquests overshadowed the flowering of arts and sciences that he and his descendants fostered. Samarkand to this day is adorned with brilliantly tiled Timurid mosques, schools, and tombs. Timurid painters perfected the art of miniature painting in which they depicted scenes of court life. And the colossal observatory on a hill outside the city, continuing a tradition of serious astronomical observation and theorizing strongly supported earlier by the Mongols, became a model for later observatories built by Muslim rulers in Istanbul and Delhi.

Timur and Ulugh Beg, grandfather and grandson, embody the two sides of Muslim imperial greatness in the post-Mongol centuries: one was a conqueror with a lust for territory to support his giant army and luxurious capital city; the other was a patron of the arts and scientific investigator cultivating the most refined expressions of civilized life.

The great land empires of the post-Mongol era—the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Empires—eventually were superseded by the globe-spanning maritime empires of Europe (see Chapters 21 and 23). But their ultimate failure does not diminish their innovations and achievements in social and religious organization, manufacturing and trade, and the arts and sciences.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The most long-lived of the post-Mongol Muslim empires was that of the Ottoman sultans. By extending Islamic conquests into eastern Europe, starting in the late fourteenth century, and by absorbing the Arab lands of Syria and Egypt, previously ruled by the Mamluk sultans, the Ottomans seemed to recreate the might of the original Islamic caliphate, the empire established by the Muslim Arab conquests in the seventh century (see Chapter 8). However, they were very much an empire of their time, not greatly dissimilar to the new centralized monarchies of France and Spain taking shape at the same time elsewhere in Europe (see Chapter 15).

Enduring more than five centuries, until World War I, the Ottoman Empire survived several periods of wrenching change, some caused by internal problems, others by the growing power of European adversaries. These periods of change reveal the problems that huge, land-based empires in various parts of the world faced.

Expansion and Frontiers

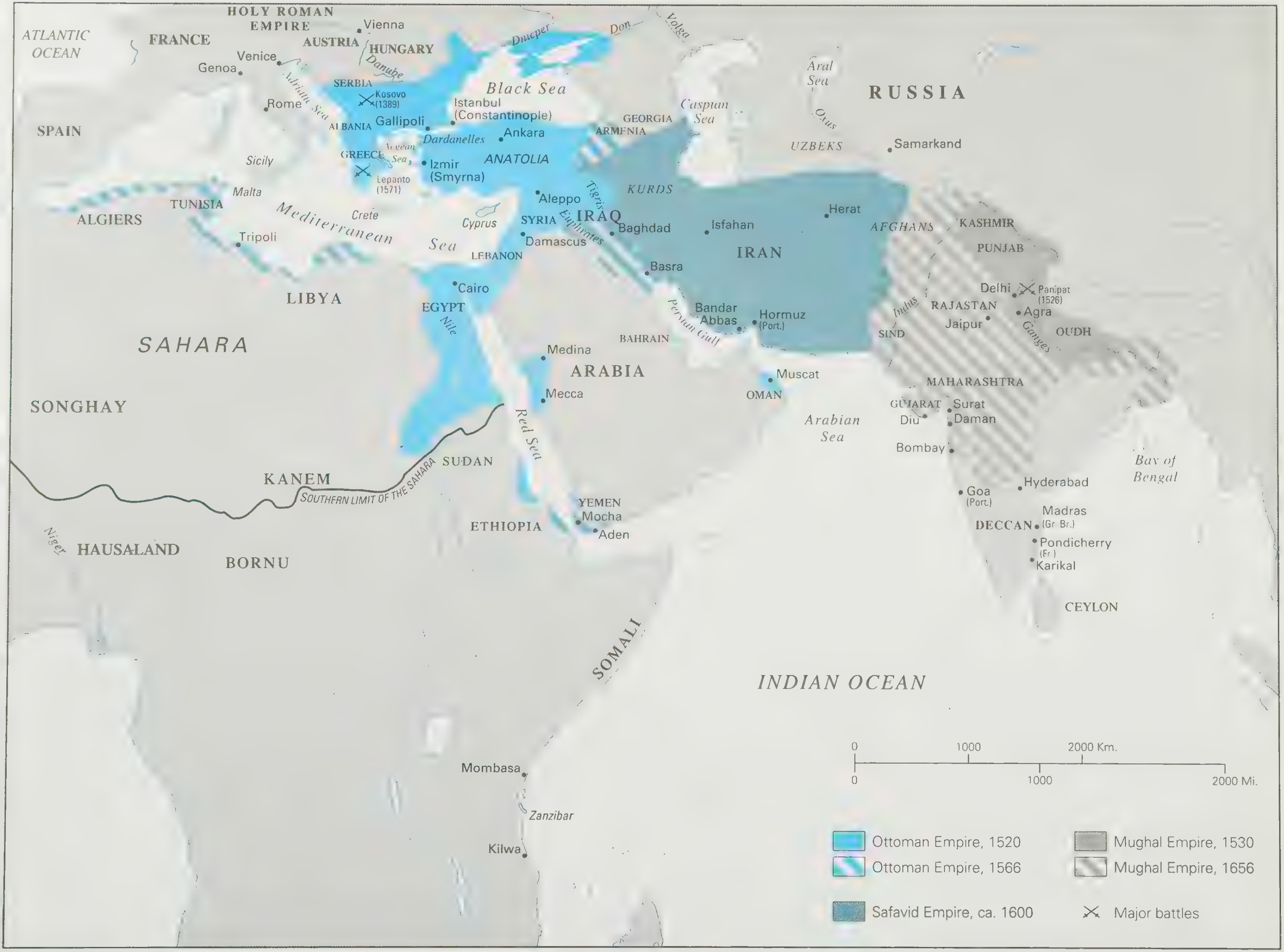
The Ottoman Empire grew primarily by land conquest (see Map 17.1). It began around 1300 as a tiny state built on the strength of an army of Turkish nomad warriors and a few Christian converts to Islam in northwestern Anatolia. The expansion of this state into an empire, first in the Balkans and then at the expense of other small Turkish principalities in Anatolia, was due to three factors: (1) the shrewdness of its founder Osman (from which the name "Ottoman" comes) and his descendants, (2) control of a strategic link between Europe and Asia at Gallipoli on the Dardanelles strait, and (3) the creation of an army that took advantage of the traditional skills of the Turkish cavalryman and the new military possibilities opened up by the use of gunpowder.

At first, Ottoman armies concentrated on Christian enemies in Greece and the Balkans, in 1389 conquering a strong Serbian kingdom at the Battle of Kosovo (in present-day Yugoslavia). Much of southeastern Europe and Anatolia came under the control of the sultan by 1402. In 1453, Sultan Mehmed II, "the Conqueror," laid siege to Constantinople, using enormous cannon to bash in the city's walls. The fall of Constantinople—henceforth commonly known as Istanbul—brought to an end over eleven hundred years of Byzantine rule and made the Ottomans seem invincible.

When Selim I, "the Inexorable," conquered the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt and Syria in 1516 and 1517, the Red Sea became the Ottomans' southern frontier, and the Ottomans inherited the Mamluks' involvement with the Muslims of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean region, who were accustomed to trading by way of Egypt and Syria. Selim also quelled a potential threat on his eastern frontier from the new and expansive realm of the Safavid shah in Iran. As for the Ottomans' western frontier, the rulers of the major port cities of Algeria and Tunisia, some of them Greek and Italian converts to Islam, voluntarily joined the empire in the early sixteenth century, thereby greatly strengthening its naval forces.

While Ottoman armies pressed deeper and deeper into eastern Europe, the sultans also fought to become the dominant power in the Mediterranean. Between 1453 and 1502, the Ottomans fought the opening engagements of a two-century war with Venice, the most powerful of Italy's commercial city-states. Although the first round of fighting left Venice in control of its lucrative islands for another century, it also left Venice a reduced military power compelled to pay tribute to the Ottomans in return for trading rights. The Ottomans, like the Chinese, were willing to let other nations carry trade to and from their ports—they preferred trade of this sort—as long as those other nations acknowledged Ottoman authority.

It never occurred to the Ottomans that a sea empire held together by flimsy ships could truly rival a great land empire capable of fielding an army of a hundred thousand fighting men. In the early sixteenth century, Muslim merchants from southern India and Sumatra sent emissaries to Istanbul to request naval support against the Portuguese. The Ottomans were vigorous in responding to Portuguese threats close to their territories, such as at Aden at the southern entrance to the Red Sea, but their efforts farther afield were insufficient to derail the growing Portuguese domination. Eastern luxury products were still flowing to Ottoman markets, and Portuguese power was territorially limited to a few fortified coastal points, such as Hormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, Goa in western India, and Malacca in Malaya (see Chapter 14).


ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANCE
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
AUSTRIA
Vienna
HUNGARY
Danube
Dnieper
Don
Volga
Aral Sea
RUSSIA
Venice
Genoa
SERBIA
Kosovo (1389)
Black Sea
Istanbul (Constantinople)
Caspian Sea
Rome
Adriatic Sea
SPAIN
ALBANIA
Gallipoli
Dardanelles
Ankara
GEORGIA
ARMENIA
Oxus
UZBEKS
Samarkand
GREECE
Aegean Sea
Izmir (Smyrna)
ANATOLIA
Sicily
Lepanto (1571)
Malta
TUNISIA
Aleppo
Tigris
KURDS
Herat
ALGIERS
Crete
Mediterranean Sea
Cyprus
SYRIA
IRAQ
Euphrates
Baghdad
Isfahan
AFGHANS
KASHMIR
PUNJAB
Tripoli
Damascus
LEBANON
IRAN
Basra
Cairo
LIBYA
EGYPT
Nile
Persian Gulf
Bandar Abbas
Hormuz (Port.)
Delhi
Panipat (1526)
RAJASTAN
Agra
Indus
Jaipur
SIND
Ganges
OUDH
SAHARA
Medina
BAHRAIN
ARABIA
Muscat
OMAN
MAHARASHTRA
SONGHAY
Mecca
Red Sea
GUJARAT
Diu
Surat
Daman
Arabian Sea
Bombay
Bay of Bengal
SUDAN
KANEM
SOUTHERN LIMIT OF THE SAHARA
Hyderabad
Goa (Port.)
YEMEN
Mocha
Aden
ETHIOPIA
Madras (Gr. Br.)
DECCAN
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Karikal
Niger
HAUSALAND
BORNU
CEYLON
SOMALI
INDIAN OCEAN
0
1000
2000 Km.
0
1000
2000 Mi.
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Kilwa
Ottoman Empire, 1520
Ottoman Empire, 1566
Safavid Empire, ca. 1600
Mughal Empire, 1530
Mughal Empire, 1656
Major battles

Why commit major resources to subduing an enemy whose main threat was a demand that merchant vessels, mostly belonging to non-Ottoman Muslims, buy protection from Portuguese attack? The Ottomans did send a naval force to Indonesia, but they never formulated a consistent or aggressive policy with regard to political and economic developments on their southern maritime frontier.

Central Institutions

The Ottoman army originally consisted of lightly armored mounted warriors who were adept at shooting from horseback a short bow that was strengthened by compressed layers of bone, wood, and leather. The conquest of Christian territories in the Balkans in the late fourteenth century, however, gave the Ottomans access to a unique military resource: Christian prisoners of war forced to serve as military slaves.

The use of slaves as soldiers had a long history in Islamic lands, but enslaving Christian prisoners of war, an action of questionable legality under Islamic law, was an Ottoman innovation. Induced to convert to Islam, these "new troops," called *yeni cheri* in Turkish and "Janissary" in English, gave the Ottomans unusual military flexibility. Being Christian by upbringing, the Janissaries had no misgivings about fighting against Turks and Muslims when the sultans wished to expand their territories in Anatolia. Moreover, since horseback riding and bowmanship were not engrained elements of their cultural backgrounds, they readily accepted the idea of fighting on foot and learning to use guns, which at that time were still too heavy and awkward for a horseman to load and fire.

The process of selection for Janissary training changed early in the fifteenth century. Recruitment from Christian prisoners of war was unreliable and raised questions of allegiance. A new system was devised called the *devshirme* (literally "selection"), a regular levy of male children imposed on Christian villages in the Balkans and occasionally elsewhere. Devshirme children were placed with Turkish families to learn their language and then were sent to the sultan's palace in Istanbul for an education that included instruction in Islam, military training, and, for the most talented, what we might call liberal arts. This training regime, sophisticated for its time, produced not only the Janissary soldiers but also, from among the chosen few who received special training in the inner service of the palace, senior military commanders and heads of government departments up to the rank of grand vizier.

The Ottoman Empire was cosmopolitan in character. The sophisticated court language, Osmanli (the Turkish form of "Ottoman"), shared basic grammar and vocabulary with the Turkish spoken by Anatolia's nomads and villagers, but Arabic and Persian ingredients made it as distinct from that language as the Latin of educated Europeans was from the various Latin-derived Romance languages. Everyone who served in the military or the bureaucracy and conversed in Osmanli was considered to belong to the *askeri*, or "military," class. Members of this class were exempt from taxes and owed their entire well-being to the sultan, who gave them grants of land in exchange for their service.

By 1520, the beginning of the reign of Sultan Suleiman, known to Europeans as "the Magnificent" and to his subjects as "the Lawgiver," the Ottoman Empire was the most powerful and best-organized state in either Europe or the Islamic world. Its military was balanced between mounted archers and Janissaries trained in the most advanced weaponry. Under the land-grant system, resident cavalrymen administered most rural areas in Anatolia and the Balkans. They dispensed justice, collected taxes, and reported for each summer's campaign with their horses, retainers, and supplies, all paid for from the taxes they collected. When not campaigning, they stayed at home.

According to the Ottoman conception of the world, the sultan provided justice for his "flock of

Map 17.1 Muslim Empires in the Sixteenth to Seventeenth Century (From *Times Atlas of World History*, Fourth Edition by Geoffrey Barraclough. Copyright © 1994 by HarperCollins Cartographic. Reprinted by permission.)

Top Kapi palace The Ottoman sultans' palace, on the site of a Byzantine palace, was both governing center and royal residence. The outer courtyard, shown here, was used for occasions of state. Notice the different headdresses indicating rank or military unit. The palace is now a museum. (Topkapi Saray Museum)

sheep" (*raya*), and the military protected them; in return, the raya—the mass of the population, Muslims, Christians, and Jews—paid the taxes that supported both the sultan and the military. In reality, the sultan's government, like most large territorial governments in premodern times, was fairly isolated from the lives of most of his subjects. Most Arab, Turkish, and Balkan townsfolk depended on local notables and religious leaders to represent them before the Ottoman provincial governor and his staff. Islam was the ruling religion and gradually became the majority religion in Balkan regions such as Albania and Bosnia that had large numbers of converts. Thus the law of Islam (the Shari'a), as interpreted by local *ulama* (religious scholars), overshadowed urban institutions and social life. Local customs prevailed among non-Muslims and in many rural areas, and non-Muslims looked to their own religious leaders for guidance in family and spiritual matters.

Crisis of the Military State

As military technology evolved, cannon and light-weight firearms played an ever-larger role on the battlefield. Accordingly, the size of the Janissary corps—and its cost to the government—grew steadily, and the role of the Turkish cavalry, which continued to disdain firearms even as they became lighter and easier to use, diminished. To fill state coffers and pay the Janissaries, in the mid-sixteenth century the sultan started reducing the number of landholding cavalrymen. The revenues they had used for their own living expenses and military equipment went directly into the imperial treasury. Offsetting this new source of revenue, however, was the expense of providing tax collectors and local administrators to take over the functions of the former landholders. The displaced cavalrymen themselves constituted an armed and unhappy group concentrated in rural Anatolia.

At about the same time, inflation engulfed the Ottoman economy. People who depended on fixed sums of money suffered as prices rose. Many of the remaining landholders—restricted by law to collecting a fixed amount of taxes—saw their purchasing power decline so much that they were unable to report for military service. This delinquency, however, played into the hands of the sultan's government, which wanted to reduce the cavalry and increase the Janissary corps and thus made no reforms to allow landholders to keep their land grants. As land was returned to the state, more and more cavalrymen joined the ranks of the dispossessed. Students and professors in *madrasas* (religious colleges) similarly found it impossible to live on fixed stipends from the madrasa endowments.

Constrained by religious law from fundamentally changing the tax system, the government levied emergency surtaxes to obtain funds to pay the Janissaries and bureaucrats. For additional military strength, particularly in its wars with Iran, the government reinforced the Janissary ranks with partially trained, salaried soldiers hired for the duration of a campaign. Once the summer campaign season was over, these soldiers found themselves out of work and short of cash.

This complicated situation resulted in revolts that devastated Anatolia between 1596 and 1658. Former landholding cavalrymen, short-term soldiers released at the end of the campaign season, peasants overburdened by emergency taxes, and even impoverished students of religion formed bands of marauders. Anatolia experienced the worst of the rebellions and suffered greatly from emigration and the loss of agricultural production. But an increase in banditry, made worse by the government's inability to stem the spread of muskets among the general public, beset other parts of the empire as well.

In the meantime, the Janissaries took advantage of their growing influence to gain relief from prohibitions on their marrying and engaging in business. Janissaries who involved themselves in commerce lessened the burden on the state budget, and married Janissaries who enrolled sons or relatives in the corps made it possible in the seventeenth century for the government to save state funds by abolishing the devshirme system with its traveling selection officers. These savings, however, were more than offset by the increase in the total number of Janissaries and in their steady deterioration as a military force, which necessitated the hiring of more and more supplemental troops.

Economic Change and Growing Weakness

A very different Ottoman Empire emerged from this crisis. The sultan once had led armies. Now he was likely to reside in his palace and have little experience of the real world, and the affairs of government were overseen more and more by the chief administrators—the grand viziers.

After the devshirme system was discontinued, the Janissaries took advantage of their increased power and privileges to make membership in their corps hereditary. Together with several other newly prominent infantry regiments, they involved themselves in crafts and trading. Because the Janissaries and members of the special regiments took orders only from their own officers, they freely ignored the rules established by the craft guilds. The guilds, quite conservative and preferring the constant and equitable distribution of work for all members to economic growth or innovation, soon saw that military involvement in commerce disturbed the pattern of economic life.

Land grants in return for military service disappeared. Tax farming took their place. Tax farmers paid specific taxes, such as customs duties, in advance in return for the privilege of collecting a greater amount from the actual taxpayers. Rural administration, already disrupted by the rebellions, suffered from the transition to tax farms. The former landholders were military men who readily kept order on their lands in order to maintain their incomes. Tax farmers were less likely to live on the land, and their tax collection rights could vary from year to year. The imperial government, therefore, faced greater administrative burdens and came to rely heavily on powerful provincial governors or on wealthy men who purchased lifelong tax collection rights that prompted them to behave more or less like private landowners.

Rural disorder and decline in administrative control sometimes opened the way for new economic opportunities. Between 1580 and 1650 the Aegean port of Izmir was able to transform itself from a small Muslim Turkish town into a multiethnic, multireligious, multilinguistic entrepôt because of the Ottoman government's inability to control trade and the slowly growing dominance of European traders in the Indian Ocean. Spices from the East, though still traded in Aleppo and other long-established Ottoman centers, were not to be found in Izmir. European traders at Izmir purchased local agricultural products—dried fruits, sesame seeds, nuts, and olive oil. As a consequence, local farmers who previously had grown grain for subsistence shifted their plantings more and more to cotton and other cash crops, including, after its introduction in the 1590s, tobacco, which quickly became very popular in the Ottoman Empire despite government prohibitions. In this way the agricultural economy of western Anatolia, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean coast—the Ottoman lands most accessible to Europe—became enmeshed in the seventeenth century in a growing European commercial network.

The Ottoman Empire lacked both the wealth and the inclination to match European economic advances. Overland trade from the east dwindled as political disorder in Safavid Iran cut deeply into Iranian silk production (see below). Coffee grown in the highlands of Yemen was exported by way of Egypt. By 1770, however, Muslim merchants trading in the Yemeni port of Mocha (literally "the coffee place") were charged 15 percent in duties and fees, but English traders, benefiting, like certain other European powers, from trade agreements with the Ottoman Empire going back to the mid-fifteenth century—the time of Mehmed the Conqueror—paid little more than 3 percent. Such trade agreements led to European domination of Ottoman import and export trade by sea.

To most people, the downward course of imperial power was far from evident, much less the reasons behind it. Far from seeing Europe as the enemy that eventually would dismantle the weakening Ottoman Empire, the Istanbul elite experimented with European clothing and furniture styles and purchased printed books from the empire's first (and short-lived) press. In 1730, however, a conservative Janissary revolt with strong religious overtones toppled Sultan Ahmed III. The leader of the revolt, Patrona Halil, an Albanian former seaman and stoker of the public baths, swaggered around the capital for several months dictating government policies before he was seized and executed. The Patrona Halil rebellion confirmed the perceptions of a few that the Ottoman Empire was facing severe difficulties. But decay at the center spelled benefit elsewhere. In the provinces, ambitious and competent governors, wealthy landholders, urban notables, and nomad chieftains were well placed to take advantage of the central government's weakness.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, groups of Mamluks had regained a dominant position in Egypt, Janissary commanders had become virtually independent rulers in Baghdad, and Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab's conservative Sunni movement had begun its remarkable rise beyond the reach of Ottoman power in central Arabia. Although no region declared full independence, the sultan's power was slipping away, and the Ottoman economy was reorienting itself toward Europe.

THE SAFAVID EMPIRE

The Safavid state of Iran (see Map 17.1), the Ottomans' long-time foe, had many of the common characteristics of large, land-based empires: it initially relied militarily on cavalry paid through land grants, its population spoke several different languages, and it was oriented inward away from the sea. It also had distinct qualities that to this day continue to set Iran off from its neighbors: it derived part of its legitimacy from the pre-Islamic dynasties of ancient Iran, and it adopted the Shi'ite form of Islam.

Iran's conversion to Shi'ism created a deep chasm between Iran and its eastern and western neighbors, all of which were Sunni. Iran became a truly separate country for the first time since its incorporation into the Islamic empire in the seventh century.

Society and Religion

Differences between Iran and its neighbors were long in the making. Persian, written in the Arabic script from the tenth century onward, emerged as the second language of Islam. Iranian scholars and writers normally read Arabic as well as Persian and sprinkled their writings with Arabic phrases, but their Arab counterparts were much less inclined to learn Persian. This divergence between the two language areas intensified after the Mongols killed the last Abbasid caliph and destroyed Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid caliphate, in 1258 and diminished the importance of Arabic-speaking Iraq. Syria and Egypt became the heartland of the Arab world, and Iran developed largely on its own, having more extensive contacts with India—where Muslim rulers favored the Persian language—than with the Arabs.

In the heyday of the Islamic caliphate, in the seventh through ninth centuries, cultural styles radiated from Baghdad. In the post-Mongol period—a time of great artistic creativity and innovation in Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia—styles in the East went their own separate ways. Painted and molded tiles and tile mosaics, often in vivid turquoise blue, became the standard exterior decoration of mosques in Iran but never were used in Syria and Egypt. Persian poets like Saadi (d. 1291) and Hafiz (d. 1389) raised morally instructive and mystical-allegorical verse to peaks of perfection that had no reflection in Arabic poetry, generally considered to be in a state of decline.

To be sure, Islam itself provided a tradition that transcended ethnic and linguistic borders. Mosque architecture differed, but Iranians, Arabs, Turks, and Muslims in India all had mosques. They also had madrasas that trained the ulama to sustain and interpret the Shari'a. Yet local understandings of the common tradition differed substantially.

Thus even prior to the imposition of Shi'ism in 1502, Iran had become a distinctive society. Nevertheless, the impact of Shi'ism was significant. Shi'ite doctrine says that all temporal rulers are temporary stand-ins for the Hidden Imam: the twelfth descendant of Ali, who was the prophet Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law. Shi'ites believe that leadership of the Muslim community rests solely with divinely appointed Imams from Ali's family, that the twelfth descendant (the Hidden Imam) disappeared as a child in the ninth century, and that the Shi'ite community will lack a proper religious authority until he returns. Some Shi'ite scholars concluded that the faithful should wait quietly for the Hidden Imam's return. Others maintained that they themselves should play a stronger role in political affairs because they were best qualified to know the Hidden Imam's wishes. These two positions, which still play a role in Iranian Shi'ism, tended to enhance the self-image of the ulama as independent of imperial authority and stood in the way of ulama members becoming government functionaries, as many Ottoman ulama did.

Shi'ism also affected the psychological life of the people. Annual commemoration of the martyrdom of Imam Husain (d. 680), Ali's son and the third Imam, regularized an emotional outpouring with no parallel in Sunni lands. Day after day for two weeks preachers recited the woeful tale to crowds of weeping believers, and elaborate street processions, often organized by the guilds, paraded chanting and self-flagellating men past crowds of reverent onlookers. Of course, Shi'ites elsewhere observed rites of mourning for Imam Husain. But the impact of these rites on society as a whole was especially great in Iran, where 90 percent of the population was Shi'ite. Over time, the subjects of the Safavid shahs came to feel more than ever a people apart.

A Tale of Two Cities: Istanbul and Isfahan

Isfahan became Iran's capital in 1598 by decree of Shah Abbas I (r. 1587–1628). Outwardly, Istanbul and Isfahan looked quite different. Built on seven hills on the south side of the narrow Golden Horn inlet, Istanbul boasted a skyline punctuated by the gray stone domes and thin, pointed minarets of the great imperial mosques. The mosques surrounding the royal plaza in Isfahan, in contrast, had unobtrusive minarets and brightly tiled domes that rose to gentle peaks. High walls surrounded the sultan's palace in Istanbul. Shah Abbas in Isfahan focused his capital on the giant royal plaza, which was large enough for his army to play polo, and he received dignitaries and reviewed his troops at a palace overlooking the plaza. This public imagery contributed to Shah Abbas's being called "the Great."

The Masjid-i Shah (Royal Mosque) in Isfahan The dome is covered with glazed tile mosaic—a floral arabesque pattern above two tiers of religious calligraphy. Domes were used in both grand and humble Iranian buildings. (Robert Harding Picture Library)

The harbor of Istanbul, the primary Ottoman seaport, teemed with sailing ships and smaller craft, many of them belonging to a colony of European merchants perched on a hilltop on the north side of the Golden Horn. Isfahan, far from the sea, was only occasionally visited by Europeans. Most of its trade was in the hands of Jews, Hindus, and especially a colony of Armenian Christians brought in by Shah Abbas.

Beneath these superficial differences, the two capitals had much in common. Wheeled vehicles were scarce in hilly Istanbul and nonexistent in Isfahan. Both cities were built for walking and, aside from the royal plaza in Isfahan, lacked the open spaces common in contemporary European cities. Streets were narrow and irregular. Houses crowded against each other in dead-end lanes. Open areas were interior courtyards where residents could enjoy their privacy. Artisans and merchants organized themselves into guilds that had strong social and religious as well as economic bonds. The shops of each guild adjoined each other in the markets.

Women were seldom seen in public, even in Istanbul's mazelike covered market or in Isfahan's long, serpentine bazaar. At home, the women's quarters—called *anderun,* or "interior," in Iran and *harem,* or "forbidden area," in Istanbul—were separate from the public rooms where the men of the family received visitors. In both areas, low cushions, braziers for warmth, carpets, and small tables constituted most of the furnishings. In Iran and the Arab provinces, shelves and niches for books could be cut into the thick, mud-brick walls. Residences in Istanbul were usually built of wood. Glazed tile in geometric or floral patterns covered the walls of wealthy men's reception areas.

The private side of family life has left few traces, but it is apparent that women's society—consisting of wives, children, female servants, and possibly one or more eunuchs—was not entirely cut off from the outside world. Ottoman court records reveal that women, using male agents, were very active in the urban real estate market. Often they were selling inherited shares of their father's estate, but some both bought and sold real estate on a regular basis and even established religious endowments for pious purposes. The fact that Islamic law, unlike some European codes, permitted a wife to retain her property after marriage gave some women a stake in the general economy and a degree of independence from their spouses. Women also appeared in other types of court cases, where they often testified for themselves, for Islamic courts did not recognize the role of attorney. Although comparable Safavid court records do not survive, historians assume that a parallel situation prevailed in Iran.

European travelers commented on the veiling of women outside the home, but miniature paintings indicate that ordinary female garb consisted of a long, ample dress with a scarf or long shawl pulled tight over the forehead to conceal the hair. Lightweight trousers, either close-fitting or baggy, were often worn under the dress. This mode of dress was not far different from that of men. Poor men wore light trousers, a long shirt, a jacket, and a hat or turban. Wealthier men wore over their trousers ankle-length caftans, often closely fitted around the chest. The norm for both sexes was complete coverage of arms, legs, and hair.

Public life was almost entirely the domain of men. Poetry and art, both somewhat more elegantly developed in Isfahan than in Istanbul, were as likely to extol the charms of beardless boys as pretty women. Despite religious disapproval of homosexuality, attachments to adolescent boys were neither unusual nor hidden. Women who appeared in public—aside from non-Muslims, the aged, and the very poor—were likely to be slaves. Miniature paintings frequently depict female dancers, musicians, and even acrobats in attitudes and costumes that range from decorous to decidedly erotic.

Despite social similarities, the overall flavors of Isfahan and Istanbul were not the same. Isfahan had a prosperous Armenian quarter across the river from the city's center, but it was not a truly cosmopolitan capital, just as the peoples of the Safavid realm were not remarkably diverse. Like other rulers of extensive land empires, Shah Abbas located his capital toward the center of his domain within comparatively easy reach of any threatened frontier. Istanbul, in contrast, was a great seaport and crossroads located on the straits separating the sultan's European and Asian possessions. People of all sorts lived or spent time in Istanbul—Venetians, Genoese, Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Albanians, Serbs, Jews, Bulgarians, Circassians, and more. In this respect Istanbul conveyed the cosmopolitan character of other major seaports from London to Canton (Guangzhou) and belied the fact that its prosperity rested on the vast reach of the sultan's territories rather than on the voyages of its merchants.

Economic Crisis and Political Collapse

The silk of northern Iran, monopolized by the shahs, was the mainstay of the country's foreign trade (see Environment and Technology: Textile Production). However, most of the shah's subjects, whether Iranians, Turks, Kurds, or Arabs, lived by subsistence farming or herding. Neither area of activity recorded significant technological advances during the Safavid period.

The Safavids, like the Ottomans, had difficulty finding money to pay troops armed with firearms. This crisis occurred somewhat later in Iran because of its greater distance from Europe. By the end of the sixteenth century, it was evident that a more systematic adoption of cannon and firearms in the Safavid Empire would be needed to hold off the Ottomans and the Uzbeks (Turkish rulers who had succeeded the Timurids on Iran's Central Asian frontier; see Map 17.1). Like the Ottoman cavalry a century earlier, however, the warriors furnished by the nomad leaders were not inclined to trade in their bows for

ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

Textile Production

Different regions specialized in different textiles. Safavid Iran exported silk and knotted carpets. Mughal India was noted for its cottons (calico gets its name from Calicut, an Indian port on the Bay of Bengal). And the Malay world of Southeast Asia produced cotton prints called *batik*. The technology of textile production varied greatly, but everywhere women performed much of the labor.

To make a rug, an Iranian girl (left) knots colored yarn around a vertically strong warp. To make cotton cloth for batik printing (right), an Indonesian woman works on a loom.

Textile production in Iran (left) and Southeast Asia (right) (David Pratt/Photo Researchers, Inc. (l.) and Mattiebelle Gittinger, The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. (r.))

firearms. Shah Abbas responded by establishing a slave corps of year-round soldiers and arming them with guns. These converts to Islam who initially provided the manpower for the new corps were mostly captives taken in raids on Georgia in the Caucasus.

In the late sixteenth century, inflation spread into Iran; then overland trade through Safavid territory declined because of mismanagement of the silk monopoly after Shah Abbas's death in 1628. As a result, the country faced the unsolvable problem of finding money to pay the army and bureaucracy. Trying to unseat the nomads from their lands to regain control of taxes was more difficult and more disruptive militarily than the piecemeal dismantlement of the land-grant system in the Ottoman Empire. The nomads were a cohesive military force, and pressure from the center simply caused them to withdraw to their mountain pastures until the pressure subsided. By 1722, the government had become so weak and commanded so little support from the nomadic groups that an army of marauding Afghans was able to capture Isfahan and effectively end Safavid rule.

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

What distinguishes the Indian empire of the Mughal sultans from the empires of the Ottomans and Safavids is the fact that India was a land of Hindus ruled by a Muslim minority. Muslim dominion in India was the result of repeated military campaigns from the early eleventh century onward (see Chapter 12), and the Mughals had to contend with the Hindus' long-standing resentment of the destruction of their culture by Muslims. Unlike the Balkan peoples, who had struggled to maintain their separate identities in relation to the Byzantines, the Crusaders, and one another before the arrival of the Turks, the peoples of the Indian subcontinent had used centuries of freedom from foreign intrusion to forge a distinctive Hindu civilization that could not easily accommodate the worldview of Islam. Thus the challenge facing the Mughals was not just conquering and organizing a large territorial state but also searching for a formula for Hindu-Muslim coexistence.

Political Foundations

The founder of the Mughal Empire, Babur (1483–1530), was a Muslim descendant of both Genghis Khan and Timur (*Mughal* is Persian for "Mongol"). Babur's grandson Akbar (r. 1556–1605) established the central administration of the expanding state. Under him and his three successors—the last of whom, Aurangzeb, died in 1707—all but the southern tip of India fell under Mughal rule, administered first from Agra and then from Delhi (see Map 17.1).

Akbar granted land revenues to military officers and government officials in return for their service. Ranks, called *mansabs,* some high and some low, determined revenue assignments. As in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, revenue grants were not considered hereditary, and the central government kept careful track of their issuance.

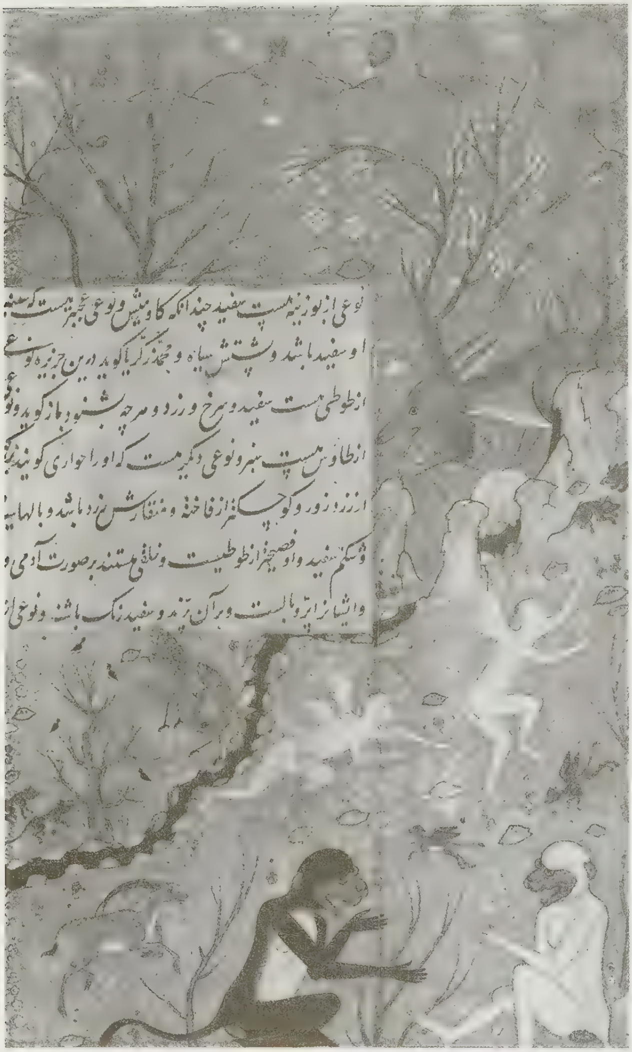
With a population of 100 million, a thriving trading economy based on cotton cloth, and a generally efficient administration, India under Akbar was probably the most prosperous empire of the sixteenth century. Akbar and his successors faced few external threats and experienced generally peaceful conditions in the northern Indian heartland.

Foreign trade boomed at the port of Surat in the northwest, which also served as an embarkation point for pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Like the Safavids, the Mughals had no navy or merchant ships. The government saw the Europeans—now primarily Dutch and English, the Portuguese having lost most of their Indian ports—less as enemies than as shipmasters whose naval support could be procured as needed in return for trading privileges.

Hindus and Muslims

India had not been dominated by a single ruler since the time of Harsha Vardhana (r. 606–647) (see Chapter 6), and Hindu efforts to oppose Muslim rule were piecemeal rather than concerted. The Mughal state, in contrast, inherited traditions of unified imperial rule from both the Islamic caliphate and the more recent examples of Genghis Khan and Timur. Those Mongol-based traditions, however, did not necessarily mean religious intolerance. Seventy percent of the *mansabdars* (officials holding land revenues) appointed under Akbar were Muslim soldiers born outside India, but 15 percent were Hindus, most of them Rajputs, warriors from the north.

Akbar, the most illustrious ruler of his dynasty, differed from his Ottoman and Safavid counterparts—Suleiman the Magnificent and



Scene from Indonesia in a Mughal manuscript The wonders of foreign lands were a common theme in Islamic literature. Although India and Indonesia were in trading contact for over a thousand years, fancy still played a major role in such works, as is evident in the depiction of little men perched in trees. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)

Shah Abbas the Great—in his striving for social harmony and not just for more territory and revenue. His marriage to a Rajput princess signaled his desire for reconciliation and even intermarriage between Muslims and Hindus. The birth of his son in 1569 ensured that future rulers would have both Muslim and Hindu ancestry.

Akbar ruled that in legal disputes between two Hindus, decisions would be made according to village custom or Hindu law as interpreted by local Hindu scholars. Shari'a law was in force for Muslims. Akbar made himself the legal court of last resort in a 1579 declaration that he was God's infallible earthly representative. Thus appeals could be made to Akbar personally, a possibility not usually present in Islamic jurisprudence.

Akbar tried to make himself the center of a new "Divine Faith" incorporating Muslim, Hindu, Zoroastrian, Sikh, and Christian beliefs. He was strongly attracted by Sufi ideas, which permeated the religious rituals he instituted at his court, and he oversaw, from a catwalk high above the audience, debates among scholars of all religions assembled in his octagonal private audience chamber. When courtiers uttered the Muslim exclamation "Allahu Akbar"—"God is great"—they also understood its grammatical meaning: "God is Akbar."

Akbar's religious views did not survive him, but the court culture he fostered, reflecting a mixture of Muslim and Hindu traditions, flourished until his great-grandson, Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707), reinstituted many restrictions on Hindus. Mughal and Rajput paintings reveled in precise portraits of political figures and depictions of scantily clad women, even though they brought frowns to the faces of pious Muslims, who deplored the representation of human beings in art. Most of the leading painters were Hindus. In poetry, in addition to the florid style of Persian verse favored at court, a new taste developed for poetry and prose in the popular language of the Delhi region, the modern descendant of which is Urdu.

Central Decay and Regional Challenges

Mughal power did not long survive Aurangzeb's death in 1707. Some historians consider the land-grant system a central element in the rapid de-

New Year celebration at the court of Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658) The pre-Islamic Iranian tradition of celebrating the New Year (in Persian *No Ruz*, "New Day") on March 21, the vernal equinox, spread with Islamic rule. The dancing girls are a characteristically Indian aspect of the celebration. (The Royal Collection © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

cline of imperial authority, but other factors were at play as well. Aurangzeb's additions to Mughal territory in southern India were not all well integrated into the imperial structure, and strong regional powers arose to challenge Mughal military supremacy. A climax came in 1739 when Nader Shah, the warlord who seized power in Iran after the fall of the Safavids, invaded the subcontinent and sacked Delhi. The "peacock throne," the priceless, jewel-encrusted symbol of Mughal grandeur, was carried off to Iran as part of the booty. Another throne was found for the later Mughals to sit on; but their empire, which survived in name to 1857, was finished.

In 1723, Nizam al-Mulk, the powerful vizier of the Mughal sultan, gave up on the central government and established his own virtually independent state at Hyderabad in the eastern Deccan. Other officials bearing the title *nawab*, Anglicized as "nabob," became similarly independent in Bengal and Oudh in the northeast, as did the Marathas. In the northwest, simultaneous Iranian and Mughal weakness allowed the Afghans to establish an independent kingdom.

Some of these regional powers, and smaller princely states that arose on former Mughal territory, were prosperous and benefited from the removal of the sultan's heavy hand. Linguistic and religious communities, freed from the religious intolerance instituted during the reign of Aurangzeb, similarly enjoyed greater opportunity for political expression. However, this disintegration of central power favored the intrusion of European powers.

CONCLUSION

That a major shift in world economic and political alignments was well under way by the late seventeenth century was scarcely perceivable in the parts of Asia and Africa ruled by the Ottoman and Mughal sultans and the Safavid shahs. To be sure, more and more trade was being carried in European vessels, and Europeans had enclaves in a handful of port cities and islands. But the age-old tradition of Asia was that imperial wealth came from the control of broad expanses of agricultural land. Except in the case of state monopolies, such as Iranian silk, rulers did not greatly concern themselves with what farmers planted. To fill the government coffers, they relied mostly on land taxes, usually indirectly collected from holders of land grants or by tax farmers, rather than on customs duties or control of markets.

With ever-increasing military expenditures, these taxes fell short of the rulers' needs. Few people, however, realized that this revenue shortfall was a problem basic of the entire economic system rather than a temporary inconvenience. Imperial courtiers pursued their luxurious ways, poetry and the arts continued to flourish, and the quality of manufacturing and craft production remained generally high. Eighteenth-century European observers marveled no less at the riches and industry of these Eastern lands than at the fundamental weakness of their political and military systems. They entertained the same thoughts when confronting the societies in Central and East Asia discussed in the next chapter.

SUGGESTED READING

The best comprehensive and comparative account of the post-Mongol Islamic land empires, with an emphasis on social history, is Ira Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (1988). For a work of similar scope concentrating on intellectual history see Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Century of Islam, vol. 3, The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times* (1974).

The standard political history of the Ottoman Empire is Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, vol. 1, Empire of the Ghazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808* (1976). Among the specialized studies of cities and regions that give a good sense of some of the major changes in Ottoman society and economy after the sixteenth century are Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550–1650* (1990), and Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (1989). The role of women in the governance of the Ottoman Empire is skillfully treated by Leslie Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (1993). Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (1988) is an excellent contribution to Ottoman social history.

The most comprehensive treatment of the history of Safavid Iran is in the articles in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, eds., *The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 6, The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (1986). For the artistic side of Safavid history, abundantly illustrated, see Anthony Welch, *Shah 'Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan* (1973). Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shiite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (1984), contains the best analysis of the complicated relationship between Shi'ism and monarchy.

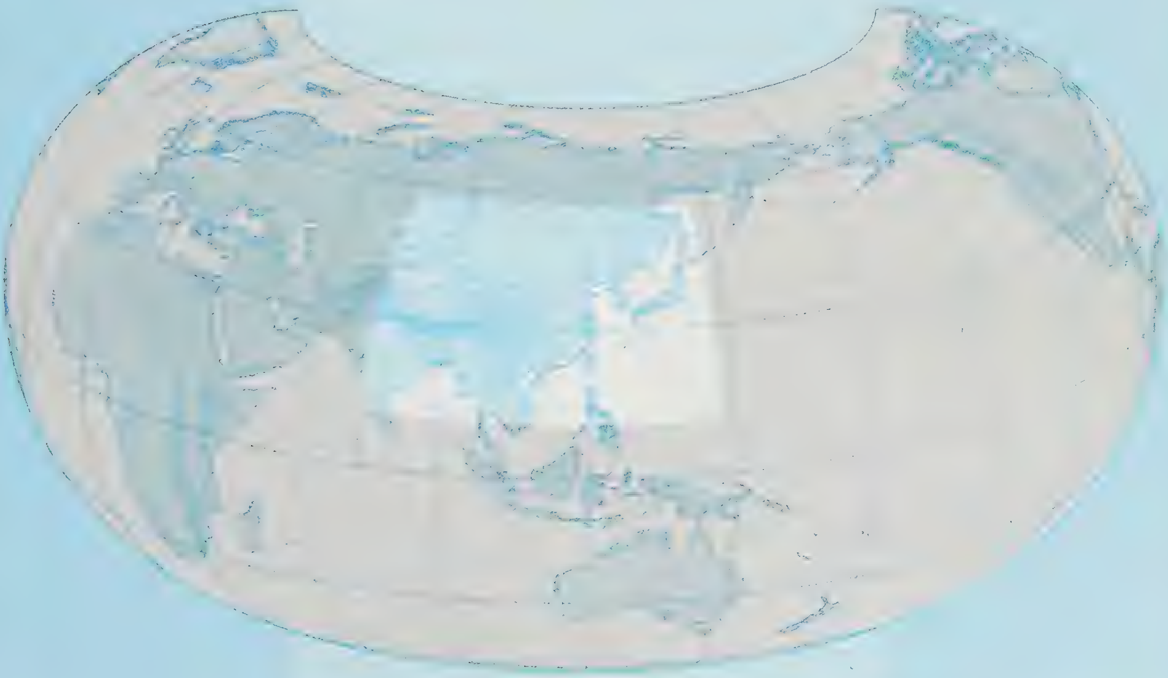
A highly readable work that situates the Mughal Empire within the overall history of the Indian subcontinent is Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, 4th ed. (1993). For a broad treatment of the development of Islamic society in India with emphasis on the Mughal period see S. M. Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan* (1989).

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Central and Eastern Asia, 1500–1800

The Ming to Qing Transition • Consolidation of the Qing Empire

Decentralization and Innovation: Tokugawa Japan



The pull of Asian power, wealth, and resources inspired one of the great events of European exploration and colonization—the expedition of the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama in 1498 that opened the sea route to Asia by way of the southern tip of Africa. The Portuguese rulers hoped to dominate the Indian spice trade and take away profits from Muslim merchants in areas from Mogadishu in East Africa to Jakarta in the East Indies. To enhance his credibility with the Asians he expected to encounter, Da Gama carried a letter from the Portuguese king to Prester John, the mythical Christian monarch of Central Asia. Europeans since before the time of Genghis Khan had been hoping that Prester John would destroy Muslim power in the Middle East. As reports of the power and opulence of Genghis Khan's court had inspired travel, trade, diplomacy, and cultural exchange by land routes between western Europe and eastern Asia, so the legend of Prester John and the lure of Indian spices helped motivate European societies to seek riches through exploitation of sea travel.

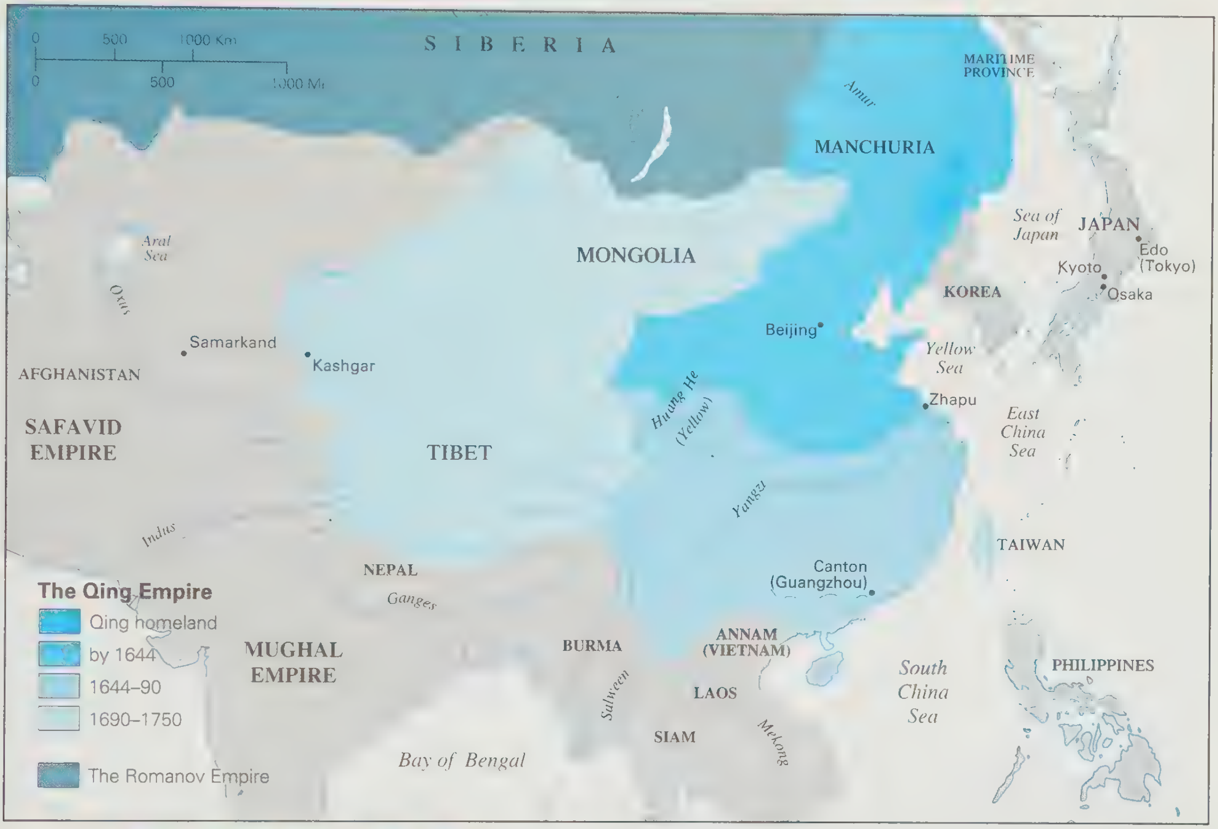
After the decline of the caravan trade in the 1400s, sea trade offered the principal connection between Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia. This maritime trade helped to develop the coastal cities of India and Southeast Asia, which became important stopping places. Because contact across the Eurasian continent was no longer continuous, Europeans in particular began to think of their world as special and remote from Asia and Africa.

The Qing of China (1644–1911)—like the Romanovs of Russia, the Ottomans in Anatolia (modern Turkey), and the Mughals of India—ruled a great land-based empire and attempted in the early modern period to protect the privileges of agriculture over commerce, to maintain centralized imperial rule, and to sustain military control over lands that were strategically important even if economically unprofitable (see Map 18.1). In the long run, all of these empires were at a disadvantage in the struggle against the sea-based empires of Europe, which concentrated on colonizing profitable areas, linked the development of commerce to the enrichment of the central government, and enlisted the aid of semiprivate chartered companies and other organizations to find, develop, and govern territories brought under their rule.

At this time, few Europeans were aware of another remarkable society in East Asia, one that for centuries had lived in the shadow of China: Japan. Often isolated from the cultural and economic developments of continental Asia, Japan independently developed a vigorous economic and technological life—sometimes profitably connected to the developments of mainland Asia, sometimes securely insulated. By the end of the 1700s, as China was experiencing economic deterioration and social stagnation, Japan was poised for centralization and industrialization.

THE MING TO QING TRANSITION

Historians have long debated the reasons for the decline of the Ming Empire (1368–1644) in China in the 1500s and early 1600s. During that time, China was not only unified but also dominated most of East and Central Asia. Through the *tribute system*—the practice of political, economic, and military subordination by countries not actually conquered by the Ming—many Asian and a few European countries expressed their ritual acceptance of the material and moral superiority of China.



Map 18.1 **Romanov-Qing Rivalries, 1600–1750** During its critical years of formation and expansion, the Qing Empire struggled against the Romanov Empire of Russia for control of Siberia, the Amur River and Mongolia. The conflict was stabilized by the equal treaties of Nerchinsk (1687) and Kiakhta (1727), which established borders and tariffs between the two great powers. (From *Times Atlas of World History*, Fourth Edition by Geoffrey Barraclough. Copyright © 1994 by HarperCollins Cartographic. Reprinted by permission.)

The Ming "Golden Age"

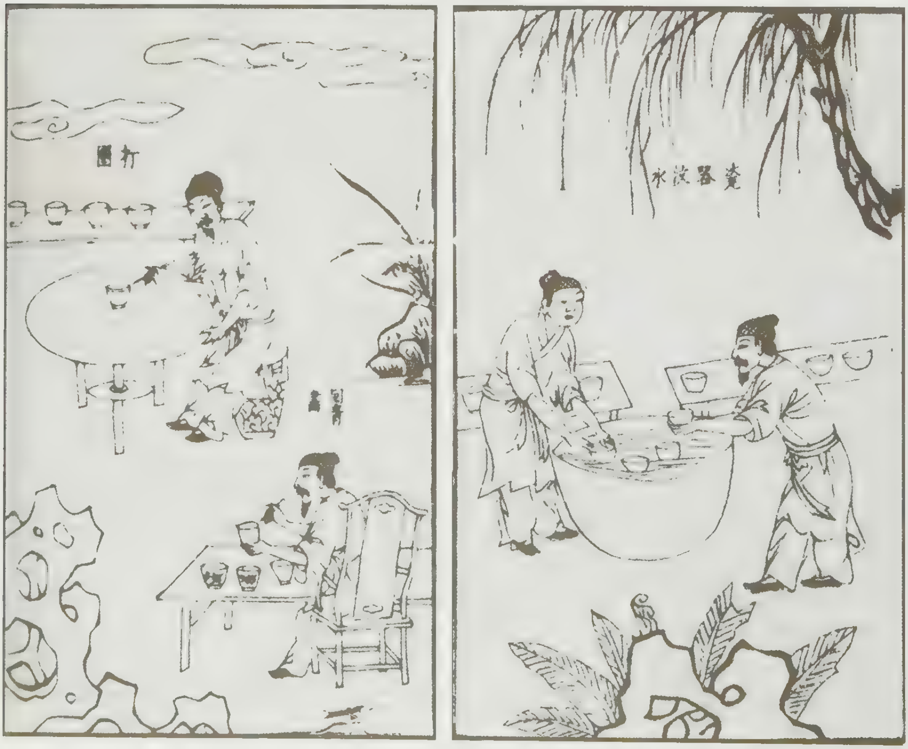
In many ways, the cultural achievements of Ming China in the 1500s were brilliant. Literature reached new heights with the publication of massive novels. Some, like Wu Cheng'en's *Journey to the West*, were based on well-known historical incidents or on folktales and shared the spirit of novel writing of the 1400s. Others were completely original. For example, Wu Jingzi's *The Scholars*—a satirical excursion into the complex relationships of men competing for success in the examination system by which officials were selected—focuses on the dramas of elite life and is distinguished for its structure, narrative style, and many layers of meaning.

Later Ming achievements in the design and export of porcelain products were also astonishing. By the 1500s Europe knew about the high-grade blue-on-white porcelain used by the elites of China. Enormous government complexes at Jingdezhen and at Dehua introduced assembly-line techniques to produce large quantities of high-quality ceramics for sale in China and abroad. Portuguese merchants exported the porcelain to Europe and began requesting special designs resembling European pitchers and bowls that otherwise would have been made of metal or wood. Many of the commissioned items had distinctive gold fittings and designs that Chinese artisans copied from European paintings. By 1600 the Dutch also were heavily involved in this trade, and Europeans were becoming accustomed to the fine new porcelain, "china."

China's cities were culturally and commercially vibrant. The elites had created a brilliant culture whose radiance brightened novels, opera, poetry, porcelain, and painting alike. As a result, for the owners of small businesses with a connection to the arts—such as printers, restaurant owners, tailors, artisans, and shopkeepers specializing in paper, ink, inkstones, and writing brushes—there were ample opportunities to make money.

This seemingly golden age, however, was beset by problems that by the year 1600 left the Ming Empire economically exhausted, politically deteriorating, and technologically behind its East Asian neighbors and Europe. Some were the result of natural disasters. Others were the result of political and military stresses, particularly from Central Asia—still largely under Mongol control—and from Manchuria, where Manchus had joined with Chinese settlers to create the economically strong and militarily assertive Qing state. Still other pressures on the Ming resulted from domestic unrest, as rebellions spread among the poor farmers, renters, and soldiers, whose misery deepened during the early 1600s.

[illegible] The assembly-line setup used at the Jingdezhen and Dehua porcelain factories ensured high quality, efficient use of workers' expertise, and high output. (From *Tiangong Kaiwu*)



The Plateau in Ming Development

By the end of the Ming period the factories at Jingdezhen and Dehua were plagued by disorder and inefficiency. Workers held strikes with increasing frequency in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At Jingdezhen in 1601, workers threw themselves into the kilns to protest working conditions. But urban and industrial sectors of society fared much better than the rural areas. Technological improvements in harvesting and processing grains, and in producing cotton and silk, were not adapted and exploited in China as they were in Korea and Japan. After the early sixteenth century China had knowledge, from European traders, of new crops from Africa and America, but these crops were introduced slowly and did not have a real impact until the Qing period.

At the same time, population growth stabilized. After 1500, economic depression in the countryside, combined with recurring epidemics in central and southern China, kept population growth in check. Peasant revolts that hastened the political disintegration of the Ming Empire shrank the population of many critical agricultural areas. As a result, the Ming population at its height probably did not much surpass the population of four hundred years earlier.

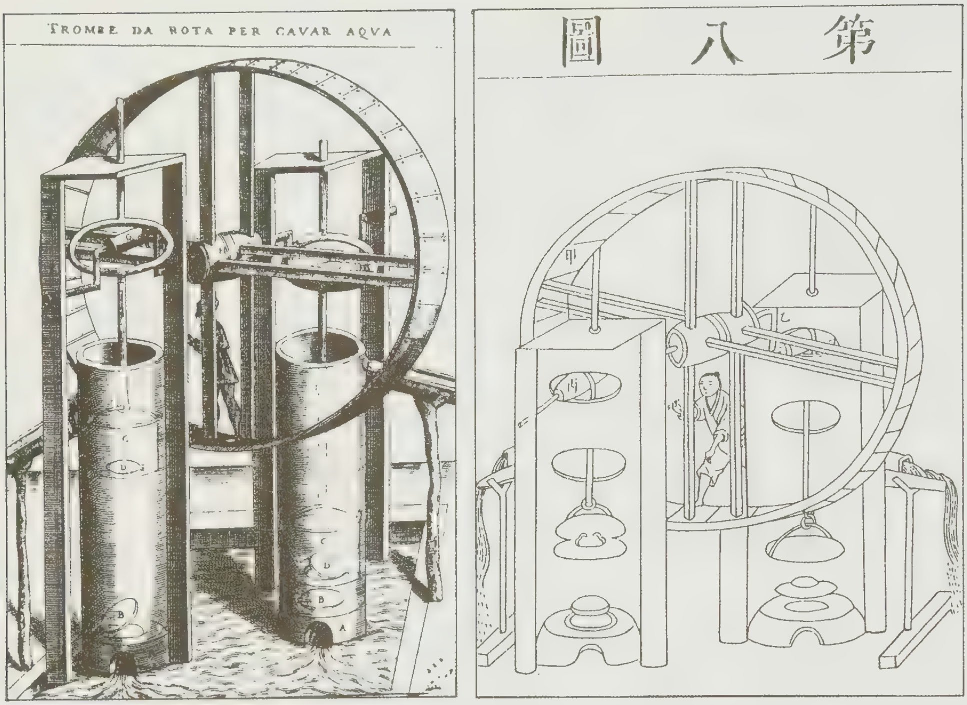
Further complicating the Ming situation was the arrival of Europeans. Jesuits, Catholic priests of the Society of Jesus, came to Southeast and East Asia in the middle sixteenth century. The Chinese elite was comparatively open to the Jesuits as long as they accommodated Confucian values and became acquainted with Chinese culture. The Jesuits had significant influence in China and also presented Europeans with an intriguing picture of Asian life.

China derived some material benefits from contact with the Jesuits. Chinese converts to Catholicism were important in introducing European techniques of agronomy, hydraulics, and engineering to China. Unfortunately for the Ming, some of the skills the Jesuits introduced—particularly mapmaking and the casting of cannon—were used by the Manchus to conquer China between 1644 and 1685.

The Jesuits remained in China and were influential at the court of the Qing conquerors until the middle of the eighteenth century, but they were not a major religious influence by that time. They played an important role in the development of imperial architecture, mapmaking, portraiture, and medical knowledge. They also conveyed to Europe knowledge of the Asian practice of variolation, which inspired development of inoculation against infectious disease in the eighteenth century. In the Qing period the Jesuits never achieved the success in winning converts to Catholicism that they achieved in early modern Japan or South Asia.

When the Jesuits arrived in East Asia, European merchants already were present. The British East India Company (BEIC) became a force in China in the 1600s. As part of its plan to regulate BEIC activities, the British government attempted to open its own direct diplomatic relations with China. Like many Europeans, the directors of the BEIC believed that China's technological achievements and its gigantic potential markets made it the key to limitless profit. China had tea, rhubarb, porcelain, and silk to offer, and Dutch merchants had been energetic in their transport of Chinese goods to Europe. By the early 1700s the BEIC dominated the community of European "factories"—the combined residences and offices of the European merchants residing in Canton—and some European families had established themselves as quasi-political powers. By the end of the 1700s, the British government was suspicious of the influence of the BEIC, which sought still more privileges by interfering in British politics.

The European trading companies and the Society of Jesus are two examples of global organizations that brought new opportunities for enrichment by supplying goods to the growing markets of the West, and European technologies to the diverse societies of East Asia. They also were conduits of knowledge between Asia and Europe, and this two-way communication sparked enormous changes in the ways that eastern and western Eurasia related to each other.



From the Jesuit Library at Beijing Jesuits such as Matteo Ricci and Michel Boym were willing to share their published works on technology and science with Chinese scholars, but without practical knowledge it was impossible for Chinese writers to accurately convey the basic ideas behind the mechanisms. It was not usual for Chinese scholars to have real contact with mechanical things, and though their own libraries often contained illustrations of working people and their tools, the drawings were not really intended to convey precise knowledge to the reader. Information from Europe conveyed by means of drawing alone was, as in this instance, likely to be garbled beyond recognition in the Chinese version. (Left, from Zonca, *Trombe Da Rota per Cavar Aqua*, 1607. Right,"The eighth diagram," from *Chhi Thushuo*, 1627. Both courtesy of Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 4)

CONSOLIDATION OF THE QING EMPIRE

The Manchus established the Qing dynasty in 1644. Forces led by the Manchus conquered Beijing and north China quickly after 1644 but required nearly a century to secure their control over the peripheries that the Ming never had managed effectively. Before the year 1700 the Qing gained south China, and for the first time the island of Taiwan was incorporated into an empire based in China. By the same year, the Qing Empire was also in the process of conquering Mongolia and Central Asia. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in China—particularly the reigns of the Kangxi (1662–1722) and Qianlong (1736–1796) emperors—were the period of greatest economic, military, and cultural achievement under the Qing (the dynasty came to an end in 1911).

Thanks to the tribute system and to regional patterns of trade, Chinese influence was strong throughout eastern Asia. Korean ambassadors and students were numerous in Beijing and readily absorbed the tastes of the Qing elite. Vietnam, Burma, and Nepal sent regular embassies to the Qing tribute court and carried the latest Chinese fashions back home.

Qing Competition Against Russia and the Mongols for Control of Mongolia and Northeast Asia

The early Qing emperors wished to spur economic and demographic recovery in China. They repaired roads and waterworks, lowered transit taxes (fees for transporting items on roads and canals), mandated comparatively low rents and interest rates, and established economic incentives for people to move into areas devastated in the peasant rebellions of the late Ming period. After the end of the 1600s the eastern Mongols, who had been such a threat to the Ming, were neutralized as a military and political challenge. By the middle 1700s western Mongolia, Central Asia, and Tibet were all under Qing control (see Map 18.1). With the reestablishment of unity in eastern Eurasia, the overland routes from Samarkand to Korea were revived, though the economic and cultural influence of those routes was a shadow of what it had been under the Mongols in the 1200s. Nevertheless, through its conquests in Central Asia the Qing Empire gained access to the superior horses of Afghanistan and to new sources of coal, iron, gold, and silver and, most important, eventually was able to eliminate the military danger posed by the Mongols.

In the course of conquering Mongolia and northeastern Asia, the Qing came into conflict with the Romanov Empire in Russia (see Map 18.1). In the 1500s Russia had begun to dominate Siberia, important for its furs, timber products, and rich mineral deposits. A century later the Romanovs and Qing came into direct competition for the Amur River, which flows through Manchuria to the Pacific Ocean. Treaties in the late 1600s and the early 1700s calmed military tensions and split domination of the northeastern peoples between the Romanovs and Qing. The treaties permitted Russia to maintain its access to the Pacific. From there Russia in the early 1700s launched explorations of North America that made the peoples of Alaska subjects of the Russian tsar as well as nominal adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church.

China Reenters the Global Trade

The success of porcelain in England is indicative of the popularity of "chinoiserie" throughout Europe. Things Chinese, or things that looked to Europeans as if they could be Chinese, became items desired by the wealthy and the aspiring middle classes—not only silk, porcelain, and tea, but also cloisonné jewelry, tableware, and decorative items, lacquered and jeweled room dividers, painted fans, carved jade, and ivory (which originated in Africa and was finished in China). Perhaps most striking in its effect on the interior of European homes was wallpaper, an adaptation of the Chinese practice of covering walls with enormous loose-hanging watercolors or calligraphy scrolls. By the middle 1700s, special workshops throughout China were producing wallpaper and other consumer items according to the specifications of European merchants.

In political philosophy, too, the Europeans felt they had something to learn from the early Qing emperors. In the late 1770s, poems supposedly written by the Qianlong emperor were translated into French and disseminated through the intellectual circles of western Europe. These works depicted the Qing emperors as benevolent despots who campaigned against superstition and ignorance, curbed the excesses of the aristocracy, and patronized science and the arts. European intellectuals who were questioning the political systems of their own societies found this image of a practical, secular, compassionate ruler intriguing (see Chapter 20). Voltaire proclaimed the Qing emperors model philosopher-kings and advocated such rulership as a protection against the growth of aristocratic privilege. Although the

Transferring European designs, Canton By 1800, the economy and the mercantile culture of Canton were grounded in the trade between China and Europe. Chinese entrepreneurs specialized in the reproduction of European motifs on Chinese porcelain or lacquerware for export to Europe. Cantonese merchants even made the culture founded on this international trade a commercialized object in itself. This painting shows a Chinese artisan transferring European painted scenes to glass, from which they can be transferred again to Chinese items for export. The painting itself was specially made for the export trade. (Victoria & Albert Museum)

Jesuits' interest in China was in decline by this time, information and goods provided by the Jesuits stimulated Europeans' interest in the languages and civilizations of East Asia and intensified their efforts to establish direct communications with the Qing court.

Tea and Diplomacy

The early trade relationship between Europe and China developed considerably until the 1700s. Tea joined silk and porcelain on the list of Chinese products enormously popular in western Europe. Tea already was a prized import to Russia, Central Asia, and the Middle East, which knew it as *cha* (its northern Chinese name) and originally acquired it by the overland Eurasian routes of medieval and early modern times. Western Europe, however, acquired tea from sea routes first exploited by the Portuguese and Dutch and thus knew it as *te* (its name in Fujian province of coastal China and Taiwan). From the time of its introduction to England in the middle 1600s, tea displaced chocolate and coffee as the favored drink.

Like all the contemporary governments of East Asia, the Qing Empire attempted to regulate commercial activity closely. Qing rulers did this in part because they wanted agriculture to remain the most important and best-protected source of wealth. Such regulation also was consistent with the government's Confucian philosophy that merchants belonged on the lowest rungs of the social and political ladders. Those ideas, and growing concern about banditry and piracy, led the Qing Empire to strictly limit the access of foreign merchants to the commercial cities of China in the 1700s (a policy that, for similar reasons, had been followed in the earliest years of the Ming Empire). This policy applied to caravan traders on camels attempting to sell dried dates at Kashgar in Central Asia, Japanese merchants trying to sell lacquer ware at Zhapu on the eastern coast of China, and European merchants at Canton (see Map 18.1). By 1784 the policy known as the "Canton system" was in place: European merchants could trade only at Canton; Chinese merchants already in the city had to insure, protect, and vouch for them; and all tax revenues from the Canton trade were to be turned over to the imperial family through Canton's resident commissioner, whom Europeans called the "hoppo."

Europeans believed this system was aimed directly at them. Their sea-based empires were built on entirely different principles, and to them the Canton system seemed irrational. Great fortunes had been made in the tea trade, but the search for a suitable product to sell to China had not been successful. British and some American merchants believed that China was a vast unexploited market, with hundreds of millions of potential consumers of lamp oil made from whale blubber, cotton grown in India or the American south, or guns manufactured in London or Connecticut. But the Canton system was an obstacle to opening new paths for commerce.

Because few products from Europe found a market in China, Europeans used silver to pay for the exported products. Facing declining revenues and rising expenses in the later 1700s, the Qing government needed the silver. In Britain, trade imbalance created anxiety and anger over the Qing Empire's allegedly unfair restrictions on the import of foreign goods. Making matters worse, the British East India Company (BEIC) had managed its worldwide holdings badly, and as it veered toward bankruptcy, its attempts to manipulate the British Parliament became more intrusive. In 1773 Parliament passed laws to curb BEIC political activities and dismantle some of the company's monopolies. At the same time, to allow BEIC to recoup some of its income, Parliament granted it a market monopoly for the American colonies, where it began to sell inferior tea at high prices. British Americans protested being forced to purchase the BEIC product. Hoping to quiet British America and end the influence of the BEIC in domestic politics, the British government decided to undercut the company's ability to control access to Asian tea. For that to happen, the trade in China needed to be restructured. In 1792, George Macartney was dispatched to China to open diplomatic relations with the Qing Empire (see Voices and Visions: The Macartney Mission).

The Qing rulers wanted to keep the Canton system intact because it was working very well for them. It brought the imperial family money; it created lucrative monopolies for certain merchant families in Canton (who in turn were careful to enrich the officials who allowed them their privileges); and it simplified some problems related to the control of contraband. Moreover, although the Qing court was fascinated by some of the goods that Lord Macartney brought as gifts (actually as advertisements)—especially ornamental and amusing timepieces and landscape paintings—neither Europe nor America had a product that really appealed to the Qing. Realizing that its exports were a major advantage, the Qing government did not feel the need to exert itself to improve the trade position of Britain.

When Dutch, French, and Russian embassies also were unable to open relations with the Qing, frustration with China mounted. The British realized that they needed greater familiarity with the Qing Empire and its cultures. In Britain and elsewhere in Europe, scholarship on Chinese and Manchu languages increased, and greater efforts to understand the history and political philosophy of China were made. For their part, Qing officials realized that although they had given Macartney the cold shoulder, the presence of Europeans in East Asia would only grow. So they began to investigate the geography, cultures, economies, and armaments of Europe.

Literature and Gender

In the 1700s censorship of all forms of literature became more intense. Nevertheless, the Qianlong emperor considered himself a champion of the printing of imperial encyclopedias, collections of poetry and history, and works on technology. Imperial libraries were built throughout central China to give the elite access to the new publications. Private literature—poetry, fiction, travel writing—was also important. Copies of Ming-period novels reproduced with movable type could be purchased at low prices. But not until the late eighteenth century was perhaps the greatest Chinese novel written. *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou meng* in Chinese), by Cao Xueqin, one of the finest works in any language,

The Macartney Mission

Britain's Macartney mission was unable or unwilling to observe the customary rituals by which foreigners were supposed to acknowledge the moral superiority of the emperor of China. Some problems were anticipated and resolved early, thanks to the efforts of Thomas Staunton, an eleven-year-old accompanying his father on the journey. Thomas was the only member of the British party who learned to speak and write Chinese. Curiously, his diary of the trip still mystifies historians over whether the British party did or did not perform the elaborate and, in British eyes, humiliating ritual of the kowtow: first kneeling and touching the forehead to the ground, then lying flat on the ground, face down. This symbolic act of submission was to be performed three times.

Chinese records state that members of the Macartney party were instructed in the ritual and performed it when they encountered the emperor at his summer palace at Rehe. But most historians accept Lord Macartney's report that the British knelt on only one knee to the emperor, as they would have knelt to the British king. Thomas's diary, however, differs from the official British account. Thomas wrote:

We were told that the Emperor was coming. We then stood by the side of the road which the Emperor was to pass. He came in a gilt chair supported by 16 men. As he passed we went upon one knee and bowed our heads down to the Ground.

Thomas's and Lord Macartney's accounts agree that the British knelt on one knee, but Thomas's remark that they touched their heads to the ground describes almost exactly the prostrating of the body in the traditional kowtow. Somebody—perhaps Thomas himself, but more likely his father reading the boy's words later—realized what the words "to the Ground" implied and crossed them out.

Thomas's account is very similar to that of another Briton in the group, who wrote: "As [the emperor] passed . . . we paid our respect in the usual form of the country, by kneeling nine times to the ground," an even more precise description of the kowtow. Making the waters even murkier is Thomas's report of what happened when the party stopped at Canton on their way out of China. Thomas describes the British as kowtowing yet again, this time before an empty throne:

We went through the tent and entered a handsome furnished room with a throne at the end. There we met . . . great [officials] who were preparing to make nine bows and three genuflections to the throne at the end of the room, as thanking the Emperor for our safe and pleasant arrival here. We followed their example.

Why does the discrepancy between Thomas's and Lord Macartney's accounts matter so much? The British government had instructed Macartney not to humiliate Britain by prostrating himself before the Qing emperor, and there is ample evidence that Macartney made clear that he would never kowtow if presented to the emperor alone or with his small party. The Macartney party staunchly insisted after returning to Britain that no kowtow was performed, meaning that Britain never acknowledged the superiority of the Qing emperor. Thomas's diary, however, suggests that when the members of the British party were reduced to insignificant presences in large crowds (their normal situation while in China), they tended to go along with the movements of the crowd.

In 1816 a second British embassy, the Amherst mission, arrived in China and was told that because Macartney had kowtowed, all other British ambassadors had to do the same. The Amherst talks broke down immediately, the British government branded the Qing as liars, and the two countries remained at stalemate until the outbreak of the first Opium War in 1839.

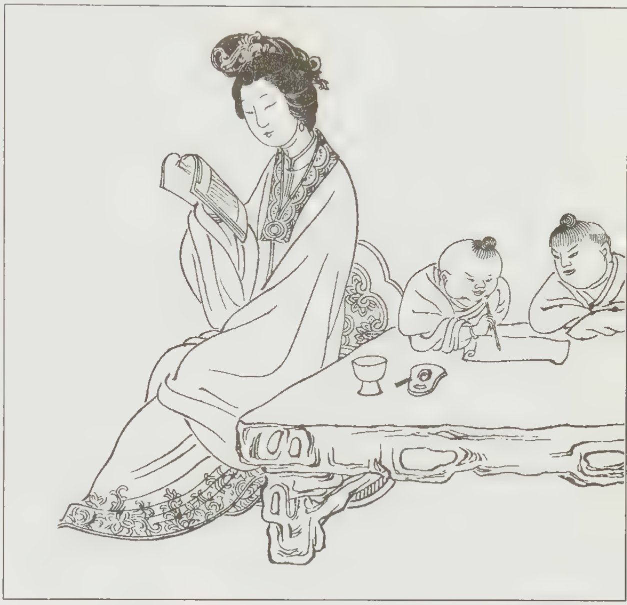
Compare the kowtow and the tributary system. How does the kowtow differ from the "diplomatic relations" familiar to Europeans in the 1700s?

endures as one of the most absorbing of all stories; it is also rich with reflections of Chinese elite culture at the height of the Qing Empire.

Baoyu, the hero, is a boy growing up in the portion of his family's mansion (the "red chamber") that is reserved for women and girls. Social pressure and family expectations demand that Baoyu grow up and assume the stereotypically male responsibilities of marriage and the examination system, but he resists. The story draws a comparison between Ming and Qing ideas about ethnic identity and gender. Qing society was more rigid in its expectations. During the Qing period, for instance, there was a tendency to criminalize styles of male dress and sexual behaviors that the Ming had tolerated. *Dream of the Red Chamber* is full of nostalgia for the effectiveness, achievement, and dynamism of the Kangxi period (1662–1722), and it protests Qianlong demands for strict adherence to norms of dress, behavior, and legal obligations. Baoyu's predicament reflects the elite's discomfort with the transition from military to civil society, from a protected environment to increasing uncertainty, from prosperity to decline.

Baoyu's opposite in the novel is Daiyu, an educated girl of the household. In late Ming and in Qing times, the education of women became a topic of debate among the elite. Daiyu suffers the fate of most educated heroines in fiction: she dies an early death. A conservative group of Confucian scholars predicted this outcome as the usual result of female education, because they believed that the worldly concerns, ambitions, and complexities of intellectual life would cause the delicate female psyche to collapse.

The opposing argument was that educated women would make the best mothers for the male elites of the future, because such women would value education, guide their infant sons through their early lessons, and maintain discipline as their sons prepared for the all-important examinations. To a large extent, however, elite women valued education for its own sake. Many encouraged or oversaw the education of their daughters without the permission or help of the men of the household. To the end of the Qing period, the education of women remained a frequently debated subject among men, while a minority of women created educational and literary traditions that were passed from generation to generation.



Education of elite women In the Qing period there was widespread interest in the education of women. The development of merchant networks widened the opportunities for women to write letters to each other, to encourage other women to continue their studies, and to share their impressions of literature. (Reproduced courtesy of the Harvard-Yenching Library)

The written communication and exchange of literature among elite women was made possible by the growing importance of mercantile activity between 1500 and 1800. The women in merchant families often were the real managers of the household and lived a relatively independent existence despite their bound feet and the complete absence of property rights. Merchant families had the resources to extend education to girls, and the movement of goods and communication along the merchant network made possible the exchange of letters, poems, and essays among wealthy women. Literary pursuits by elite women were tolerated because they were a product of leisure and thus a sign of high status. In that sense they were akin to footbinding, which also identified women as members of the elite.

For women of the laboring classes, neither education nor footbinding was an option. Like their fathers, brothers, and husbands, these women were workers and mostly illiterate. From their points of view, women poets and household managers might as well have been in another universe.

Population Growth and Infrastructure Decline

In 1793 Macartney's entourage was guided through China's most prosperous cities and most productive farmland. The British did not see evidence of the economic and environmental decline that had begun to affect China in the last decades of the 1700s.

The narratives of Marco Polo's adventures in the 1200s had fixed the image of teeming Chinese cities in Europeans' minds, and between the time of Marco Polo and the time of the Macartney mission, the Chinese population tripled. It probably exceeded 350 million by 1800. This growth was partly the result of the peace that the Qing enforced. The population explosion greatly increased demand for rice and wheat, for new lands to be opened for the planting of crops imported from Africa and the Americas, and for more thorough exploitation of land already in use. Eventually, efforts to manage land and water failed, and economic and environmental decline contributed to an increase in social disorder. But the planting of certain foreign crops temporarily revived agricultural productivity. For instance, in central and southern China, sweet potatoes and other crops from the Americas made possible the opening of agricultural land not suitable for rice or wheat. And, as Macartney observed, field crops were sown in neat rows by mechanical seeders—at a time when most farmers in Europe still used the broadcast method, which wasted much of the seed.

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, deforestation had joined soil exhaustion as a cause of severe erosion. As erosion advanced, the danger of flooding grew, but government corruption and general inefficiency limited efforts to prevent flooding or to recover from its effects. Dams and dikes were not maintained, and silted-up river channels were not dredged. By the end of the eighteenth century even the Grand Canal, linking the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers, was nearly unusable, and the towns bordering it were starved for commerce.

By the year 1800 misery was widespread in interior China. Many people moved, seeking seasonal work in the better-off agricultural areas or work in low-status jobs such as barge puller, charcoal burner, or nightsoil carrier. Many drifted to the cities to make their way by begging, prostitution, or theft. In central and southwestern China, where indigenous peoples had been driven off their lands and farmers had been impoverished by the flooding of the Xiang and other rivers, rebellions raged.

By the last decades of the 1700s the size and complexity of Qing society had overwhelmed the state's ability to govern. The Qing government employed about the same number of officials as the Ming even though the Qing Empire was twice as large as the Ming and had more than three times as many people. To maintain local control the Qing depended on a working alliance with local elites, but this dependence often undercut the government's ability to enforce tax regulations and to control the standards for admission to government service. The resulting semiprivatization of governance in the late 1700s promoted a situation in which corruption was widespread, military policies were inconsistent and ineffective, banditry was growing, and government revenues were shrinking.

DECENTRALIZATION AND INNOVATION: TOKUGAWA JAPAN

Like continental East Asia under the Qing Empire, Japan under the Tokugawa shoguns had to deal with the transition from the intense militarization of the early 1600s to the comparative peace and secularization of the 1700s. At the same time, Japanese leaders faced a decrease in state revenues and foreign pressure for trade. The Japanese reaction to these problems strongly contrasted with the continental Asian response, with lasting consequences for the region.

Shogunate and Economy

Around 1600 a new military leader, or *shogun*—Tokugawa Ieyasu (r. 1603–1605)—reunified Japan. Under his successors the country enjoyed domestic peace until the mid-nineteenth century.

Tokugawa Ieyasu ended decades of civil war by defeating his enemies at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600. The regional lords who fought for him at Sekigahara were understood to have an especially close relationship to the shogun. His original intention was to reward those who had supported him with well-developed rice lands in central Japan—relatively close to the shogunal capital—and to punish those who had not supported him by granting them remote, undeveloped lands at the northern and southern extremes of the Japanese islands. The emperors of Japan had no political power; they remained at Kyoto, the medieval capital. The Tokugawa shoguns built a new capital for themselves at Edo (present-day Tokyo). A network of well-maintained and frequently traveled roads connected Kyoto and Edo. Trade and trading centers developed along this route.

Each regional lord supported a castle town, a small bureaucracy, a population of warriors (*samurai*) and military support personnel, and often an academy. The result of this controlled decentralization in Tokugawa Japan was the establishment of well-spaced urban centers. The shogun paid the lords in rice, and the lords paid their followers in rice. To meet their personal expenses, recipients of rice had to convert a large portion of it into cash. This transaction stimulated the development of rice exchanges at Edo and at Osaka, where merchants speculated in rice prices. Because the Tokugawa shoguns required the lords to visit Edo frequently, good roads, traffic, and commerce linked Edo to three of the four main islands of Japan. Transport and credit were important businesses in the early 1600s, and traditional small industries were able to enlarge their geographical scope.

Because of the domestic peace of the Tokugawa era, the warrior class—the samurai—had to adapt to the growing bureaucratic needs of the state. As the samurai became better educated, more attuned to the tastes of the civil elite, and more interested in conspicuous consumption, merchants were well positioned to exploit the new opportunities. The state attempted—unsuccessfully—to curb the independence of the merchants when the economic well-being of the samurai was threatened, particularly when rice prices went too low or interest rates went too high.

The 1600s and 1700s were centuries of high achievement in artisanship and commerce. Japanese skills in steelmaking, in pottery, and in lacquer ware were joined by excellence in the production and decoration of porcelain, thanks to Korean experts brought back to Japan by Japanese forces that invaded Korea in the late 1500s. Manufacturers and merchants amassed enormous family fortunes in the early 1600s. The industrial and financial combines now known as *zaibatsu* originated in this era. Several of the most important—such as the Mitsui companies—had their origins in *sake* or beer breweries, then branched out into banks, restaurants, lacquer and other table ware, and transport.

Wealthy industrial families usually cultivated alliances with their regional lords and, if possible, with the shogun himself. In this way they could weaken the strict control on merchant activity that was an official part of Tokugawa policy. By the end of the 1700s, the industrial families of Tokugawa Japan held the key to modernization and the development of heavy industry, particularly in the prosperous provinces. Their political influence was critical to the later transformation of Japan into an industrialized society.

The "Closing" of Japan

Like China, Japan at the end of the 1500s was a target of missionary activity by the Jesuits. But converts to Catholic Christianity among the Japanese elite were comparatively few. Missionaries could selectively gain the favor of regional lords while bypassing the shogunal court in Edo, which was consistently hostile to Christianity. Generally, Christianity was more successful among farmers in the countryside. Jesuits had their greatest success in the southern and eastern regions of Japan. But in the late 1630s these regions were the scenes of massive uprisings by farmers impoverished by local rents and taxes. The rebellions, which were ruthlessly suppressed, were blamed on Christian influence. Hundreds of Japanese Christians were crucified as a warning to others, and belief in Christianity was banned by law.

In 1649 the shogun ordered the "closing" of the country, making it illegal and punishable by death for foreigners to come in or for Japanese to leave. The objective was to prevent the spread of foreign influence in Japan, not total isolation.

A few Europeans, primarily Netherlanders, were permitted to reside on the small island of Deshima near Nagasaki, and a few Japanese were licensed to supply their needs. Curious about Western ways, these intermediaries learned Dutch, so the knowledge that they acquired and that eventually spread from Nagasaki was known as "Dutch studies." It included information about European weapons technology, shipbuilding, mathematics and astronomy, anatomy and medicine, and geography. In the 1700s some Japanese theorists advocated that Japan abandon its decentralized, agriculturally oriented system in favor of the centralized, mercantilistic systems of the European empires. In the nineteenth century this criticism of the government system combined with other influences to destroy the Tokugawa shogunate.

Qing authorities attempted to limit Japan's access to China's trading ports by issuing a limited number of passes to Japanese merchants (a version of the Canton system so resented by European merchants). Without these passes, Japanese merchants could not enter the port. A black market in the passes soon developed, and the lords of southern Japan began to counterfeit them. Some of these lords became so wealthy and powerful that the shogunate could no longer control them.

Elite Decline and Social Crisis

By the year 1700, the relative fortunes of the "inner" and the "outer" lords were reversing. Population growth was putting a great strain on the well-developed lands of central Japan. In the remoter provinces, where new agricultural lands were developed, the rate of economic growth far outstripped the rate in the centrally located domains. This economic situation, in combination with the shogun's relatively loose control over the remoter areas, presented a distinct threat to the Tokugawa government.

Also destabilizing to the Tokugawa government in the 1700s was the inability to control the price of rice and halt the economic decline of the samurai class. Laws designed to regulate prices had been passed early in the Tokugawa period, and laws requiring money-lenders to forgive samurai debts were added later. But these laws were not always enforced, sometimes because the lords and samurai did not wish them to be, because by the early 1700s members of both groups were already dependent on the willingness of merchants to provide them credit.

The Tokugawa regime was primarily a military government. Its legitimacy rested on its ability to reward and protect the interests of the lords and samurai who had supported the Tokugawa conquest. The samurai strengthened the ability of the Tokugawa to defend, police, and govern Japan. The Tokugawa supported the traditional elite because the regime accepted the Confucian idea that agriculture should be the basis of state wealth and that merchants should occupy lowly positions in society because of their reputed lack of moral character.

Governments throughout East Asia used Confucian philosophy to attempt to limit the influence and power of merchants. The Tokugawa government, however, was at a special disadvantage. The decentralized system of rule by lords of domains limited its ability to regulate merchant activities and actually stimulated the development of commercial activities associated with travel, transport, finance, luxury goods, and urban life. In the first two centuries of the Tokugawa shogunate—from 1600 to 1800—the economy grew faster than the population. Household amenities and cultural resources that in China were found only in the cities were common in the Japanese countryside, and the overall literacy rate was as high as 35 percent.

Despite all the advantages that decentralization offered Tokugawa society, it was fatal to the shogunal form of government, which ended in 1868. The Tokugawa shogunate had put into place a political and economic system that fostered competition and innovation, but the government itself could not exploit the system. Thus in the Tokugawa period the government remained quite traditional while other segments of society developed new industries, standards of productivity, and styles of management. The beneficiaries of these developments were not the shoguns but the regional elites, who finally destroyed the shogunate and created a centralized, industrially based state in the late 1800s.

CONCLUSION

By the 1700s, the technological gap between Europe and China was the reverse of what it had been two centuries before. Previously China was ahead of Europe in military, agricultural, and industrial technologies. But after the spread of technological knowledge under the Mongol empires and its specialized adaptation in Europe, the Europeans possessed military technologies more powerful than those of the Chinese, and Korea and Japan were outpacing China in many traditional industries. Despite artistic brilliance and a new market for both raw and manufactured goods in Europe, the Qing Empire did not succeed in increasing state revenues or revitalizing public works.

Tokugawa Japan stands in sharp and instructive contrast with Qing China. Whether in economic development, political structure, public values, or popular culture, Japan was a dynamic, rapidly changing society. By the late 1700s new developments in agricultural mechanization, light industry, finance, and transport had created a vigorous and culturally independent merchant class, as well as several generations of young men impatient with the rigid social system of the Tokugawa period.

By the middle 1800s Japanese society had the resources to respond quickly and effectively to the threat of Western domination. The Qing Empire, in contrast, was left with no resources, whether of capital or of skills. While the population of China exploded and by the year 1800 was far outpacing economic growth, in Japan both the population and the economy grew fast, with the economy perhaps even a bit ahead. While the Qing Empire managed through the 1700s to regulate commercial activity, in Japan artisans, industrialists, bankers, speculators, and commercial artists and writers secured for themselves a measure of social and cultural autonomy. And while the Qing Empire expended resources to maintain military dominance over Central Asia, Japan abandoned expansionism after 1600 and concentrated on the creation of wealth, which later propelled it into competition with the West.

The decline of the Mughal, Ottoman, and Qing Empires fostered in Europe the idea of a world divided between "East" and "West." By the end of the 1700s, the "East" was seen in the "West" as a place without law or industry, where people lived in fear and poverty—a passive world that could only respond to the energy and the guidance of the "West." Colonization of the "East" was seen as an enterprise not only profitable but justifiable in the name of "civilization." When Europe gained the resources and technology to pursue its campaigns against the "East," China and Japan met the onslaught in very different ways.

SUGGESTED READING

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PART SIX

Revolutions Reshape the World, 1750–1870

Between 1750 and 1870, Europe and its American colonies experienced dramatic economic, political, and social change. The beginnings of industrialization, the American and French Revolutions, and the breakdown of traditional social controls posed powerful challenges to the established order. Revolution, war, labor violence, and social dislocations convulsed Africa, Asia, the Americas, and the Middle East as well as many European nations. Though transformed by these forces, within a century Europe and the United States established unprecedented global domination.

The introduction of new technologies, often called the "Industrial Revolution," quickly spread from Great Britain to western Europe and the United States, rapidly increasing the productivity and efficiency of Western economies. Industrialization also changed the nature of work. The combined effects of mechanization and the factory system improved the quality and lowered the cost of goods. The mechanization of agriculture increased the scale and productivity of farms.

Industrial societies were wealthier, more socially fluid, and more physically mobile than traditional societies. But not all groups benefited. Artisans, small farmers, and agricultural laborers, among others, felt threatened by mechanization. At the same time, rapid population growth in Europe was stiffening competition for jobs and housing.

The American Revolution (1776–1783) and the French Revolution (1789–1799) also transformed Western political culture. After the American Revolution, nearly all of the European colonies in the Americas gained their independence. In Europe, monarchies survived but were generally weakened by constitutions. The revolutionary era also unleashed powerful forces of nationalism (the association of a shared culture and language with a specific territory).

In the wake of these revolutionary events, both traditional monarchists and modern charismatic political leaders challenged the partisans of constitutional democracy. But in the difficult transition from monarchy or colonialism to democracy, many nations discovered that nationalism and mass politics sometimes led to dictatorship in times of crisis.

Other revolutionary changes were also taking place. Western abolitionist movements and revolts by slaves in Haiti and other parts of the Americas brought an end to the slave trade and to slavery in the Western Hemisphere. Political revolutions created reformist Muslim states in West Africa and powerful kingdoms in southeastern Africa. In China and Japan as well, established political orders were challenged. Even while Europe's colonial empires in Latin America were being dismantled, machine-made textiles and metal tools from Europe and later from the United States were completing a new conquest, overwhelming the competition of small local producers. Simultaneously, the products of the industrializing nations were entering Africa and Asia.

New colonization for economic reasons or for settlement was another form of Western expansion. France conquered Algeria. Britain added Cape Colony at the southern tip of Africa as a link to its Indian Ocean empire. But nowhere was British expansion more momentous than in India. When the British government assumed direct political control after the Indian Rebellion of 1857–1858, it took possession of a colony whose population and commercial potential were greater than those of all the colonies that Europe lost in the Americas.

The economic and military expansion of Europe and the United States deeply influenced the Ottoman Empire, China, and Japan, but they remained politically independent. In each case, local rulers met the Western challenge by adopting elements of Western technology and culture. Forced to react early to developments in Europe, by the end of the 1820s the Ottoman court had introduced Western-style reforms in education, the military, and law. As Western power grew, China, like the Ottoman Empire, was weakened by regionalism, political corruption, and the lack of economic integration. Although China survived the period of European expansion as an independent nation, a series of military defeats seriously compromised Chinese sovereignty. Efforts by the Chinese government to strengthen its position by modernizing the military and promoting industrialization were largely failures.

Technology

1750–1800—Steam engine, mechanization of textile production, iron foundries, industrial potteries

1800–1870—Cotton gin, spread of railroads and steamships, telegraph, repeating firearms, iron ships

Environment

After 1840—Rapid settlement of North American West

Increased urbanization in Europe, United States, and Ottoman Empire

Expansion of coal mining to support steam power

Growing industrial pollution

Settlement of Australia and New Zealand

1800–1860—Repeated flooding of Yellow River; erosion and soil exhaustion in China

Boom in cotton cultivation in U.S. south (after 1810) and Egypt (after 1860)

United States

1776–1783—American Revolution
1803—Louisiana Purchase
1861–1865—U.S. Civil War

1846–1848—
Mexican-American
War

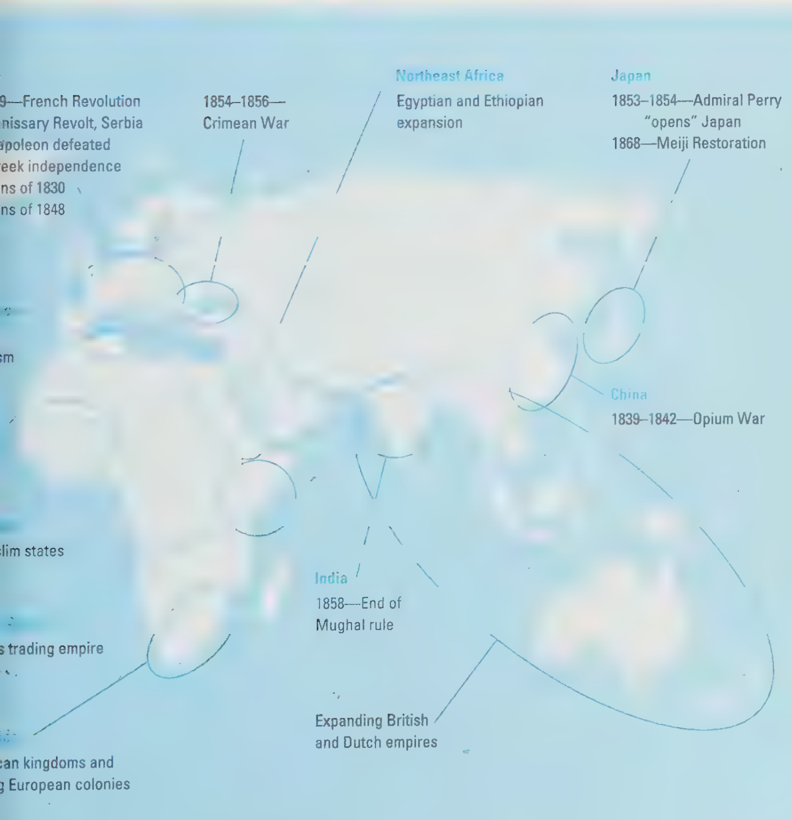
1791–1804—
Haitian Revolut

Latin America

1810–1826—Independence movements
1879–1881—War of the Pacific

Japan had more success than China and the Ottoman Empire in modernizing its political institutions and economy and in resisting European and American domination. Japan's relative geographic isolation and smaller economy limited European interest. The narrow nature of the forced opening of Japanese markets at the end of the 1850s combined with long-standing social tensions in Japan to force a clean break with the former political system.

The economic, political, and social revolutions that began in the mid-eighteenth century shook the foundations of European culture and led to Western global dominance. Yet by 1870 the full consequences of this revolutionary period were not yet apparent.



Society

Beginning of industrial labor movement in West
1808–1850—End of Atlantic slave trade
1810–1840—Growing use of child labor in industry
1830–1870—Secularization movement in Ottoman Empire
1840s—Women's rights movement begins in West
1840–1870—Increased emigration from Europe and Asia to Americas
1850–1888—Abolition of slavery in Americas
After 1850—Expansion of legitimate trade in West Africa

Culture

Islam expands in East and West Africa
Christian missionary activity in Africa and Asia
Expansion of public schools in West
1800–1850—Modernization movements in Egypt, Ethiopia, and Ottoman Empire
1850s—Rise of Indian nationalism

The Industrial Revolution, 1760–1870

Britain: A Society Open to Innovation · The Technological Revolution
The Industrial Revolution Spreads · Environmental Impact of the Industrial Revolution
Social Transformations · Ideological and Political Responses to Industrialization
Industrialization and the Nonindustrial World Before 1870

In the early nineteenth century, new textile machines put many craftsmen in the English Midlands out of work. In late 1811 and early 1812, bands of unemployed workers calling themselves "Luddites" came out at night to attack factories and workshops and smash the hated machines that had cost them their livelihood. As one poor English weaver testified to Parliament: "I have five children and a wife, the children all under 8 years of age. . . . I work sixteen hours a day. . . . My family live on potatoes chiefly and we have one pint of milk per day." The poet Lord Byron spoke out in the Luddites' defense: "However we may rejoice in any improvement in the arts which may be beneficial to mankind, we must not allow mankind to be sacrificed to improvements in Mechanism."

Although the British army crushed the Luddites, in the long run it was not military force that doomed them and their counterparts in other countries but the greater productivity of the machines and the profits they brought to their owners. Neither uprisings by displaced workers nor protests by sympathetic intellectuals could slow the coming of industrial machines. Historians often refer to this great transformation as the "Industrial Revolution."

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed dramatic innovations in manufacturing, mining, transportation, and communications and equally rapid changes in society and commerce. The Industrial Revolution affected the entire world, but very unevenly. The first countries to be transformed—Britain, then western Europe and the United States—became wealthy and powerful. In Russia and eastern Europe, mechanization came slowly, and not until the end of the nineteenth century can historians speak of an industrial revolution there. Industrialization also began, tentatively, in a few countries outside the West, such as Egypt, but the economic and military power of the European countries soon stifled these beginnings. The disparity between the industrial and the nonindustrial worlds evident today dates from the early nineteenth century.

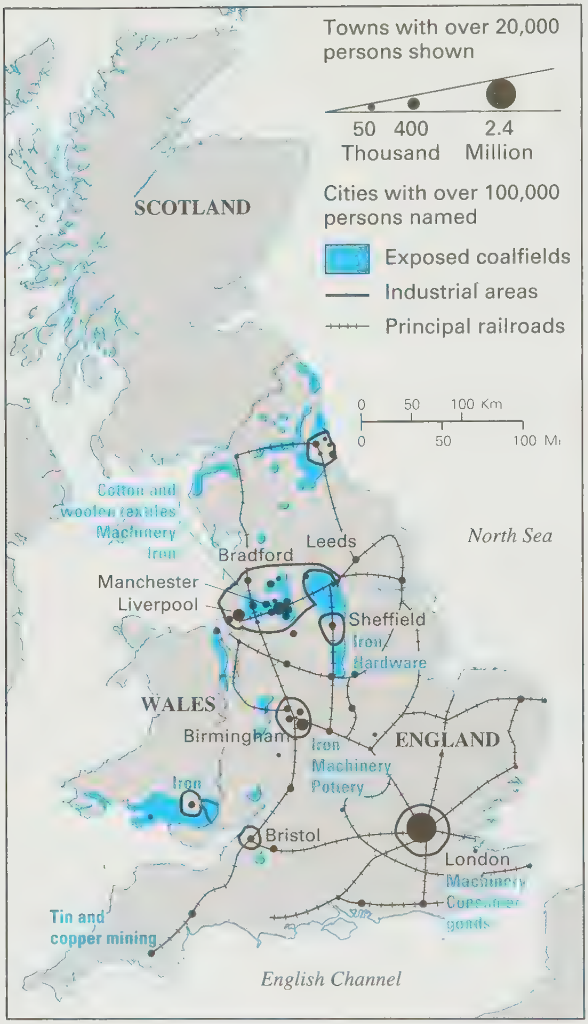
BRITAIN: A SOCIETY OPEN TO INNOVATION

The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain (see Map 19.1), a country with many technologically creative people, though no more than in France at the same time or in Song China a few centuries earlier. The British, however, made practical use of inventions more quickly than other people.

Britain had many advantages. It was the world's leading exporter of tools, guns, hardware, and other goods. Its mining and metal industries employed engineers willing to experiment with new ideas. Its craftsmen supplied ships with clocks and navigation instruments. Many of its skilled workers were foreigners who had fled persecution and found refuge in Britain, bringing their talents with them.

British society was more fluid than others at the time. Political power was not as centralized as on the European continent, and the government employed fewer bureaucrats and officials. Members of the gentry, and even some aristocrats, married into merchant families. Intermarriage among the families of small merchants, yeoman farmers, and town craftsmen was quite common. Standards of living were the highest in Europe, perhaps in the world.

At a time when transportation by land was very costly, Great Britain had the best water transportation system in Europe, thanks to its indented coastline, navigable rivers, and a grow-



Map 19.1 The Industrial Revolution in Britain, ca. 1850 The first industries arose in regions of northern and western England that had abundant coal and iron-ore deposits for the iron industry and a moist climate and fast-flowing rivers, factors that were important for the cotton-textile industry.

ing network of canals. Its unified internal market encouraged specialization and trade.

Britain was highly commercial: more of its people were involved in production for export and in trade and finance than in any other major country. It had financial and insurance institutions able to support growing business enterprises and a patent system that offered inventors the hope of rich rewards. The example of men who became wealthy and respected for their inventions stimulated others.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

Five revolutionary innovations spurred industrialization: (1) mass production through the division of labor, (2) new machines and mechanization, (3) a great increase in the supply of iron, (4) the steam engine and the changes it permitted, and (5) telegraphy—communication over wires.

Mass Production and Mechanization

The pottery industry offers a good example of mass production. When Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795) opened a pottery business in 1759, he applied mass production methods long used in China, subdividing the work into highly specialized and repetitive tasks, such as unloading the clay, mixing it, pressing flat pieces, dipping the pieces in glaze, putting handles on cups, packing kilns, and carrying things from one part of his plant to another. He substituted the use of molds for the potter's wheel wherever possible, not only saving labor but making identical plates and bowls that could be stacked. Wedgwood invested in toll roads and canals so that clay could be shipped economically from Cornwall to his factories. He was also interested in new technologies: in 1782, to mix clay and grind flint, he purchased one of the first steam engines used in industry.

These were radical departures from age-old methods of craftsmanship. But the division of labor, strict discipline, and new machinery allowed Wedgwood to lower the cost of his products while improving their quality, and to offer his wares for sale at lower prices. His factory grew far larger than his competitors' and employed several hundred workers.

The cotton industry, the largest industry in this period, illustrates the role of mechanization. Cotton did not grow in Europe, but cotton cloth was so much cooler, softer, and cleaner than wool that wealthy Europeans preferred this costly import. When the powerful English woolen industry persuaded Parliament to forbid the import of cotton cloth into England, it stimulated attempts to import cotton fiber and make the cloth locally. Here was an opportunity for enterprising inventors to reduce costs with labor-saving machinery.

Beginning in the 1760s, a series of inventions—the spinning jenny, the water frame, and the mule—revolutionized the spinning of cotton thread and allowed British industry to undersell high-quality handmade cotton cloth from India. Between 1770 and 1790, British cotton output increased tenfold.

When the boom in thread production and soaring demand for cloth created bottlenecks in weaving, inventors again rose to the challenge, with power looms, carding machines, chlorine bleach, and cylindrical printing presses. By the 1830s, large textile mills powered by steam engines turned raw cotton into printed cloth. This was a far cry from the home spinning and weaving of the previous century.

Mechanization offered two advantages: (1) productivity for the manufacturer and (2) price for the consumer. Whereas in India it took 500 hours to spin a pound of cotton, a state-of-the-art mule introduced in 1830 took only 80 minutes. Cotton mills needed very few skilled workers, and managers often hired children to tend the spinning machines. Meanwhile, the price of cloth fell by 90 percent from 1782 to 1812 and kept on dropping.

Iron and Steam

Iron making also was transformed during the Industrial Revolution. Iron had been in use for thousands of years throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa. Wherever it was made, deforestation eventually drove up the cost of charcoal (used for smelting) and restricted output. Furthermore, iron had to be repeatedly heated and hammered to drive out impurities, a difficult and costly process. Then in 1709 Abraham Darby discovered that coke (coal from which the impurities have been cooked out) could be used in place of charcoal. The resulting metal was of lower quality than charcoal-iron but much cheaper to produce, for coal was plentiful. Britain's iron production began rising fast, from 17,000 tons in 1740 to 3 million tons in 1844, as much as the rest of the world put together.

Even more important than the mechanization of manufacturing was the invention of the steam engine, developed between 1702 and 1712 by Thomas Newcomen. A crude and inefficient device, its voracious appetite for fuel mattered little in coal mines, where fuel was cheap, but Newcomen's creation was too costly for other uses. James Watt, an instrument maker at Glasgow University, developed an improved version and patented it in 1769. Seven years later, he and the manufacturer Matthew Boulton began selling steam engines to manufacturers of iron, pottery, and cotton.

Watt's steam engine was the most celebrated invention of the eighteenth century. Because there seemed almost no limit to the amount of coal in the ground, steam-generating energy too seemed an inexhaustible source of power, which could be used where animal, wind, and water power were lacking. Without the steam engine, industrialization would have been a limited phenomenon.

Inspired by the success of Watt's engine, inventors in France in 1783, in America in 1787, and in England in 1788 put steam engines on boats. The first commercially successful steamboat was Robert Fulton's *Clermont*, which steamed up the Hudson River from New York City to Albany in 1807. Oceangoing steam-powered ships were more difficult to build than riverboats, for the first steamboats could carry only a few days' worth of fuel (coal). But engineers soon developed more efficient engines, and in 1838 two steamers, the *Great Western* and the *Sirius*, crossed the Atlantic on steam power alone.

On land as on water, the problem was not imagining uses for steam-powered vehicles but building ones that worked. After Watt's patent expired in 1800, inventors experimented with lighter, more powerful high-pressure engines and within a few years built steam-powered vehicles able to travel on roads or rails.

Horses could pull heavier wagons on wooden or iron rails than on cobblestone roads. By the 1820s England had many horse-powered railways, and in 1825 one railway was using steam locomotives. Four years later, a locomotive won a race between locomotives and horse-drawn wagons, pulling a 20-ton train at up to 30 miles (48 kilometers) per hour. After that triumph, a railroad-building mania swept Britain. The first lines linked towns and mines with the nearest harbor or waterway. In the late 1830s, passenger traffic soared, and entrepreneurs built lines between the major cities and then to small towns as well. Railroads were far cheaper, faster, and more comfortable than stagecoaches, and millions of people got in the habit of traveling.

Telegraphy

The advent of railroads coincided with the development of the electric telegraph. The first practical telegraphy systems were developed almost simultaneously in England and America. In England, Charles Wheatstone and William F. Cooke introduced a five-needle telegraph in 1837; it remained in use until the early twentieth century. That same year, the American Samuel Morse introduced a code of dots and dashes that could be transmitted with a single wire. By the late 1840s, telegraph wires were being strung throughout the eastern United States and western Europe. The first successful long-distance telegraph cable, laid between Britain and America in 1866, was quickly followed by cables to India, China, Australia, and Africa. The world was rapidly shrinking, to the applause of Europeans and Americans for whom speed was a clear measure of progress (see Environment and Technology: "The Annihilation of Time and Space").

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION SPREADS

As Britain began to industrialize in the late eighteenth century, other Europeans and the Americans watched with astonishment and envy. Yet industry spread only slowly to other countries. In 1851, at the time of the first world's fair, the Great Exhibition in London, Britain was producing half of the world's iron and cotton cloth and two-thirds of the world's coal. Why the delay?

Western Europe

In the eighteenth century, the economies of western Europe were hampered by high transportation costs, misguided government regulations, rigid social structures, and a general antipathy toward innovation, business competition, and financial success. Then, from 1789 to 1815, revolutions and wars convulsed Europe (see Chapter 20). The insecurity of the times and the interruption of trade with Britain weakened the incentive to invest in new technologies. Neither the arms trade nor efforts by local manufacturers to replace imports were enough to stimulate industrial progress. The only advantage these upheavals brought to the continental European economies was the sweeping away of the restrictions imposed by the old regimes.

Only after conditions of peace returned in the 1820s were the economies of the European continent ready to begin industrializing (see Map 19.2 on page 399). Acutely aware of Britain's head start, European governments created technical schools, eliminated internal tariff barriers, tolls,

ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

"The Annihilation of Time and Space"

In the 1780s it took from five to eight months to sail from England to India, and a European writing a letter to someone in India usually had to wait two years for an answer. Fifty years later, when the first steamships and telegraph lines appeared, telegraph pioneer William O'Shaughnessy, serving with the British army in India, wrote:

> The progress of science is hourly adding to the catalogue of triumphs effected by the sagacity of man over the seeming impossibilities of nature. . . . A conquest still greater than all which I have quoted would be the annihilation of time and space in the accomplishment of correspondence.

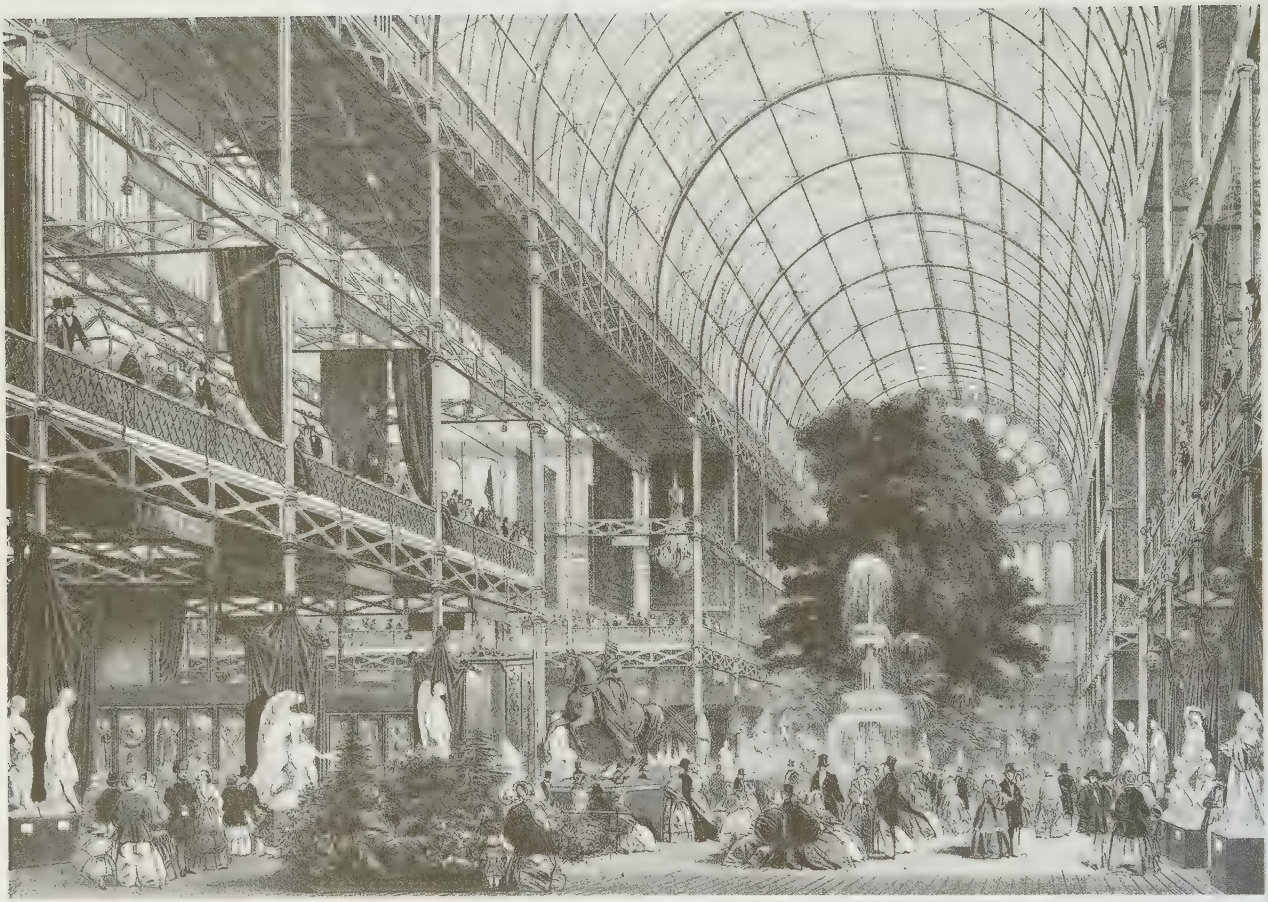
By 1870, the voyage to India by ship had been shortened to three weeks, and correspondents could expect answers to their letters in less than two months. It was the beginning of what O'Shaughnessy called "the annihilation of time and space."

The telegraph had an even more astonishing impact on global communications. Beginning in the 1860s, cables laid on the ocean floor allowed telegrams to be sent across oceans as readily as on land. When the first cable to India was completed in June 1870, the chairman of the Eastern Telegraph Company, John Pender, sent a telegram to Bombay and received an answer 4 minutes and 22 seconds later.

The easy, almost instantaneous communication with any country in the world that we take for granted today began in the mid-nineteenth century. Since that time, communications technologies have made the world a much smaller and more intimate place—for those who can afford them.

Sources: Sir William Brooke O'Shaughnessy, "Memoranda relative to experiments on the communication of Telegraphic Signals by induced electricity," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (September 1839): 720–21. Quoted in G. R. M. Garratt, *One Hundred Years of Submarine Cables* (London: HMSO, 1950), 29.

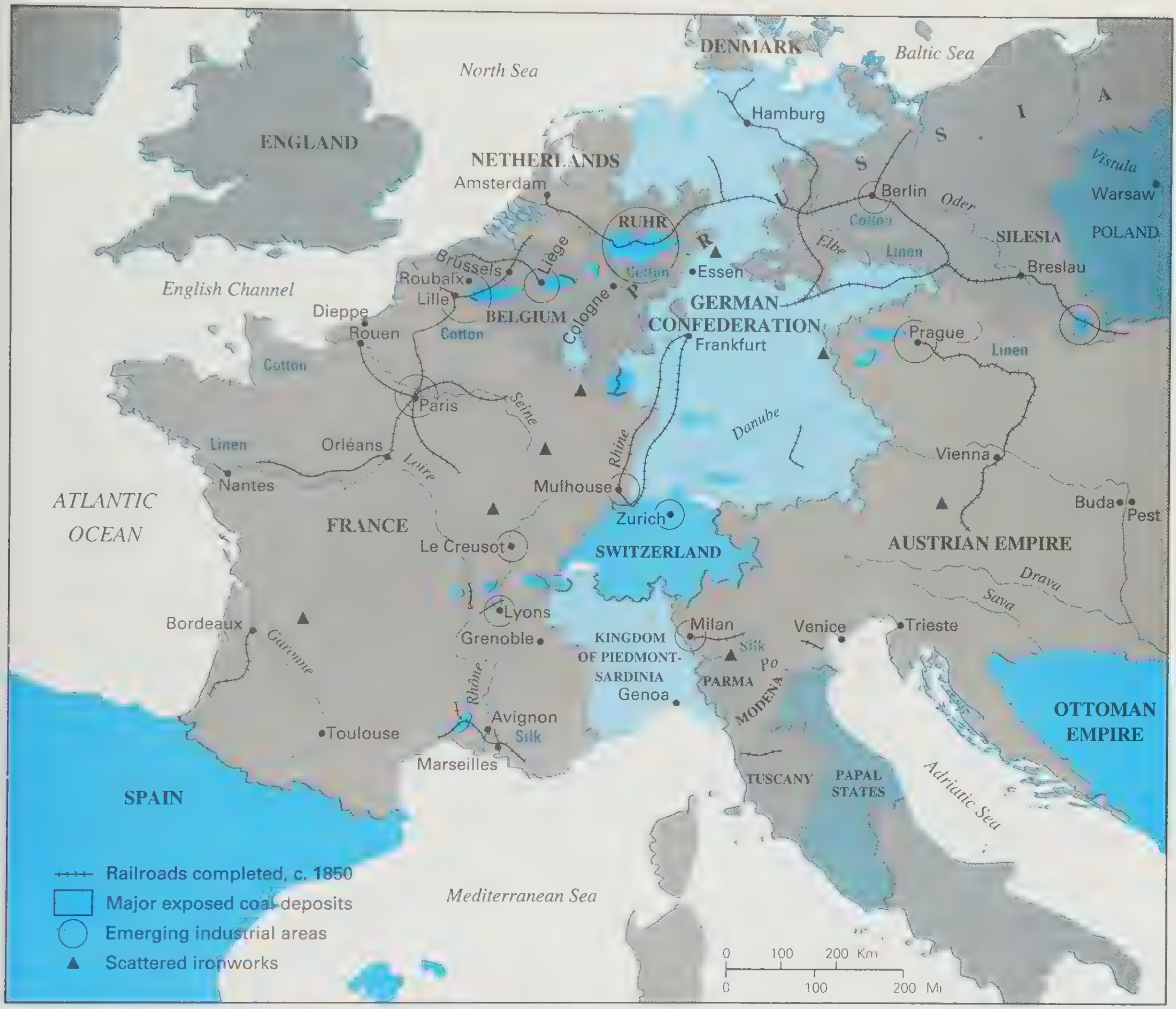
Transatlantic travel In 1838, two ships equipped with both sails and steam engines, the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, sailed from England to New York. Although the *Sirius* left a few days earlier, the *Great Western*—shown here steaming into New York harbor—almost caught up, arriving just four hours after the *Sirius*. This race inaugurated regular transatlantic steamship service. (Courtesy of the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, VA)



Crystal Palace interior The Crystal Palace, built for the Great Exposition of 1851, was the largest structure in England. It was entirely prefabricated of iron and glass, a forerunner of great railroad stations of the late nineteenth century and the skyscrapers of the twentieth century. (Houghton Library)

and other hindrances to trade, and encouraged the formation of joint-stock companies and banks to channel private savings into industrial investments. By 1830, the political climate in western Europe was as favorable to business as Britain's had been a half-century earlier.

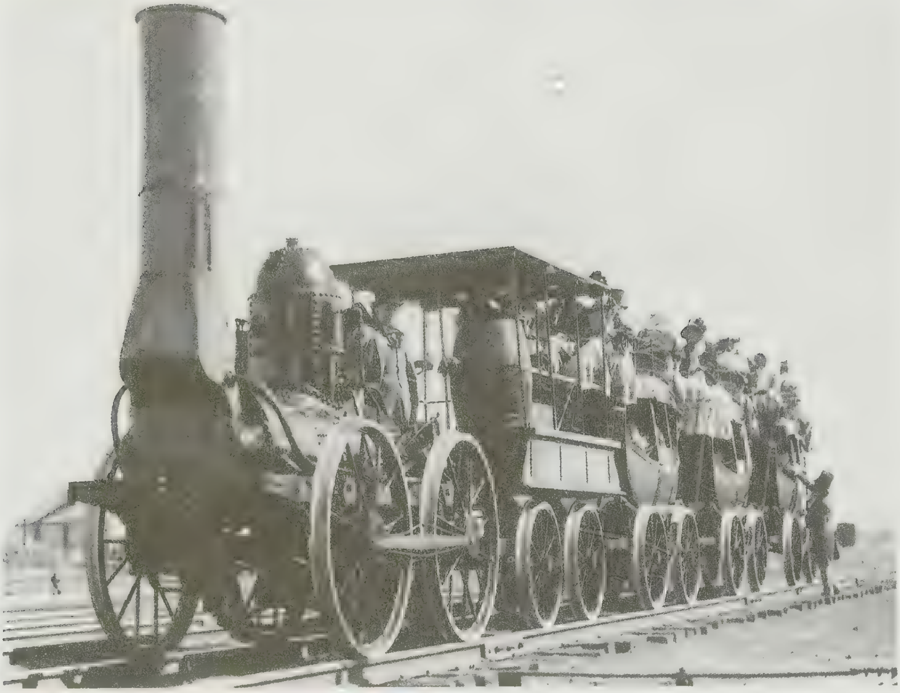
Railways triggered the industrialization of Europe. Belgium, independent since 1830, quickly copied the British. In France and Prussia, the state planned and supervised railroad construction from the start in order to avoid the technical and financial problems that had plagued the early British railroads. This precaution delayed construction until the mid-1840s. When it began, however, it had a greater impact than in Britain, for it not only satisfied the long-standing need for transportation but also stimulated the iron, machinery, and construction industries. In the 1850s and 1860s, the states of Germany experienced an industrial boom, as did France and Belgium. Countries farther from Britain—Spain, Italy, Austria, Sweden, and Russia—were just beginning to build cotton mills and railroads by 1870.



Map 19.2 Industrialization in Europe, ca. 1850 In 1850, industrialization was only beginning on the European continent. The first industrial regions were comparatively close to England and possessed rich coal deposits: Belgium and the Ruhr district of Germany. Politics determined the location of railroads. Notice the star-shaped French network of rail lines emanating from Paris and the lines linking the different parts of the German Confederation.

The United States

The only other part of the world that underwent an industrial revolution before 1870 was the United States, where the combination of population increase and relatively high income created a growing demand for the products of industry. American industrialization differed substantially from its British predecessor. The United States was a land of enormous distances separating eastern cities, southern cotton plantations, and midwestern farms. The need to overcome great distances explains the success of Samuel Morse's



The De Witt Clinton locomotive, 1835–1840 The De Witt Clinton was the first steam locomotive built in the United States. The high smokestack let hot cinders cool off so they would not set fire to nearby trees, an important consideration at a time when eastern North America was still covered with forests. The three passenger cars are clearly horse-carriages fitted with railroad wheels. (Corbis)

telegraph and Robert Fulton's steamboat. By 1830 some three hundred steamboats plied the Mississippi River and its tributaries. Pennsylvania built 1,000 miles (1,600 kilometers) of canals by 1840. The United States was fast becoming a nation that moved by water, but then came the railroads.

By the 1840s, 6,000 miles (9,660 kilometers) of track radiated westward from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore and connected these cities to one another. The boom of the 1840s was dwarfed by the mania of the 1850s, when 21,000 miles (33,800 kilometers) of new track were laid, many of them westward across the Appalachian Mountains to Memphis, St. Louis, and Chicago. After 1856, the trip from New York to Chicago, which once took three weeks by boat and on horseback, could be made in 48 hours. The railroads opened up the American midwest, turning the vast prairie into wheat fields and pasture for cattle to feed the industrial cities of the east.

Cotton became America's most valuable crop. In 1793, the American Eli Whitney patented a cotton gin. This simple device separated the cotton seeds from cotton fiber, made the growing of short-staple cotton economical, and thereby permitted the spread of cotton farming into Georgia, then into Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and finally as far west as Texas. By 1840, the United States had twelve hundred cotton mills, two-thirds of them in New England, powered by water rather than steam.

The 1830s and 1840s were a period of tremendous technological creativity or, as Americans liked to call it, "Yankee ingenuity," as the reaper, the sewing machine, and the Colt revolver were all patented. At the Great Exhibition of 1851, Europeans admired what was called the "American system of manufactures." Although the idea of interchangeable parts had originated in Europe in the eighteenth century, it was gradually put into practice in the mid-nineteenth century in the manufacture of firearms, farm equipment, and sewing machines. In the next hundred years, the use of machinery to mass-produce consumer items was to become the hallmark of American industry.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Long before the Industrial Revolution began, practically no wilderness areas remained in Britain. Cultivated fields, forests, pastures, or towns covered almost every piece of land, yet humans continued to alter the environment. The most serious problem was deforestation. As the cost of wood rose, Britons substituted coal for firewood and suffered the consequences; Londoners in particular breathed dense and noxious coal smoke. Although people tolerated the burning of coal to heat their homes and power their factories, it was too polluting for smelting iron or baking bread.

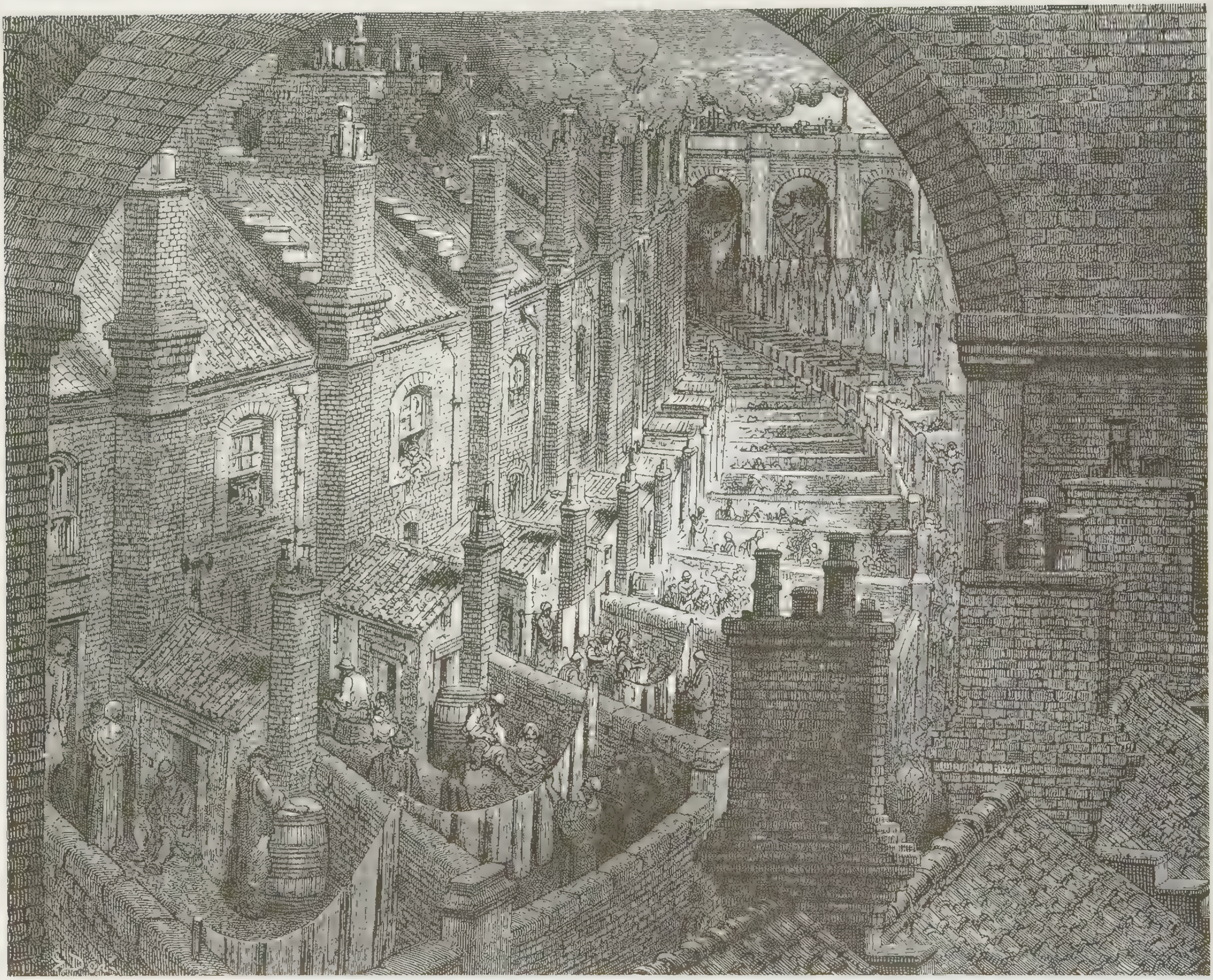
In many ways, however, industrialization actually relieved pressures on the environment in Britain. While forested countries like Russia, Sweden, and the United States continued to smelt iron with charcoal, the British substituted coke made from coal. As the British population increased and land grew scarcer, the cost of growing feed for horses rose, creating incentives to find new, less land-hungry means of transportation. Likewise, as iron became cheaper and wood more expensive, ships and many other objects formerly made of wood were made of iron.

The Urban Environment

The Industrial Revolution accelerated change and unleashed new forces, many of which impacted on the environment. The most dramatic changes occurred in the towns. Never before had towns grown so fast. London, the largest city in Europe in 1700 with its 500,000 inhabitants, grew to 1,117,000 by 1801, 2,239,000 by 1841, and 4,770,000 by 1881; it was then the largest city the world had ever known. Smaller towns grew even faster. Manchester, a small town of 20,000 in 1758, reached 399,000 in 1861, a twenty-fold increase. In some areas, towns merged and formed megalopolises, such as Greater London, the English Midlands, central Belgium, and the Ruhr district of Germany.

By all accounts, the industrial cities grew much too fast. Air pollution from burning coal got steadily worse. Factories and workers' housing were mixed together. As poor migrants streamed in from the countryside, developers built cheap, shoddy row houses for them to rent. These tenements were dangerously overcrowded, with several families packed into one small room. Town dwellers recently arrived from the country brought country ways with them. People threw their sewage and trash out the windows to be washed down the gutters in the street. The poor kept pigs and chickens, the rich kept horses, and pedestrians stepped into the street at their own risk. People drank water drawn from wells and rivers contaminated by sewage and industrial runoff. The River Irwell, which ran through Manchester, was, in the words of one visitor, "considerably less a river than a flood of liquid manure." "Every day that I live," wrote an American visitor to Manchester, "I thank Heaven that I am not a poor man with a family in England."

To the long list of preindustrial urban diseases such as smallpox, dysentery, and tuberculosis, in-



Overcrowded London French artist Gustave Doré depicted the tenements of industrial London where workers and their families lived. This drawing shows crowded and unsanitary row houses, each one room wide, with tiny back yards, and a train steaming across a viaduct overhead. (Prints Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)

dustrialization added new ailments. Rickets, a bone disease caused by a lack of sunshine, became endemic in the dark and smoky industrial cities. Steamships brought cholera from India, causing great epidemics that struck poor neighborhoods especially hard. In the 1850s, when the average life expectancy in England was 40 years, it was only 24 in Manchester, and only 17 in Manchester's poorest neighborhoods, because of the high infant mortality. Observers of nineteenth-century industrial cities documented the horrors of slum life in vivid detail. Their shocking reports led to municipal reforms, such as garbage removal, water and sewage systems, and parks and schools. These measures began to alleviate the ills of urban life after the midcentury.

Rural Environments in Britain and Western Europe

The Industrial Revolution also transformed the countryside. Some of the transformation was destructive, filling the air with smoke and leaving huge mounds of tailings around mine shafts. Many contemporaries, however, called such changes "improvements." Rich landowners petitioned Parliament to force out the small farmers and sell the "waste"—that is, the woods and pasture used in common by villagers. This process, though socially unjust, permitted new methods that small farmers could not afford: drainage, soil improvements, mechanization, crop rotation, and the breeding of better animal stock. In many ways, the agricultural revolution paralleled the industrial one.

To contemporaries, the most obvious changes in rural life were those brought about by the new transportation systems. In the eighteenth century, only France had a national network of quality roads, later extended into Italy and Germany in the nineteenth century. In Britain, local governments neglected the roads that served long-distance traffic. In response to the growing demand, private enterprises—"Turnpike Trusts"—built numerous toll roads. For heavy goods, horse-drawn wagons were too costly even on good roads. The growing volume of heavy freight triggered canal-building booms in Britain, France, and the Low Countries in the late eighteenth century.

Railroads also invaded the towns. The railroad companies built their stations—gigantic imitations of Gothic cathedrals or Roman temples made of stone, iron, and glass—as close to the heart of cities as they could. On the outskirts of cities, railroad yards, sidings, and repair shops covered acres of land, surrounded by miles of warehouses and workers' housing. Farther out, far from the dangerous and polluted cities where their factories were located, newly rich industrialists created an environment halfway between country homes and townhouses: the first suburbs.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Although inventions were the most visible aspect of the Industrial Revolution, many other changes in society, politics, and the economy also took place, interacting with one another. As the population rose rapidly, people flocked to crowded, unsanitary cities. Working conditions were harsh and dangerous, especially for children, a large part of the work force. The growing economy created a prosperous middle class, but the lives of the poor did not improve until several decades later.

Population

The European population rose in the eighteenth century, slowly at first, faster after 1780, then faster than ever in the early nineteenth century. The population of England and Wales rose from 5.5 million in 1688 to 9 million in 1801 and to 18 million by 1851. Such increases had never before occurred in world history.

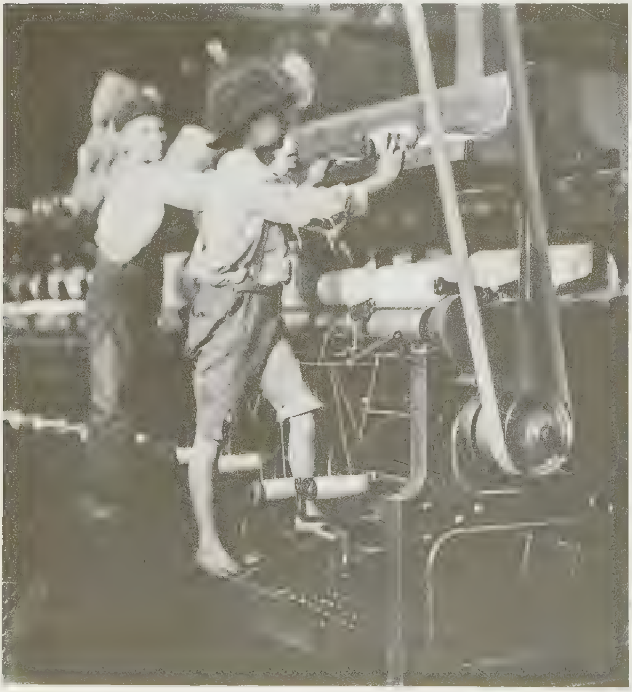
Industrialization and population growth reinforced each other. Better food supplies and job opportunities led people to marry at an earlier age and have more children. A high birthrate meant a high proportion of children: in the early nineteenth century some 40 percent of the population of Britain was under fifteen years of age, which explains both the vitality of the British people in that period and the widespread use of child labor. People also migrated at an unprecedented rate, from the land into the cities, from Ireland to the industrial areas of England, and, more generally, from Europe to the United States, Canada, and Latin America.

Working Conditions

Most industrial jobs were unskilled, repetitive, and boring. Factory work did not vary with the seasons or the time of day but began and ended by the clock. Hours were long, there were few breaks, and foremen watched constantly. Workers who performed one simple task over and over had little sense of achievement or connection to the final product. Industrial accidents were common and could ruin a family. Unlike even the poorest preindustrial farmer or craftsman, factory workers had no control over their tools, their jobs, or their working hours.

Women workers were concentrated in textile mills, partly because of ancient traditions, partly because textile work required less strength than metalworking, construction, or hauling. They earned, on average, from one-third to one-half as much as men. Young unmarried women worked to support themselves or to save for marriage. Married women took factory jobs if their husbands were unable to support the family. Mothers of infants faced a hard choice: whether to leave their babies with wet nurses (women who nursed other people's babies) at great expense and danger or to bring them to the factory and keep them drugged with opiates so that they stayed quiet. Rather than working together as family units, husbands and wives increasingly saw their work fall into "separate spheres."

Child labor This photo was taken in a cotton mill in Georgia, USA. Protection against industrial accidents was a low priority for factory owners. These boys are barefoot and working close to an unshielded drive-belt. (Corbis)



Even where factory work was available, it was never the main occupation of working women in the early years of industrialization. Most young women became domestic servants in spite of the low pay, the constant drudgery, and the risk of sexual abuse by male employers. Women with small children tried hard to find work they could do at home, such as laundry, sewing, embroidery, making or decorating hats, or taking in lodgers.

Even with both parents working, poor families found it hard to make ends meet. As in preindustrial societies, parents thought children should contribute to their upkeep as soon as they were able to. The first generation of workers brought their children with them to the factories and mines as early as age five or six; they had little choice, for there were no public schools or day-care centers. Employers encouraged the practice and even hired orphans. They preferred children because they worked for lower wages and were more docile than adults and better able to tie broken threads or crawl under machines to sweep up dust. Mine operators used children to pull coal carts along the low passageways from the coal face to the mine shaft. In the mid-nineteenth century, when the British government began restricting child labor, mill owners increasingly recruited Irish immigrants.

American industry began on a somewhat different note than the British. In the early nineteenth century, Americans still remembered their revolutionary ideals (see Chapter 20). When Francis Cabot Lowell built a cotton mill in Massachusetts, he deliberately hired the unmarried daughters of New England farmers, promising them decent wages and housing in dormitories under careful moral supervision. Other manufacturers eager to combine profits with morality followed his example. But soon the profit motive won out, and manufacturers imposed longer hours and harsher working conditions and paid lower wages. If the young women protested by going on strike, the factory owners replaced them with Irish immigrant women willing to accept the low pay and poor conditions.

While the cotton boom enriched planters, merchants, and manufacturers, African-Americans paid for it with their freedom. In the 1790s, 700,000 slaves of African descent lived in the United States, but their numbers were diminishing and the founders of the Republic did not consider slavery a serious problem. Cotton, however, could be grown profitably only with slave labor, and as the planting of cotton expanded, so did the number of slaves. By 1850 the United States had 3,200,000 slaves, 60 percent of whom grew cotton. Slavery was not, as southerners maintained, a "peculiar institution," a consequence of biological differences, biblical injunctions, or African traditions. Slavery in the United States was part and parcel of the Industrial Revolution, just as much as child labor in Britain and the clothes that people wore.

Changes in Society

Industrialization caused profound social changes, benefiting some people and harming others. In Britain, the worst-off were those who clung to an obsolete skill or craft., such as handloom weavers in the time of power looms. Even working ever longer hours they could not escape destitution.

The wages and standard of living of factory workers fluctuated wildly through the boom-and-bust cycles of an unrestrained capitalist economy. During the Napoleonic Wars—from 1792 to 1815 (see Chapter 20)—the price of food, on which the poor spent most of their income, rose faster than wages. In 1815 the British government limited the importation of foreign grain, causing widespread hardship. And as urban populations swelled, the poor were forced into overcrowded, unsanitary slums. Then in the 1820s real wages and public health began to improve. Industrial production grew at over 3 percent a year, pulling the rest of the economy along. Prices fell and wages rose. And even the poor could afford comfortable, washable cotton clothes and underwear. In 1846 the British Parliament repealed the Corn Laws (duties on imported grain), lowering the cost of food.

Improvement was not steady, however. Business cycles caused booms and depressions and periodic unemployment. The benefits of industrialization—cheaper food, clothing, and utensils—did not improve the workers' standard of living until the 1850s. The real beneficiaries were the middle class. In Britain, landowning gentry and the merchants had long shared wealth and influence. In the late eighteenth century, a new group arose—entrepreneurs whose money came from manufacturing. Their enterprises were usually self-financed, for little capital was needed to enter the cotton-spinning or machine-building business. A generation later, in the nineteenth century, some newly rich industrialists bought their way into high society.

Before the Industrial Revolution, wives of merchants had often participated in the family business; occasionally, widows managed sizable businesses on their own. With industrialization came a "cult of domesticity" to justify excluding middle-class women from the business world. Instead, they were to be responsible for the household, the servants, the education of children, and the family's social life.

Middle-class people who attributed their success, often correctly, to their own efforts and virtues believed in an ethic of individual responsibility: if some people could succeed through hard work, thrift, and temperance, then those who did not succeed bore the blame for their own failure. While the life of the poor remained brutal, the well-to-do espoused a morality of sobriety, thrift, work, and responsibility.

IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL RESPONSES TO INDUSTRIALIZATION

Changes as profound as the Industrial Revolution could not occur without political ferment and ideological conflicts. So many other momentous events took place during those years—the American and French Revolutions, the Napoleonic Wars, the reactions and revolts that swept over Europe after 1815 (see Chapter 20)—that we cannot neatly separate out the consequences of industrialization from the rest. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Industrial Revolution stimulated laissez-faire economic policies, socialism, and workers' protests.

Laissez Faire and Its Critics

The most celebrated exponent of *laissez faire* ("let them do") was the Scottish economist Adam Smith (1723–1790). In *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) he argued that if individuals were allowed to seek their personal gain, the effect, as though guided by an "invisible hand," would be to increase the general welfare. Other than protecting private property, the government should refrain from interfering in business; it should even allow duty-free trade with foreign countries.

Although it was true that governments at the time were incompetent at managing national economies, it was also becoming obvious that industrialization was not improving the general welfare but causing great misery. Other thinkers blamed the workers' plight on a population boom that outstripped the food supply and led to falling wages. The workers' poverty, they claimed, was as much a result of "natural law" as the wealth of successful businessmen was, and the only way the working class could avoid mass famine was to delay marriage and practice self-restraint and sexual abstinence.

Not everyone accepted the grim conclusions of the "dismal science," as economics was then known. Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) believed that it was possible to maximize "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" if a Parliament of enlightened reformers studied the social problems of the day and passed appropriate legislation. Bentham's philosophy became known as *utilitarianism*.

Positivists and Utopian Socialists

Bentham's optimistic philosophy advocated gradual improvements. But some French social thinkers offered a radically new vision of a just civilization. Espousing a philosophy called *positivism*, the count of Saint-Simon (1760–1825) argued that the scientific method could solve social as well as technical problems. He recommended that the poor, guided by scientists and artists, form workers' communities under the protection of benevolent business leaders. Meanwhile, the socialist Charles Fourier (1772–1837) imagined an ideal society in which groups of sixteen hundred workers would live in communal dormitories and work together on the land and in workshops where the hardships of labor would be softened by music, wine, and pastries. For this, his critics called him "utopian," a dreamer.

The person who came closest to creating a Utopian community was the Englishman Robert Owen (1771–1858). A successful cotton manufacturer, Owen believed that industry could provide prosperity for all. Conscience-stricken by the appalling plight of the workers, he rebuilt the mill town of New Lanark, improved the housing, and added schools, a church, and other amenities. He also testified before Parliament against child labor and for government inspection of working conditions, thereby angering his fellow industrialists.

Protests and Reforms

Workers benefited little from the ideas of those middle-class philosophers. Instead, they resisted the harsh working conditions in their own way. They frequently changed jobs; they often were absent, especially on Mondays; and when they were not closely watched, the quality of their work was likely to be poor. Periodically, they rioted or went on strike. Such acts of resistance, however, did nothing to change the nature of industrial work. Not until workers learned to act together could they hope to have much influence. Gradually they formed benevolent societies and organizations to demand universal male suffrage and shorter workdays.

Eventually, in the 1820s and 1830s, the British Parliament began to investigate conditions in the factories and mines. The Factory Act of 1833 prohibited the employment of children under the age of nine in textile mills; limited the working hours of children between nine and thirteen years of age to 8 hours a day; and limited the working hours of those between fourteen and eighteen to 12 hours a day. The Mines Act of 1842 prohibited the employment of all women and of boys under age ten underground. But several decades went by before there were enough inspectors to enforce the new laws.

The British learned to seek reform through accommodation. On the European continent, in contrast, the revolutions of 1848 (see Chapter 20) revealed widespread discontent but in the end failed to soften the hardships of industrialization.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE NONINDUSTRIAL WORLD BEFORE 1870

Long before 1870, the industrialization of the West began to affect the rest of the world, often for the worse. In most places, trade with the West meant exporting raw materials, not locally made handicraft products. The few countries that attempted to build industries of their own had little success, for the competition with established industries, backed by the might of Britain, was too great. We will consider two cases where industrialization was not successful: Russia, whose society and institutions delayed industrialization by a century, and Egypt, where industrialization was stifled at the outset. In these two cases, we can discern the outlines of the Western domination that has characterized the history of the world since the late nineteenth century (as we shall see in Part Seven).

Russia

Russia had been in close contact with western Europe since the seventeenth century. Its aristocrats spoke French, its army was modeled on the armies of western Europe, and it participated in European wars and diplomacy. But Russia differed from western Europe in one important aspect: it had almost no middle class. Thus its industrialization arose not from the initiative of local entrepreneurs but by government decree and through the work of foreign engineers.

To overcome Russia's enormous distances, Tsar Alexander I (r. 1801–1825) introduced steamboat service on the Volga River in 1820. His successor Nicholas I (r. 1825–1855) built the first railroad in Russia, from St. Petersburg, the capital, to his summer palace in 1837; a few years later, he insisted that the trunk line from St. Petersburg to Moscow run in a perfectly straight line. But until the late nineteenth century, the Russian government's interest in industry was limited and hesitant. An industrial revolution, to be successful, required large numbers of educated and independent-minded artisans and entrepreneurs. Rather than run the risk of allowing a middle class and a working class to arise that might challenge its control, the ultraconservative Russian regime kept the peasants in serfdom and preferred to import industrial goods and pay for them with exports of grain and timber. As a result, Russia fell further behind western Europe, economically and technologically, than it had been a half-century before. When France and Britain went to war against Russia in 1854 (see Chapter 22), they faced a Russian army equipped with obsolete weapons and bogged down for lack of transportation.

Egypt

Like Russia, Egypt began to industrialize in the early nineteenth century. The driving force was its ruler, Muhammad Ali (1769–1849), who wanted to build up the Egyptian economy and military in order to become less dependent on the Ottoman sultan, his nominal overlord. To do so, he imported advisers and technicians from Europe and built cotton mills, foundries, shipyards, weapons factories, and other industrial enterprises. To pay for all this, he made the peasants grow wheat and cotton, which the government bought at a low price and exported at a profit. He also imposed high tariffs on imported goods. In effect, Egypt set up a system of state capitalism to force the pace of industrialization.

Mohammad Ali's efforts, however, fell afoul of the British, who did not want a powerful country interrupting the flow of travelers and mail crossing Egypt, the shortest route between Europe and India. When Egypt went to war against the Ottoman Empire in 1839, Britain intervened and forced Muhammad Ali to eliminate all import duties in the name of free trade. Unprotected, Egypt's fledgling industries could not compete with the flood of cheap British products. Thereafter, Egypt exported raw cotton and imported manufactured goods and became, in effect, an economic dependency of Britain.

Mohammad Ali's successors opened up Egypt to foreign investment. Foreign banks funded enterprises that benefited foreign trade, such as railways, telegraphs, harbors, and irrigation projects. Most important of all these projects was the Suez Canal, built between 1859 and 1869 (see Chapter 23). Only a few Egyptians gained from these projects, which compromised and eventually doomed Egypt's independence.

CONCLUSION

In the period from 1760 to 1870 the new technologies of the Industrial Revolution greatly increased humans' power over nature. Goods could be manufactured in vast quantities at low cost. People and messages could travel at unprecedented speeds. In addition to utilizing the energy produced by muscle power, wind, and water, humans gained access to the energy stored in coal. Faster than ever before, they turned woodland into farmland, dug canals and laid track, bridged rivers and cut through mountains, and covered the countryside with towns and cities.

This newfound power over nature, far from benefiting everyone, increased the disparities among individuals and between societies. Some people acquired great wealth while others lived in poverty and squalor. Middle-class women were restricted to the care of their home and children, while many working-class women left home to earn wages in factories or as domestic servants. These changes in work and family life provoked intense debates among intellectuals, some defending the disparities in the name of laissez faire, others criticizing the injustices that industrialization brought. After a lag of a generation or more, reform legislation reduced child labor, increased the suffrage, and provided education to increasing numbers of children. By the mid-nineteenth century, workers and their families were better clothed, fed, and housed than earlier generations.

By 1870, the Industrial Revolution had spread from Britain to western Europe and the United States, and its impact was being felt around the world. To make a product that was sold on every continent, the British cotton industry used African slaves, American land, British machines, and Irish workers. Iron ships and steam engines shifted the historic balance between Europe and China. After 1870—as we shall see in Chapter 23—no part of the world remained untouched by the power of industry.

SUGGESTED READING

General works on the history of technology give pride of place to industrialization. For an optimistic overview see Joel Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress* (1990). The most complete encyclopedic work is *The Industrial Revolution, c. 1750–c. 1850* (1958), volume 4 in the five-volume *History of Technology*, ed. Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, and Trevor I. Williams. The best short introduction to the British Industrial Revolution is T. S. Ashton's often reprinted *Industrial Revolution, 1760–1830* (1948). For a more detailed work see Phyllis Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution (1969)*. The best economic history is Joel Mokyr, ed., *The Economics of the Industrial Revolution* (1985).

The social impact of industrialization is the theme of E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968). Also see E. R. Pike, ed., *"Hard Times": Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution* (1966), and Peter Stearns and Herrick Chapman, *European Society in Upheaval*, 3d ed. (1991). The role of women is ably revealed in Lynn Y. Weiner, *From Working Girl to Working Mother: The Female Labor Force in the United States, 1820–1980* (1985), and in Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (1978). The classic account of urbanization is Asa Briggs's *Victorian Cities* (1965).

On American industrialization see Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810–1860* (1983). The first book to treat industrialization as a global phenomenon is Peter Stearns, *The Industrial Revolution in World History* (1993). On Russia see William Blackwell, *The Beginnings of Russian Industrialization* (1970). On Egypt see Charles Issawi, ed., *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800–1914* (1987).

For the environmental impact of industrialization see Richard Wilkinson, *Poverty and Progress: An Ecological Perspective on Economic Development* (1973).

CHAPTER TWENTY

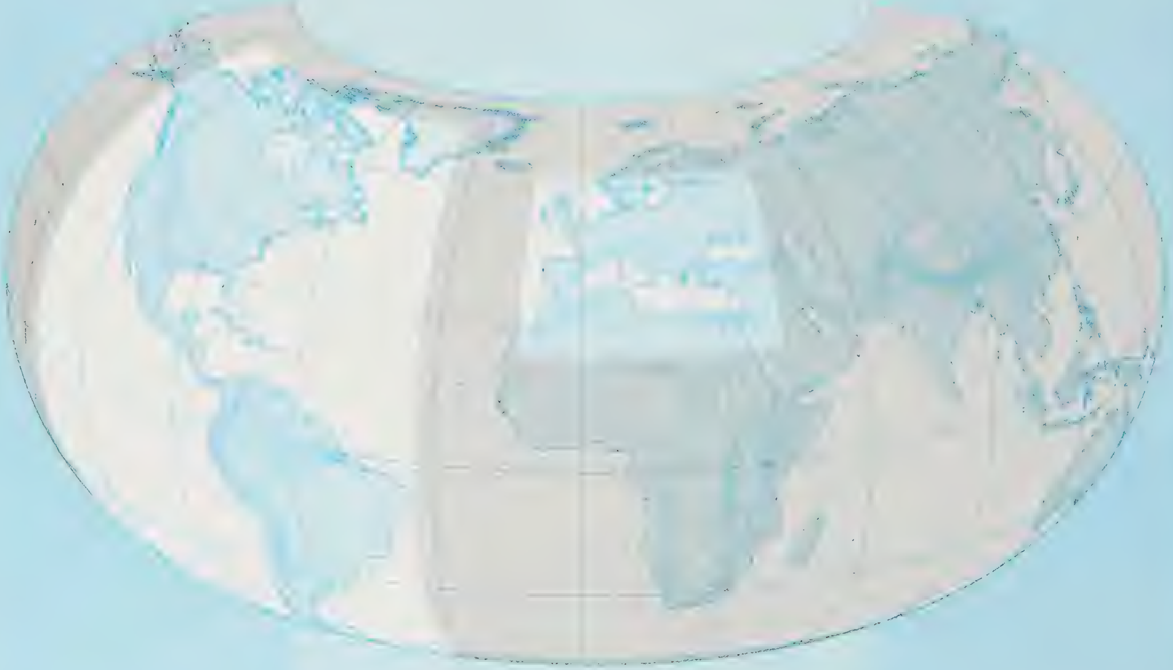
Revolutionary Changes and Nation Building, 1750–1890

Prelude to Revolution: The Crisis of the Old Order • The American Revolution

The French Revolution • Revolution Spreads, Conservatives Respond

Nation Building in the Americas • The Problem of Order

The Challenge of Economic and Social Change



On the evening of August 14, 1791, more than two hundred slaves and black freedmen met in secret in the plantation district of northern Saint Domingue (present-day Haiti) to set the date for an insurrection against the local slave owners. Although the delegates agreed to put off the uprising for a week, violence began almost immediately. During the following decade, Haiti's rebels ended slavery, defeated the military forces of Britain and France, and gained independence.

News and rumors about revolutionary events in France had spread throughout the island and prompted the slaves to organize themselves politically. The same news and rumors had divided the island's white population between royalists (supporters of France's King Louis XVI) and republicans (supporters of democracy) and led to the revolt of the free mixed-race population, *gens de couleur* ("people of color"), who had sought to gain the rights of citizens.

Among those planning the insurrection was Toussaint L'Ouverture, a black freedman, who proved to be a remarkable representative of the revolutionary era. Toussaint organized military forces, negotiated locally with royalist and republican factions and internationally with Britain and France, and wrote his nation's first constitution. Commonly portrayed as a fiend by slave owners throughout the Western Hemisphere, he became for slaves a towering symbol of resistance to oppression.

The Haitian slave rebellion was an important episode in the long and painful political and cultural transformation of the modern Western world. Economic expansion and the growth of trade were creating unprecedented wealth. The first stage of the Industrial Revolution (described in Chapter 19) was multiplying human productivity, creating new patterns of consumerism, and altering long-established social structures. At the same time, intellectuals were questioning the traditional place of monarchy and religion in society. The rising economic power of merchants, industrialists, and professionals coincided with the stirring of new intellectual currents that supported the transformation of political culture.

This radical transformation did not take place without false starts and temporary setbacks. Imperial powers resisted the loss of colonies, and monarchs and nobles struggled to retain their ancient privileges. Revolutionary steps forward were often matched by reactionary steps backward. The liberal and nationalist ideals of the eighteenth-century revolutionary movements were only imperfectly realized in Europe and the Americas in the nineteenth century. National self-determination, universal suffrage, and the remediation of social injustices—these goals continued to animate reformers into the twentieth century.

PRELUDE TO REVOLUTION: THE CRISIS OF THE OLD ORDER

Britain and France began a long and enormously expensive struggle for political preeminence in western Europe and for territory and trade outlets in the Americas and Asia in the eighteenth century. Traditional taxes collected in traditional ways no longer covered the obligations of governments, and fiscal crises overtook one European government after another. In an intellectual environment transformed by the Enlightenment, the need for new revenues provoked debate and confrontation within a vastly expanded and more critical public.

In large measure, the cost of wars fought among Europe's major powers for colonies and trade precipitated the revolutionary cycle that began in 1775 with the American Revolution. In an intellectual environment transformed by John Locke's idea that governments derived their authority from the consent of the governed (see Chapter 15), efforts to impose new taxes or to more efficiently collect traditional revenues raised questions about the rights of individuals and the authority of institutions.

As Chapter 15 demonstrated, the Enlightenment drew on the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, and European intellectuals began to apply the logical tools of scientific inquiry to other questions. Some thinkers pursued lines of inquiry that challenged long-established religious and political institutions. They argued that if scientists could understand the laws of nature then surely similar forms of disciplined investigation might reveal laws of human nature. Others wondered whether society and government might be better regulated and more productive if guided by science rather than by hereditary rulers and the church. These new perspectives and the intellectual optimism that fed them helped guide the revolutionary movements of the late eighteenth century.

All Enlightenment thinkers were not radicals. There was never a uniform program for political and social reform, and the era's intellectuals often disagreed about principles and objectives. Even though the Enlightenment is commonly associated with hostility toward religion and monarchy, very few European intellectuals openly expressed republican or atheist sentiments. Indeed, sympathetic members of the nobility and reforming European monarchs such as Charles III of Spain (r. 1759–1788), Catherine the Great of Russia (r. 1762–1796), and Frederick the Great of Prussia (r. 1740–1786) actively sponsored and promoted the dissemination of new ideas and provided patronage for many of the era's best-known intellectuals.

The intellectual ferment of the era deeply influenced the expanding middle class of Europe and the Western Hemisphere. Members of this class were eager consumers of books and the inexpensive newspapers and journals that were widely available in the eighteenth century. Scientific discoveries, new technologies, and controversial work on human nature and politics were also discussed in the thousands of coffeehouses and teashops opening in major cities and market towns.

Many European intellectuals were interested in the Americas, and some used idealized accounts of the New World to support their critiques of European society. These thinkers looked to Britain's North American colonies for confirmation of their belief that human nature unconstrained by the corrupted practices of Europe's old order would quickly produce material abundance and social justice.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In the British colonies of North America, clumsy British efforts to reform tax policy to cover rising defense expenditures and to diminish the power of elected legislatures outraged a populace accustomed to greater local autonomy. Once begun, the American Revolution inaugurated the century-long political and cultural transformation in Europe and the Americas discussed later in this chapter. By the end of this revolutionary century, the authority of monarchs had been swept away or limited by constitutions, and religion had lost its dominating place in Western intellectual life. Moreover, the medieval ideal of a social order determined by birth was replaced by a capitalist vision that emphasized individual competition and social mobility.

Frontiers and Taxes

After defeating the French in 1763 (see Chapter 16), the British government faced two problems in its American colonies. One was the likelihood of armed conflict with native peoples as settlers quickly pushed into Amerindian lands west of the Appalachian Mountains and across the Ohio River. British authorities wanted to avoid additional expenditures for frontier defense. The other problem was how to get the colonists to shoulder more of the costs of imperial defense and colonial administration. This situation became politically explosive because of the confrontational and impolitic way in which a succession of weak British governments responded to the protests that followed every attempt to keep settlers out of the trans-Appalachian frontier and to impose new taxes.

The British Proclamation of 1763, which sought to establish an effective western limit for settlement, threw into question the claims of thousands of already established farmers without effectively protecting Amerindian land. No one was satisfied. The Quebec Act of 1774 annexed disputed lands to the province of Quebec, thus denying eastern colonies the authority to distribute lands claimed as a result of original charters. Colonists saw the Quebec Act as punitive and tyrannical, and Amerindian peoples received no relief from the continuous assault on their land.

The Sugar and Currency Acts of 1764, the first new revenue measures imposed on the colonies, provoked widespread anger, and angry colonists organized boycotts of British goods. But it was the Stamp Act of 1765 that radicalized the debate over the meaning of colonial status. The Stamp Act imposed a tax, to be paid in scarce coin, on all legal documents, newspapers, pamphlets, and nearly all other types of printed material. Public protests arose almost everywhere, but Virginia and Massachusetts were the centers of organized resistance. Propertied colonists, including holders of high office and members of the colonial elite, took leading roles, expressing their outrage in violent language, even calling Britain's rulers "parricides" and "tyrants."

A combination of violent protest and trade boycott forced the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, but the colonists' victory was short-lived. In 1767 new taxes—the Townshend duties—were imposed on glass, paint, paper, and tea. Because Parliament did not trust colonial courts and juries to enforce these laws, it resorted to Admiralty courts, run by naval officers. Additional coercive power was put in the hands of colonial governors by reassigning British troops from frontier posts to the eastern cities. Political leaders in the colonies responded with a new round of boycotts and encouraged city dwellers

A British official tarred and feathered, 1774 This illustration from a British periodical shows the unfortunate John Malcomb, commissioner of customs at Boston. By the mid-1770s, British periodicals were focusing public opinion on mob violence and the breakdown of public order in the colonies. British critics of colonial political protests viewed the demand for liberty as little more than an excuse for mob violence. (Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University) to confront British power in the streets. British authorities reacted by threatening traditional liberties, as when the royal governor of Massachusetts dissolved the colony's legislature.

The cycle of confrontation in Boston prompted the British government to dispatch a warship and two regiments of soldiers to reestablish control of Boston's streets. On March 5, 1770, after a British force fired on an angry Boston crowd, killing five civilians, support for independence grew. Throughout the colonies public opinion was radicalized by this "Boston Massacre," which seemed to expose the naked force on which colonial rule rested.

In an attempt to calm the colonies, Parliament repealed the Townshend duties. This concession, however, generated little goodwill because it was followed by the decision to grant the British East India Company a monopoly for importing tea to the colonies (see Chapter 18), which raised anew the constitutional issue of Parliament's right to tax the colonies. The crisis came to a head in the already politically overheated port of Boston when tea worth £10,000 was dumped into the harbor by protesters disguised as Amerindians.

The Course of Revolution

As the crisis mounted, new governing bodies created by patriot leaders effectively deposed many British governors, judges, and customs officers. The new institutions of colonial government created laws, appointed justices, and even took control of colonial militias. Simultaneously, radical leaders organized crowds to intimidate loyalists—people who were pro-British—and to enforce the boycott of British goods.

As events propelled the colonies toward revolution, the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in 1775. The Congress created its own currency and organized an army to be commanded by George Washington (1732–1799), a Virginian who had served in the French and Indian War. On July 4, 1776, the United States of America was born when Congress approved the Declaration of Independence, the document that proved to be the most enduring statement of the revolutionary era's ideology:

> We hold these truths to be self evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

This affirmation of popular sovereignty and individual rights later influenced the language of revolution and popular protest all around the world.

Hoping to shore up British authority, Great Britain sent a huge expeditionary force, 32,000 soldiers and an armada of more than 400 ships, to pacify the colonies. By 1778, British land forces numbered 50,000 supported by 30,000 German mercenaries (soldiers for hire). But this military commitment proved futile. The American Revolution turned out to be the first war of national liberation. Although British forces won most of the battles, the small, poorly armed, and sometimes badly led army of the United States could depend on a sympathetic civilian population to provide supplies and recruits.

In the final great battle, fought at Yorktown, Virginia, British troops commanded by General Charles Cornwallis were besieged by American and French forces. With escape cut off by a French fleet, Cornwallis surrendered to Washington as the British military band played "The World Turned Upside-Down."

The Construction of Republican Institutions

Even before the Declaration of Independence, most of the colonies had created new governments. After independence, leaders in each of the new states summoned constitutional conventions to draft state constitutions and submitted the results to voters for ratification. Europeans were fascinated by the new idea of written constitutions and by the formal ratification of those constitutions by the people. Thus many of those documents were quickly translated and published in Europe. Remembering conflicts between royal governors and colonial legislatures, the authors of state constitutions placed severe limits on executive authority but granted legislatures greater powers than in colonial times. Many states also inserted in their constitutions a bill of rights to provide further protection against government tyranny.

An effective constitution for the new national government was developed slowly and hesitantly. The Second Continental Congress sent the Articles of Confederation—the first constitution of the United States—to the states for approval in 1777, but it was not accepted by all the states until 1781. With the coming of peace, many of the most powerful political figures in the United States began an effort to fashion a new constitution. Debate at the Constitutional Convention, which began meeting in May 1787, focused on several issues: representation, electoral procedures, executive powers, and the relationship between the federal government and the states. Compromise solutions included distribution of political power among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches and the division of authority between the federal government and the states. The final compromise provided for a two-house legislature: the lower house (the House of Representatives) to be elected directly by voters and the upper house (the Senate) to be elected by the state legislatures. The chief executive—the president—would be elected indirectly by "electors" selected by ballot in the states (each state had a number of electors equal to the number of its representatives and senators).

Although the U.S. Constitution created the most democratic government of the era, only a minority of the adult population was given full rights. Southern leaders were able to protect the institution of slavery. Women, who had led prewar boycotts and organized relief and charitable organizations during the war, were denied political rights in the new republic.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution accelerated the movement toward republican government and secular culture in Europe but did not create an enduring form of representative democracy, as the American Revolution had done. The French Revolution expanded mass participation in political life and radicalized the democratic tradition inherited from English and American experience. But in the end, the passions unleashed by revolutionary events could not be sustained, and democratic reform was undermined by popular demagogues and the dictatorship of Napoleon.

French Society and Fiscal Crisis

French society was divided into three estates. The clergy, the First Estate, numbered about 130,000 in a nation of 28 million. The Catholic Church owned about 10 percent of the nation's land and extracted substantial amounts of wealth from the economy in the form of tithes and ecclesiastical fees. Despite its substantial wealth, the church was exempted from nearly all taxes. The clergy was organized hierarchically, and members of the high nobility held almost all the upper positions in the church.

The 300,000 members of the nobility, the Second Estate, controlled about 30 percent of the land and retained feudal rights on much of the rest. Nobles held the vast majority of high administrative, judicial, military, and church positions. Though traditionally barred from some types of commercial activity, nobles were important participants in wholesale trade, banking, manufacturing, and mining.

The Third Estate included everyone else. Commerce, finance, and manufacturing accounted for much of the wealth of the Third Estate. Wealthy commoners also owned nearly a third of the nation's land. Artisans and other skilled workers, small shopkeepers and peddlers, and small landowners made up the largest sector of society. They owned some property and lived decently when crops were good and prices stable. By 1780 poor harvests and weak consumer demand were threatening these groups.

The poor were a large, growing, and troublesome sector. The poverty and vulnerability of peasant families forced younger children to seek seasonal work away from home and led many to crime and beggary. In Paris and other French cities, the vile living conditions and unhealthy diet of the working poor were startling to visitors from other European nations. The wretchedness of the French poor is perhaps best indicated by the growing problem of child abandonment. By 1780 at least forty thousand children a year were given up by their parents.

Unable to afford decent housing, obtain steady employment, or protect their children, the poor periodically erupted in violent protest and rage. In towns and cities an increase in the price of bread often provided the spark, for bread prices largely determined the quality of life of the poor. These explosive episodes, however, were not revolutionary in character. That was to change when the Crown tried to solve its fiscal crisis.

The expenses of the War of Austrian Succession began the crisis. An effort by Louis XV (r. 1715–1774) to impose taxes on the nobility and on other groups that in the past had enjoyed exemptions led to widespread protest and the refusal of the Parlement of Paris, a court of appeal that heard appeals from local courts throughout France, to register the new tax. Crisis reappeared when debts from the Seven Years War compelled the king to impose emergency fiscal measures. Again, the king met resistance from the Parlement of Paris. In 1768 Crown authorities exiled the members of that Parlement and pushed through a series of unpopular fiscal measures.

In 1774 Louis XVI's chief financial adviser warned that the government could barely afford to operate; as he put it, "the first gunshot [act of war] will drive the state to bankruptcy." Despite this warning, the French took on the heavy burden of supporting the American Revolution, delaying collapse by borrowing enormous sums and disguising the growing debt in misleading fiscal accounts. By the end of the war with Britain, more than half of France's national budget was required to service the debt alone. It soon became clear that fiscal reforms and new taxes, not new loans, were necessary.

In 1787 the desperate king called an Assembly of Notables to approve a radical and comprehensive reform of the economy and fiscal policy. Members of this assembly were selected by the king's advisers from the high nobility, the judiciary, and the clergy. The Notables proved unwilling to act as a rubber stamp for the proposed reform, however. They began to raise issues of representation and legitimacy. The fiscal crisis was becoming a political crisis.

Protest Turns to Revolution

Because the king was unable to extract needed tax concessions from the French elite, he was forced to call the Estates General, the French national legislature, which had not met since 1614. In late 1788 and early 1789 members of the three estates came together throughout the nation to discuss grievances and elect representatives who would meet at Versailles. Traditionally the three estates met separately, and a positive vote by two of the three was required for action. Tradition, however, was quickly overturned when the Third Estate refused to conduct business until the king ordered the other two estates to sit with it in a single body.

After six weeks of stalemate, many parish priests from the First Estate began to meet with the commoners. When this expanded Third Estate declared itself the National Assembly, the king and his advisers recognized that the reformers intended to force them to accept a constitutional monarchy. Louis's vain hope for fiscal reform was being overwhelmed by the central ideas of the era: the people were sovereign, and the legitimacy of political institutions and individual rulers ultimately depended on their carrying out the people's will. Louis prepared for a confrontation with the National Assembly by moving military forces to Versailles. But before he could act, the people of Paris intervened.

A succession of bad harvests beginning in 1785 had propelled bread prices upward throughout France and provoked an economic depression. By the time that the Estates General met, nearly a third of the Parisian work force was unemployed. Hunger and anger marched hand in hand through working-class neighborhoods.

When the people of Paris heard that the king was massing troops in Versailles to arrest the representatives, crowds of common people began to seize arms and mobilize. On July 14 a crowd searching for military supplies attacked the Bastille, a medieval fortress used as a prison. The futile defense of the Bastille cost ninety-eight lives before its garrison surrendered. Enraged, the attackers hacked the commander to death and then paraded through the city with his head and that of the mayor of Paris stuck on pikes.

These events coincided with uprisings in the country. Peasants sacked manor houses and destroyed documents that recorded their feudal obligations. They refused to pay taxes and dues to landowners and seized common lands. Forced to recognize the fury raging through rural areas, the National Assembly voted to end feudal obligations and to reform the tax system. Having forced acceptance of their narrow agenda, the peasants ceased their revolt.

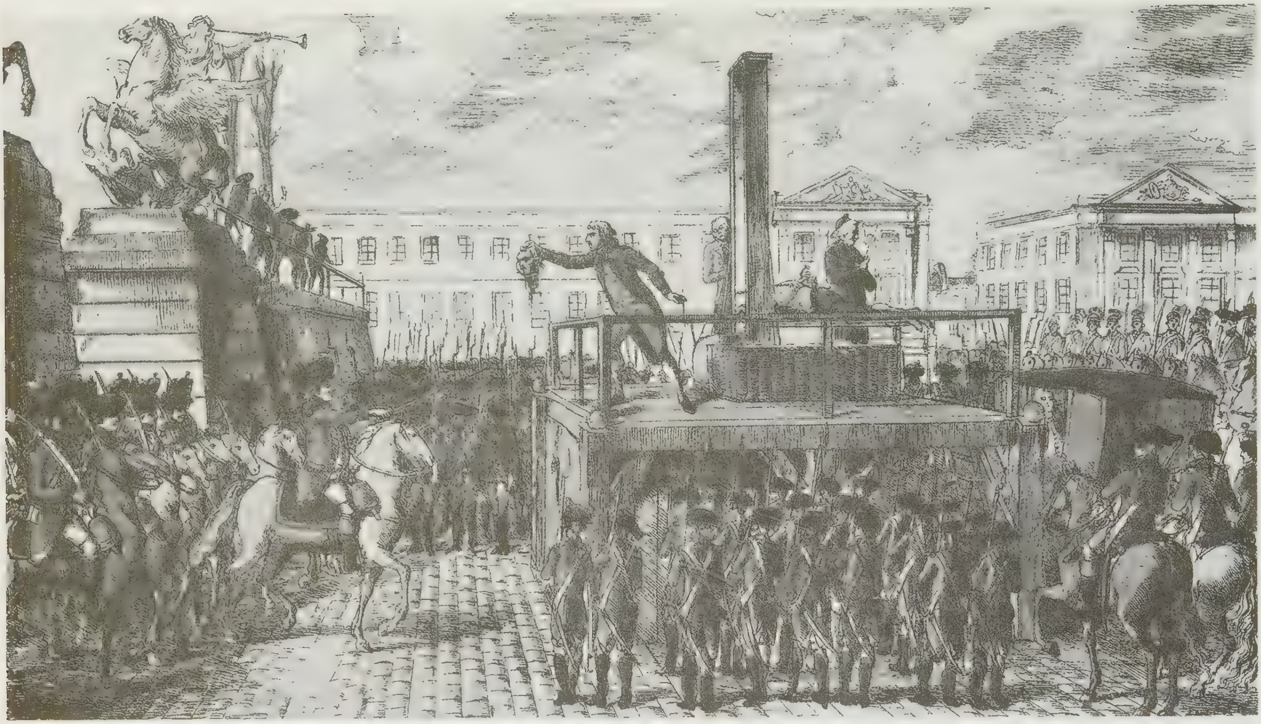
These popular uprisings strengthened the hand of the National Assembly in its dealings with the king. One manifestation of this altered relationship was passage of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. There were clear similarities between this declaration and the U.S. Declaration of Independence, though the French declaration was more sweeping in its language. Among the enumerated natural rights were "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression." The Declaration of the Rights of Man also guaranteed free expression of ideas, equality before the law, and representative government.

While delegates debated political issues in Versailles, the economic crisis worsened in Paris. Because the working women of Paris faced high food prices every day as they struggled to feed their families, their anger had a hard edge. On October 5, market women organized a crowd of thousands to march the 12 miles (19 kilometers) to Versailles. Once there, they forced their way into the National Assembly to demand action from the frightened representatives: "the point is that we want bread." The crowd then entered the royal apartments, killed some of the king's bodyguards, and searched for Queen Marie Antoinette, whom they loathed as a symbol of extravagance. Eventually, the crowd demanded that the royal family relocate to Paris. Preceded by the heads of two aristocrats carried on pikes and hauling away the palace's supply of flour, the triumphant crowd escorted the royal family to Paris.

The National Assembly achieved a radically restructured French society in the next two years. It passed a new constitution that dramatically limited monarchial power and abolished the nobility as a hereditary class. Economic reforms swept away monopolies and trade barriers within France. The Legislative Assembly (the new constitution's new name for the National Assembly) seized church lands to use as collateral for a new paper currency, and priests—who were to be elected—were put on the state payroll. When the government tried to force priests to take a loyalty oath, many Catholics joined a growing counterrevolutionary movement.

At first, many European monarchs had welcomed the weakening of the French king, but by 1791 Austria and Prussia threatened to intervene in support of the monarchy. The Legislative Assembly responded by declaring war. Although the war went badly at first for French forces, people across France responded patriotically to foreign invasions, forming huge new volunteer armies and mobilizing national resources to meet the challenge. By the end of 1792 French armies had gained the upper hand everywhere.

In this period of national crisis and foreign threat, the French Revolution entered its most radical phase. In August 1792 the Legislative Assembly suspended the king, ordered his impris-



Execution of Louis XVI No symbol of the overturning of the old order was more potent than the beheading of the French king. The executioner stands in front of the guillotine holding aloft the king's head. (Bibliothèque nationale de France)

onment, and called for the formation of a new National Convention to be elected by the vote of all men. Swept along by popular passion, the newly elected National Convention convicted Louis XVI of treason, sentenced him to death, and proclaimed France a republic. In January 1793 the king was beheaded by the guillotine, the machine that became the bloody symbol of the era. In the period of repression that followed—the "Reign of Terror" (1793–1794)—40,000 people were executed and another 300,000 thrown into prison.

Reaction and Dictatorship

The radical phase of the French Revolution was soon over, and the National Convention—the new legislature of the new First Republic of France—began to undo the radical reforms. It removed many of the emergency economic controls that had been holding down prices and protecting the working class. When the Paris working class revolted in 1795, the Convention approved the use of overwhelming military force. The Catholic Church was allowed to regain much of its former influence, but confiscated wealth was not returned. A more conservative constitution was also ratified. It protected property, established a voting process that reduced the power of the masses, and created a new executive authority, the Directory. Once installed in power, however, the Directory proved unable to end the foreign wars or solve domestic economic problems.

Having lost the election of 1797, the Directory suspended the results. The republican phase of the Revolution was clearly dead. Legitimacy was now based on coercive power, rather than on elections. Two years later, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), a brilliant young general in the French army, seized power. Just as the American and French Revolutions had been the start of the modern democratic tradition, the military intervention that brought Napoleon to power in 1799 marked the advent of another modern form of government: popular authoritarianism.

The American and French Revolutions resulted in part from conflicts over representation. If the people were sovereign, what institutions best expressed popular will? In the United States, the answer was to expand the electorate and institute representative government. The French Revolution took a different direction with the Terror. Interventions on the floor of the National Convention by market women and soldiers, the presence of common people at revolutionary tribunals and at public executions, and expanded military service were all forms of political communication that satisfied, temporarily, the French people's desire to influence their government. Napoleon tamed these forms of political expression to organize Europe's first popular dictatorship. He succeeded because his military reputation promised order to a society exhausted by a decade of crisis and turmoil.

Ultimately, the Napoleonic system depended on the success of French arms and French diplomacy (see Map 20.1). From Napoleon's assumption of power until his fall, no single European state could defeat the French military. Even powerful alliances like that of Austria and Prussia were brushed aside with humiliating defeats and forced to become allies of France. By 1802 Napoleon dominated continental Europe.

French armies became tied down by 1809 in a costly conflict with Spanish and Portuguese patriots who had forged alliances with the British. Frustrated by events on the Iberian Peninsula and faced with a faltering economy, Napoleon decided to invade Russia. In June 1812 he began his campaign with the largest army ever assembled in Europe, approximately 600,000 men. Five weeks after occupying Moscow, he was forced to retreat. The brutal Russian winter and attacks by Russian forces destroyed his army. A broken and battered fragment of 30,000 men returned home to France.

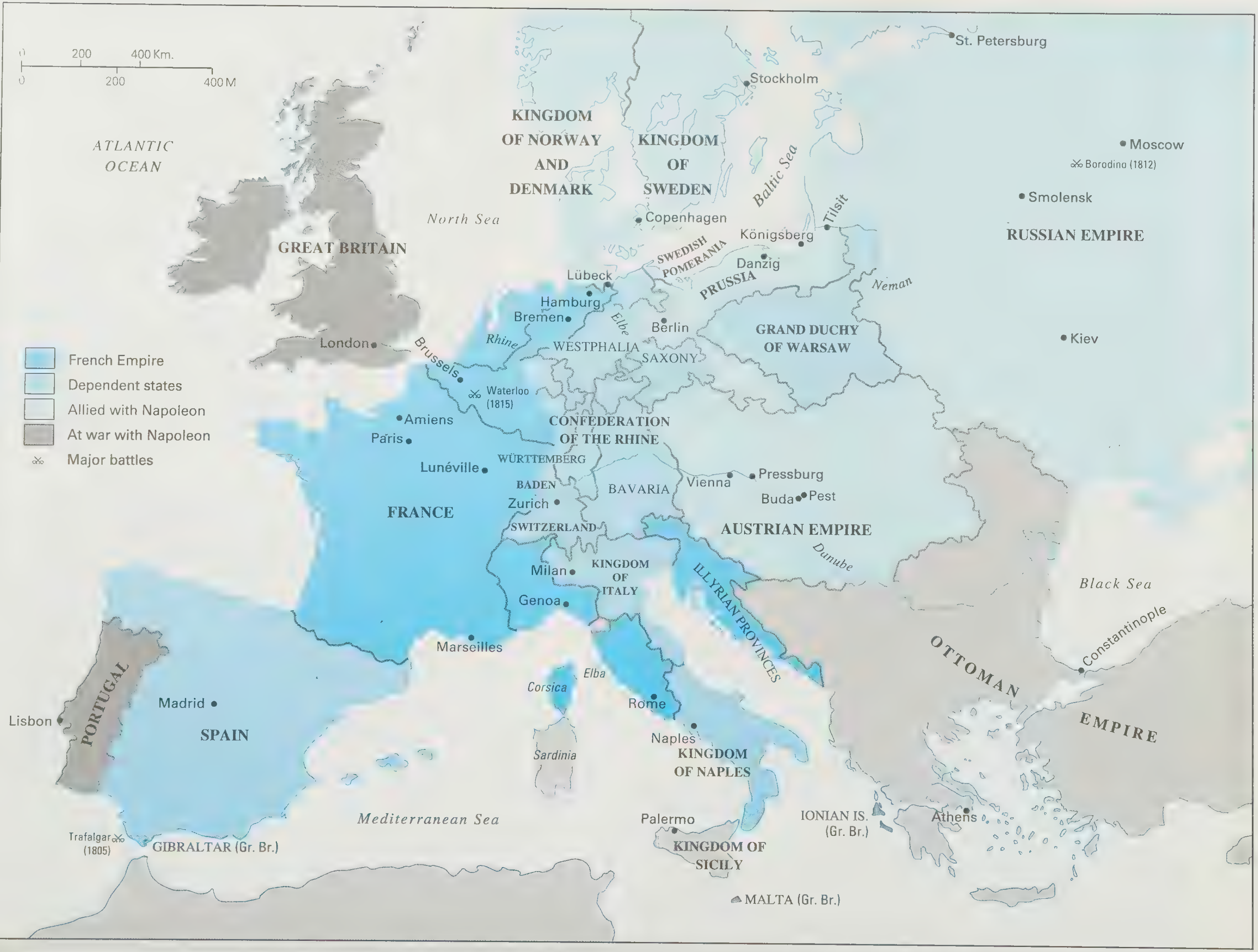
After the debacle in Russia, Austria and Prussia deserted Napoleon and entered an alliance with England and Russia. Napoleon was forced to abdicate the French throne in April 1814 (ten years earlier he had declared himself an emperor, Napoleon I, and France an empire). The allies exiled Napoleon to the island of Elba off the coast of Italy and restored the Bourbon monarchy.

REVOLUTION SPREADS, CONSERVATIVES RESPOND

News of revolutionary events in France destabilized the colonial regime in Saint Domingue, a small French colony on the western half of the island of Hispaniola. The result in 1798 was the first successful slave rebellion. A few years later, even as the dictatorship of Napoleon was undermining the achievements of the French Revolution, revolutionary ideology was spreading and taking hold elsewhere in the Americas and Europe. In the Americas the legacies of the American and French Revolutions led to a new round of struggles for independence (discussed later in this chapter). In Europe, the French Revolution promoted nationalism and republicanism, but the spread of revolutionary fervor was checked by reaction as monarchs formed an alliance to protect themselves from any more revolutionary outbreaks.

The Haitian Revolution

In 1789 Saint Domingue was among the richest European colonies in the Americas. The colony produced two-thirds of France's tropical imports and generated nearly one-third of all French foreign trade. The island's wealth rested on a brutal


0
200
400 Km.
0
200
400 M
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
KINGDOM OF NORWAY AND DENMARK
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
GREAT BRITAIN
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
SWEDISH POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
WESTPHALIA
SAXONY
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
WÜRTTEMBERG
BADEN
BAVARIA
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
KINGDOM OF ITALY
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
KINGDOM OF SICILY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
IONIAN IS. (Gr. Br.)
MALTA (Gr. Br.)
GIBRALTAR (Gr. Br.)
St. Petersburg
Stockholm
Moscow
Borodino (1812)
Smolensk
Copenhagen
Königsberg
Tilsit
Danzig
Neman
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Elbe
Berlin
Kiev
London
Brussels
Rhine
Waterloo (1815)
Amiens
Paris
Lunéville
Zurich
Vienna
Pressburg
Buda
Pest
Danube
Milan
Genoa
Marseilles
Corsica
Elba
Sardinia
Rome
Naples
Constantinople
Athens
Madrid
Lisbon
Palermo
Trafalgar (1805)
French Empire
Dependent states
Allied with Napoleon
At war with Napoleon
Major battles

slave regime. Saint Domingue's harsh punishments and poor living conditions were notorious in the Caribbean. Because of high mortality rates and expanding demand for labor, the majority of the colony's 500,000 slaves were African-born.

In 1789, when news of the calling of France's Estates General arrived on the island, the wealthy planters sent to Paris a delegation charged with seeking more home rule and greater economic freedom for Saint Domingue. The *gens de couleur* also sent representatives. Mostly small planters or urban merchants who owned slaves, these free mixed-race delegates sought an end to race discrimination and a measure of political equality with whites. They did not seek freedom for slaves because many of them were slave owners themselves.

Colonial administration weakened as a result of turmoil in France, permitting rich whites, poor whites, and the gens de couleur to pursue their narrow interests in an increasingly bitter struggle. Given the island's brutal slave regime, there was no way to control the violence once it was under way. By 1791 the island's whites, led by the planters, and the gens de couleur were engaged in open warfare. This breach between the two groups of slave owners gave the slaves an opening. A slave rebellion began in the north and spread throughout the colony. Plantations were destroyed, masters and overseers killed, and crops burned.

The rebellious slaves eventually gained the upper hand under the leadership of François Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture, a former domestic slave. He was politically strengthened when the radical National Convention in France abolished slavery in 1793. He overcame his rivals in Saint Domingue, defeated a British expeditionary force in 1798, and then invaded neighboring Santo Domingo, freeing the slaves there. Although Toussaint continued to assert his loyalty to France, he gave the French government no effective role in local affairs.

In 1802 Napoleon sent a large military force to Saint Domingue to reestablish French authority and slavery. Few women had taken up arms during the first stages of the Haitian Revolution in Saint Domingue, but, when these French troops arrived, large numbers of women actively supported the resistance. In less than two years the French lost forty thousand men to wounds and yellow fever. Toussaint was captured and sent to France, where he died. But Napoleon's ambitions were defeated. Saint Domingue became the free republic of Haiti.

The Congress of Vienna and Conservative Retrenchment

The ideology of the French Revolution and Napoleon's imperial ambitions had threatened the very survival of the European old order. Ancient monarchies had been overturned and dynasties replaced with interlopers. Long-established political institutions had been tossed aside and long-recognized international borders ignored. The very existence of the nobility and church had been put at risk. Under the leadership of the Austrian foreign minister Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859), Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia worked together in Vienna to create a comprehensive peace settlement that would ensure the survival of the conservative order.

Because the participants in the Congress of Vienna believed that a strong and stable France was the best guarantee of future peace, the French monarchy was reestablished and France's 1792 borders were recognized. Most of the continental European powers received some territorial gains, for Metternich sought to offset French power with a balance of power. In addition, Austria, Russia, and Prussia formed a separate

Map 20.1 Napoleon's Europe, 1810 By 1810, Great Britain was the only European power at war with Napoleon. Because of the loss of the French fleet at Trafalgar in 1805, Napoleon was unable to threaten Britain with invasion. Britain therefore was able to actively assist the resistance movements in Spain and Portugal that helped to weaken French power.

alliance to confront more actively the revolutionary and nationalist energies that the French Revolution had unleashed. This "Holy Alliance" acted decisively in 1820 to defeat liberal revolutions in Spain and Italy.

Nationalism, Reform, and Revolution

Despite the power of these conservative monarchs, popular support for national self-determination and democratic reform grew throughout Europe. In 1821, Greek patriots, their homeland under Ottoman control since the fifteenth century, launched an independence movement. After years of struggle, Russia, France, and Great Britain forced Ottoman recognition of Greek independence in 1830.

Placed on the throne of France by the victorious allies in 1814, Louis XVIII ruled as a constitutional monarch until his death in 1824. When his brother, Charles X, repudiated the constitution in 1830, a popular revolution in Paris soon forced him to abdicate. His successor, his cousin Louis Philippe (r. 1830–1848), accepted the constitution and expanded voting privileges.

Prior to the French Revolution, Britain had been the most democratic society in Europe. The violence of the Revolution in France, however, made the British aristocracy and the conservative Tory Party fearful of any mass movement. In 1815 the British government limited the importation of foreign grain, thus increasing food prices. When poor consumers protested, the government outlawed most public meetings and, in Manchester, used troops against the protesters. Reacting against these policies, reformers gained the passage of laws that increased the power of the House of Commons, redistributed votes from agricultural to industrial districts, and expanded voting rights. New labor and economic reforms addressing the grievances of workers were passed.

Conservatives, however, continued to hold the upper hand in Europe. Finally, in 1848 the desire for democratic reform and for national self-determination and the frustrations of urban workers led to a vast upheaval. In Paris, members of the middle class united with workers to overthrow the regime of Louis Philippe and create the Second French Republic. All adult males were given voting rights, slavery was abolished in French colonies, the death penalty was ended, and a ten-hour workday was legislated for Paris. But when workers rose up against the government, French troops were called out to crush them. Desiring the reestablishment of order, the French elected Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, president in December 1848. Three years later, he overturned the constitution, ruling briefly as dictator and then as Emperor Napoleon III until 1871.

Reformers in Hungary, Italy, and Bohemia pressed for greater national self-determination. When the Austrian monarchy hesitated to meet these demands, students and workers in Vienna took to the streets. With revolution spreading, Metternich, the symbol of reaction, fled Vienna in disguise. However, the new Austrian emperor, Franz Joseph (r. 1848–1916), was able to use Russian military assistance and loyal Austrian troops to reestablish central authority.

Simultaneously, middle-class reformers and workers in Berlin joined forces to compel the Prussian king to accept a liberal constitution and seek unification of the German states. But when the Constituent Assembly became entangled in diplomatic conflicts with Austria and Denmark, Frederick William IV (r. 1840–1861) was able to reassert his authority, thwarting both constitutional reform and unification.

Despite their heroism on the barricades of Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, the revolutionaries of 1848 failed to gain either their nationalist or their republican objectives. Throughout these crises, monarchs retained the support not only of aristocrats but of professional militaries, largely recruited from among peasants, who had little sympathy for urban workers. Revolutionary coalitions, in contrast, were fragile and lacked clear objectives. Workers' demands for higher wages, lower prices, and labor reform often drove their middle-class allies into the arms of the reactionaries.

NATION BUILDING IN THE AMERICAS

As the successful fight by Britain's thirteen North American colonies revealed, a radical transformation had begun in the New World in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In their new environment, European colonists had become a new people, perceiving themselves as different and eager to protect their own interests. Spurred by this sense of a distinct identity and buttressed both by Enlightenment ideology, which exalted political freedom, and by the example of the United States, most of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of the New World declared their independence in the early decades of the nineteenth century (see Map 20.2).

Roots of Revolution in Latin America

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, Spain and Portugal held vast colonial possessions in the Western Hemisphere, although their power had declined relative to that of their British and French rivals. Both Iberian empires had reformed colonial administration and strengthened their military forces in the eighteenth century. Despite these efforts, the same economic and political forces that had undermined British rule in the thirteen colonies were present in Spanish America and Brazil.

Wealthy colonial residents of Latin America were frustrated by the political and economic power of colonial officials and angered by high taxes and monopolies. By 1800, the examples of the American and French Revolutions had stirred enthusiasm for self-government. The great works of the Enlightenment as well as revolutionary documents like the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of the Rights of Man circulated widely in Latin America. But it was Napoleon's decision to invade Portugal (1807) and Spain (1808), not revolutionary ideas, that ignited Latin America's struggle for independence.

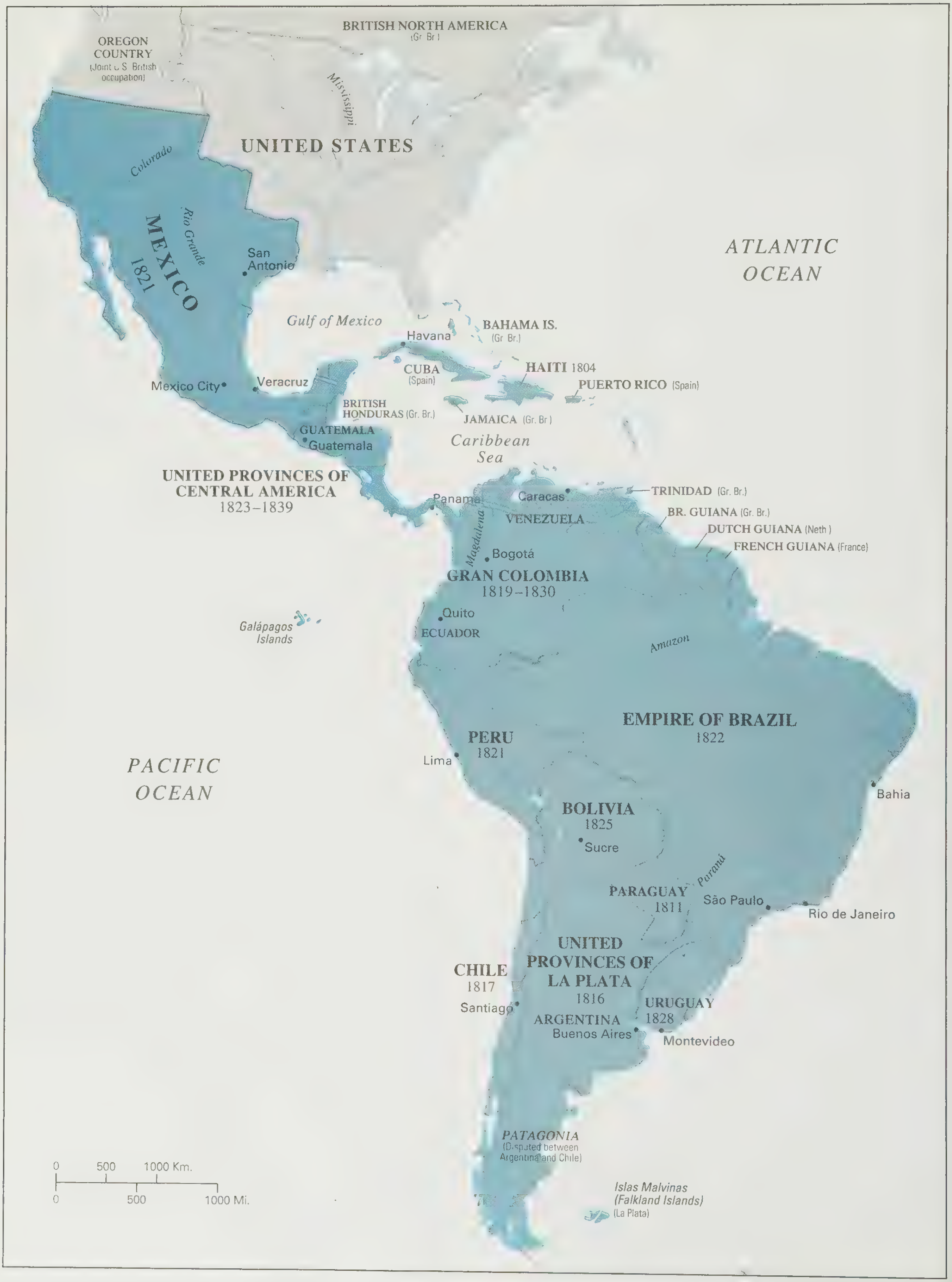
When Spanish patriots fighting against the French created a new political body, the *Junta Central*, and claimed the right to exercise the Spanish king's powers over the colonies, a vocal minority in the colonies wondered why the Junta in Spain, rather than local elites, should rule them. Local elites overthrew Spanish officials in Venezuela, Mexico, and Bolivia and created their own Juntas. The harsh repression that followed these early uprisings further polarized public opinion and gave rise to a greater sense of a separate American nationality. By 1810 Spanish colonial authorities were facing a new round of revolutions more clearly focused on the achievement of independence.

Spanish South America

In Caracas (the capital city of modern Venezuela), a revolutionary coalition led by creoles (colonial-born whites) declared independence in 1811. Although this Junta espoused popular sovereignty and representative democracy, its leaders were large landowners who defended slavery and opposed full citizenship for the black and mixed-race majority. Spanish loyalists in the colonial administration and church hierarchy were able to rally thousands of free blacks and slaves to defend the empire. Faced with this determined resistance, the revolutionary movement placed overwhelming political authority in the hands of its military leader Simón Bolívar (1783–1830), who became the preeminent leader of the independence movement in Spanish South America.

Between 1813 and 1817 military advantage shifted back and forth between the patriots and loyalists, but by 1820 momentum swung irreversibly to the patriots. Bolívar's forces defeated the last Spanish armies in 1824 and attempted to draw the former Spanish colonies into a formal confederation. The first step was to unify Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador into a single nation: Gran Colombia.

Revolutionary activity also arose in Buenos Aires (the capital city of modern Argentina), where a coalition of militia commanders, merchants, and


BRITISH NORTH AMERICA
(Gr. Br.)
OREGON COUNTRY
(Joint U.S.-British occupation)
Mississippi
UNITED STATES
Colorado
Rio Grande
MEXICO
1821
San Antonio
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
BAHAMA IS.
(Gr. Br.)
Havana
CUBA
(Spain)
HAITI 1804
PUERTO RICO (Spain)
Mexico City
Veracruz
BRITISH HONDURAS (Gr. Br.)
JAMAICA (Gr. Br.)
GUATEMALA
Guatemala
Caribbean Sea
UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA
1823–1839
Panama
Caracas
TRINIDAD (Gr. Br.)
BR. GUIANA (Gr. Br.)
VENEZUELA
DUTCH GUIANA (Neth.)
FRENCH GUIANA (France)
Magdalena
Bogotá
GRAN COLOMBIA
1819–1830
Quito
ECUADOR
Galápagos Islands
Amazon
EMPIRE OF BRAZIL
1822
PERU
1821
Lima
PACIFIC OCEAN
Bahia
BOLIVIA
1825
Sucre
Paraná
PARAGUAY
1811
São Paulo
Rio de Janeiro
UNITED PROVINCES OF LA PLATA
1816
CHILE
1817
Santiago
URUGUAY
1828
ARGENTINA
Buenos Aires
Montevideo
PATAGONIA
(Disputed between Argentina and Chile)
Islas Malvinas
(Falkland Islands)
(La Plata)
0
500
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ranchers declared independence as the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata in 1816. Patriot leaders in Buenos Aires at first sought to retain control over the territory of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, which had been created in 1776 and included modern Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia. But Spanish loyalists in Uruguay and Bolivia and a separatist movement in Paraguay defeated these ambitions. Even within the territory of Argentina, the government in Buenos Aires was unable to control regional rivalries and political differences. As a result, the region rapidly descended into political chaos. In 1817, the government in Buenos Aires did manage to support a mixed force of Chileans and Argentines led by José de San Martín (1778–1850), who planned to attack Spanish military forces across the Andes Mountains in Chile and Peru. After gaining victory in Chile, San Martín pushed on to Peru in 1820. Unable to make progress, he surrendered command of patriot forces in Peru to Simón Bolívar, who overcame final Spanish resistance in 1824.

Mexico

Independence movements arose in Mexico as well. The first stage of the revolution occurred in the Bajío region of north-central Mexico, where many Amerindian communities had lost lands to growing mining and commercial agricultural enterprises. Resulting tensions had been worsened by a cycle of crop failures and epidemics that began in 1780. When news of Napoleon's invasion of Spain reached Mexico, the Bajío region was afflicted already with high grain prices, unemployment, and privation.

On September 16, 1810, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, the parish priest of the small town of Dolores, rang the church bells, attracting a crowd of thousands. In a fiery speech he urged the crowd to rise up against the oppression of Spanish officials. The rural and urban poor who joined his movement in the tens of thousands lacked military discipline and adequate weapons but knew who their oppressors were. Wealthy Mexicans at first were sympathetic to Hidalgo's objectives, but they soon recognized the threat that the angry masses who followed Hidalgo posed to their interests, and they offered their support to Spanish authorities. The military tide soon turned against Hidalgo. He was captured, tried, and executed in 1811.

The revolution continued under the leadership of the priest José María Morelos, a former student of Hidalgo. Morelos created a formidable fighting force and, in 1813, convened a congress that declared independence and drafted a constitution. Nevertheless, loyalist forces proved too strong for Morelos. He was defeated and executed in 1815.

Colonial rule seemed secure in 1820. However, news of the military revolt in Spain unsettled the conservative groups and church officials who had defended Spanish rule against Hidalgo and Morelos. In 1821, Colonel Agustín Iturbide and other loyalist commanders forged an alliance with remaining insurgents and declared Mexico's independence. The conservative origins of Mexico's transition to independence were revealed by the creation of a monarchial form of government with Iturbide as emperor. In early 1823, however, Iturbide was overthrown, and Mexico became a republic.

Brazil

As the French invaded Portugal, the royal family fled to Brazil, where King John VI maintained his court for over a decade. The presence of the royal family helped to maintain the loyalty of the colonial elite and to stimulate the local economy. The defeat of French forces in Portugal led to calls for King John VI to return. In 1820 a liberal revolt in Portugal forced him to return to Europe. He left his son Pedro in Brazil as regent.

Map 20.2 Latin America in 1830 By 1830, patriot forces had overturned the Spanish and Portuguese Empires in the Western Hemisphere. Regional conflicts, local wars, and foreign interventions challenged the survival of many of these new nations following independence.

Many Brazilians had grown tired of economic dependence and of the arrogance of Portuguese soldiers and bureaucrats. Portuguese demands that Pedro also return to Lisbon and growing fears that troops would be sent to discipline Brazil increased support for independence. In 1822, Pedro declared Brazilian independence. Unlike its neighbors, which all became constitutional republics, Brazil established a constitutional monarchy with Pedro I as emperor. The monarchy survived until his son Pedro II was overthrown in 1889 by republicans.

THE PROBLEM OF ORDER

All the newly independent nations of the Western Hemisphere had difficulty in establishing stable political institutions. The idea of popular sovereignty found broad support, and written constitutions and elected assemblies were put in place, often before the actual achievement of independence. Even in the hemisphere's two monarchies, Mexico and Brazil, the emperors sought to legitimate their authority by agreeing to the creation of representative assemblies. Nevertheless, widespread support for constitutional order and for representative government failed to prevent bitter factional conflict, regionalism, the appearance of personalist leaders, and in some cases military uprisings.

Constitutional Experiments

Revolutionary leaders in both the United States and Latin America espoused constitutionalism. They believed that the careful description of political powers in written constitutions offered the best protection for individual rights and liberties. In practice, however, many of the new constitutions proved unworkable. The United States scrapped the Articles of Confederation and ratified a new constitution in 1789. Between 1811 and 1833 Venezuela and Chile alone ratified and then rejected a combined total of nine constitutions.

Important differences in colonial political experience influenced later developments in the Americas. The ratification of a new constitution in the United States was the culmination of a long historical process that had begun with the development of English constitutional law and continued under colonial charters. Colonial government in British North America was more democratic and more tolerant of factions than were the colonial governments in Portuguese and Spanish America.

Democratic passions and the desire for effective self-rule in the Americas led to significant political reform even in the region's remaining colonies. Through the 1830s Canada was without strong central government. Political life was dominated by a colonial governor and by appointed advisory councils drawn from the local elites. Elected assemblies existed within each of the major administrative subdivisions, but they exercised limited power. Agitation to end oligarchic rule and make government responsive to the will of the assemblies led, in 1837 and 1838, to armed rebellions. Britain's response to these conflicts was to accept a broad political reform that expanded self-rule and recognized Canada's "national" character by creating a Confederation with a strengthened central government in 1867.

The path to effective constitutional government was rockier to the south. Because neither Spain nor Portugal had permitted anything like colonial North America's elected legislatures and municipal governments, the drafters of Latin American constitutions were less constrained by practical political experience. As a result, many of the new Latin American nations experimented with untested political institutions.

Most Latin American nations found it difficult to define the political role of the Catholic Church after independence. In the colonial period the Catholic Church held a religious monopoly, controlled all levels of education, and dominated intellectual life. Many early constitutions aimed to reduce this power by making education secular and by permitting the practice of other religions.

Limiting the military's power also proved to be a constitutional stumbling block in Latin America. The wars for independence had elevated the prestige of military leaders. Once the wars were over, Bolívar and other former military commanders seldom proved willing to subordinate themselves to civilian authorities. At the same time, frustrated by the often chaotic workings of constitutional democracy, few citizens were willing to support civilian politicians in any contest with the military. As a result, many Latin American militaries successfully resisted civilian control. Brazil, ruled by Emperor Pedro I, was the principal exception to this pattern.

Personalist Leaders

Successful patriot leaders in both the United States and Latin America gained mass followings during the wars for independence. They recruited and mobilized popular support by using patriotic symbols and by carefully associating their actions with national objectives. After independence, many patriot military leaders were able to use their personal followings to gain national political leadership.

In Latin America, personalist leaders who gained and held political power without constitutional sanction were commonly called *caudillos*. This region's slow development of stable political institutions made personalist politics more influential than was the case in the United States. Nevertheless, charismatic politicians in the United States such as Andrew Jackson did sometimes challenge constitutional limits to their authority as did the caudillos of Latin America. Unlike Latin America, however, the United States never experienced an armed rebellion provoked by an unfavorable electoral result. The Constitution of the United States was never suspended, and no national election result in the United States was ever successfully overturned by violence. Latin America's personalist leaders, however, often ignored constitutional restraints on their authority, and election results seldom determined access to presidential power. As a result, by 1900, every Latin American nation had experienced dictatorship.

The Threat of Regionalism

After independence, new national governments were generally weaker than the colonial governments they replaced. In debates over tariffs, tax and monetary policies, and, in many nations, slavery and the slave trade, regional elites often were willing to lead secessionist movements or to provoke civil war rather than accept laws that threatened their interests. Some of the hemisphere's newly independent nations did not survive these struggles; others lost territories to aggressive neighbors.

In Spanish America, all of the postindependence efforts to forge large multistate federations failed. For example, Central America and Mexico maintained their colonial-era administrative association after independence in 1821. After the overthrow of Iturbide's imperial rule in Mexico in 1823, regional politicians created the independent Republic of Central America. Regional rivalries and civil wars during the 1820s and 1830s forced the breakup of that entity as well, leading to the creation of five separate nations. After independence, Bolívar attempted to maintain the colonial unity of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador by creating the nation of Gran Colombia with its capital in Bogotá, but even before his death in 1830, Venezuela and Ecuador achieved independence from Colombia. Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia also had been united in colonial times, but, with the defeat of Spain, political leaders in Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia all elected to declare independence.

In the United States the defense of both state and regional interests played an important role in the framing of the Constitution. Many important constitutional provisions represented compromises forged among competing state or regional leaders. Nevertheless, the nation was still threatened by regional rivalries. Slavery divided the nation into two separate and increasingly competitive societies. A rising tide of immigration to the northern states in the 1830s and 1840s began to move the center of power in the House of Representatives away from the South. Territorial expansion to the west also posed a direct threat because it placed the issue of slavery at the center of national debate. Would slavery be allowed to expand into new territories? Could slavery be protected if new states admitted to the Union were overwhelmingly free?

In 1860 Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865), who was committed to checking the spread of slavery, was elected president of the United States. In response, the southern planter elite chose the dangerous course of secession. Lincoln was able to preserve the Union, but his victory was purchased at an enormous cost. The U.S. Civil War was the most destructive and bloody conflict in the history of the Western Hemisphere. More than 500,000 lives were lost before the seceding southern states surrendered in 1865. Victory not only permitted the abolition of slavery but transferred national political power to a northern elite committed to industrial expansion and federal support for railroads and other internal improvements.

Native Peoples and the Nation-State

During late colonial times, to avoid armed conflict and to limit the costs of frontier defense, Spanish, Portuguese, and British imperial governments attempted to limit the expansion of settlements into territories already occupied by Amerindians. The colonial powers' role as mediator and protector of native peoples ended with independence.

The military potential of still-independent Amerindian peoples posed a significant challenge to many Western Hemisphere republics, however. Weakened by civil wars and constitutional crises, many new nations were less able to maintain frontier peace than earlier colonial governments had been. After independence, Amerindian peoples succeeded in pushing back some frontier settlements. Nevertheless, native military resistance was finally overcome by the end of the 1880s in both North and South America.

After the end of the American Revolution, tens of thousands of settlers entered territories guaranteed to Amerindians by treaty. In Ohio alone more than 200,000 white settlers were present by 1810. Native leaders responded by seeking the support of British officials in Canada and by forging broad intertribal alliances, but by 1840 the once numerous and powerful Amerindian cultures located east of the Mississippi River had been defeated and, in many cases, forced to relocate farther west.

White settlers then pushed across the Mississippi River into Arkansas and Missouri, forcing native peoples to cede those lands. In 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, forcing the removal of Cherokees and other eastern peoples to lands west of the Mississippi. When the removal was carried out in 1837 and 1838, nearly half of the forced migrants died on this "Trail of Tears."

After the U.S. Civil War, the Amerindians of the Great Plains were menaced by a growing population of settlers. Buffalo herds were hunted to near extinction for their hides, and traditional lands were lost to farmers and cattlemen. Over nearly four decades of armed conflict with the United States Army, many Amerindian peoples were forced to give up their land and their traditional ways.

The native peoples of Argentina and Chile effectively checked the southern expansion of agriculture and ranching until the 1850s. Amerindian raiders operated within 100 miles (160 kilometers) of Buenos Aires into the 1860s. But by the 1860s, population increase, political stability, and military modernization allowed Argentina and Chile to take the offensive. In 1870 General Julio Roca organized an overwhelming military force to crush all native resistance in Argentina. Thousands of Amerindians were killed and the survivors driven onto marginal lands. The story in Chile was the same.

Navajo leaders in Washington to negotiate As settlers, ranchers, and miners pushed west in the nineteenth century, leaders of Amerindian peoples were forced to negotiate territorial concessions with representatives of the U.S. government. In order to impress Amerindian peoples with the wealth and power of the United States, many leaders were invited to Washington, D.C. In this 1874 photo, Navajo leaders are shown together with their Anglo translators in Washington, D.C. (#5851 Frank McNill Collection, State Records Center & Archives, Sante Fe, NM)

THE CHALLENGE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

During the nineteenth century, the newly independent nations of the Western Hemisphere struggled to realize the Enlightenment ideals of freedom and individual liberty. The cultural and racial diversity of the hemisphere presented many obstacles to reformers. Nevertheless, by century's end reform movements in many of the hemisphere's nations succeeded in ending the slave trade, abolishing slavery, expanding voting rights, and integrating new waves of immigrants from Asia and Europe.

The consequences of increased industrialization and greater integration of the evolving world economy also challenged the region's political stability and social arrangements. Although a small number of nations embraced industrialization, most Western Hemisphere economies became increasingly dependent on the export of raw materials—agricultural goods and minerals. Efforts to assert national economic control, as with contemporary movements for social reform, produced powerful new political forces in the American nations.

Abolition

In nearly every new nation, revolutionary leaders asserted universal ideals of freedom and citizenship that contrasted harshly with slavery. Nevertheless, slavery survived throughout most of the hemisphere until the 1850s. In regions where the export of plantation products was most important—such as the United States, Brazil, and Cuba—abolition was achieved later and with great difficulty.

During the long struggle to end slavery in the United States, abolitionists argued that slavery offended both morality and the universal rights asserted in the Declaration of Independence. Two groups that were denied full rights of citizenship, women and free African-Americans, played important roles in the abolitionist cause. Women served on the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society and produced some of the most effective propaganda against slavery. When social conservatives attacked this highly visible public role, many women abolitionists responded by becoming public advocates of female suffrage as well. Frederick Douglass, a former slave, became one of the most effective abolitionist speakers and writers. Other more radical black leaders pushed the abolitionist movement to accept the inevitability of violence—either civil war or slave insurrection—in ending slavery.

During the U.S. Civil War, pressure for emancipation mounted as tens of thousands of black freemen and escaped slaves joined the Union army. Hundreds of thousands of other slaves fled their masters' plantations and farms for the protection of advancing northern forces. Finally in 1863, in the midst of the Civil War, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which ended slavery in rebel states. Final abolition was accomplished after the war by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

In Brazil slavery survived for more than two decades after the United States abolished it. Progress not only was slower but depended on foreign pressure. Once Great Britain ended the slave trade to its Caribbean colonies, it began to pressure other slave societies to end slave importations. In 1830, Brazil signed a treaty with the British ending the slave trade. Despite this agreement, Brazil illegally imported over a half-million more African slaves before the British navy finally forced compliance in the 1850s.

As abolitionist sentiment grew among educated Brazilians, reformers forced the passage of laws that provided for the gradual emancipation of slaves in the 1870s. With political support for slaves weakening in the 1880s, growing numbers of slaves forced the issue by fleeing from bondage. Legislation abolishing slavery finally was passed by the Brazilian parliament and accepted by Emperor Pedro II in 1888.

Slavery persisted in Spain's remaining Caribbean colonies until the 1880s. It was weakened first by Britain's use of diplomatic pressure and naval force to limit the arrival of African slaves after 1820. More important, however, was the development of support for abolition (see Voices and Visions: Opportunities for Freedom Within the Cuban Slave System). Both Cuba and Puerto Rico had larger white and free colored populations than the Caribbean colonies of Britain and France. As a result, there was less fear in Cuba and Puerto Rico that abolition would lead to the political ascendancy of former slaves, which had occurred in Haiti. In Puerto Rico, local reformers sought and gained the abolition of slavery in 1873. In Cuba, the Spanish government moved gradually toward abolition, finally abolishing slavery in 1886.

Immigration

Between 1500 and 1760, African slaves entering the Western Hemisphere outnumbered Euro-

Opportunities for Freedom Within the Cuban Slave System

During the nineteenth century, visitors from the United States to Cuba sometimes commented on differences in the systems of slavery that had developed in the two nations. Nearly all of these observers remarked on the greater opportunities for freedom provided for in Spanish law. Slave states in the United States had severely limited manumission in the decades that preceded abolition, but Cuban slaves continued to escape bondage in large numbers in slavery's final years. Here are the observations of one American visitor in his 1885 book.

There are said to be three hundred thousand free negroes on the island [and] about one hundred and forty thousand male and about sixty thousand female slaves. To carry on the great industry of the island as systematized by the planters, this number of hands is entirely inadequate. It is sometimes asked how there came to be so many free negroes in the island. It should be clearly understood that the laws which govern Cuba are made by the home government, not by the planters or natives of Cuba, and that indirectly these laws have long favored emancipation of the blacks. For many years any slave has enjoyed the right to go to a magistrate and have himself appraised, and upon paying the price thus set upon himself he can receive his free papers. The valuation is made by three persons, of whom the master appoints one, and the magistrate two. The slave may pay by installments of fifty dollars at a time but he owes his full service to his master until the last and entire payment is made. If the valuation be twelve hundred dollars, after the slave has paid one hundred he owns one twelfth of himself, and the master eleven twelfths, and so on. Until all is paid, however, the master's dominion over the slave is complete. There has also long been another peculiar law in operation. A slave may on the same valuation compel his master to transfer him to any person who will pay the money in full, and this has often been done where slave and master disagree. This law, as will be seen, must have operated as it was designed to do, as a check upon masters, and as an inducement for them to remove special causes of complaint and dissatisfaction. It has also enabled slaveholders of the better class, in the case of ill-usage of blacks, to relieve them by paying down their appraised value and appropriating their services to themselves. All this relates to the past rather than the present, since, as we have explained, the relationship of slave and master is now so nearly at an end as to render such arrangements inoperative.

Why did the Spanish colonial government of Cuba pass laws that limited the power of slave owners? Does this commentator seem to approve of Spanish laws permitting emancipation? How did this system affect relations between slaves and masters? How did slavery in Cuba differ from slavery in the United States?

Source: Abridged from Louis A. Perez, ed., *Slaves, Sugar, and Colonial Society: Travel Accounts of Cuba, 1801–1899* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1992), 243–244.

pean immigrants by nearly two to one. Another 4 million or so African slaves were imported before the effective end of the slave trade at the end of the 1850s. As the African slave trade came to an end, the arrival of millions of immigrants from Europe and Asia in the nineteenth century contributed to the further transformation of the Western Hemisphere.

During the nineteenth century Europe provided the majority of immigrants to the Western Hemisphere. The United States received approximately 600,000 European immigrants in the 1830s, 1.5 million in the 1840s, and then 2.5 million *per decade* until 1880. In the 1890s, an astonishing total of 5.2 million immigrants arrived. European immigration to Latin America also increased dramatically after 1880. Combined immigration to Argentina and Brazil rose from just under 130,000 in the 1860s to 1.7 million in the 1890s. By 1910, 30 percent of the Argentine population was foreign-born, more than twice the proportion of the U.S. population. Argentina was an attractive destination for European immigrants, receiving more than twice as many immigrants as Canada between 1870 and 1930. Even so, immigration to Canada increased tenfold during this period.

Asian immigration to the Western Hemisphere also increased. Approximately 100,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in Peru between 1849 and 1875; more than 120,000 Chinese entered Cuba between 1847 and 1873; and about 50,000 Chinese immigrated to Canada by 1900. The United States, however, was the primary North American destination for Chinese immigrants, receiving 300,000 between 1854 and 1882. India also contributed to the social transformation of the Western Hemisphere, sending more than a half-million immigrants to the Caribbean region. British Guiana alone received 238,000 immigrants from the subcontinent.

Despite the obvious economic benefit that accompanied this inflow of people, hostility to immigration mounted in many nations. Nativist political movements argued that large numbers of new immigrants could not be successfully integrated into national political cultures. By the end of the century fear and prejudice led many governments in the Western Hemisphere to limit immigration or to distinguish between "desirable" and "undesirable" immigrants, commonly favoring Europeans over Asians.

Many intellectuals and political leaders wondered if the evolving mix of culturally diverse populations could sustain a common citizenship. As a result, efforts were directed toward compelling immigrants to assimilate. Schools became cultural battlegrounds where language, cultural values, and patriotic feelings were transmitted to the children of immigrants. From Argentina to Canada, school curricula were reformed to promote national culture. Fear and prejudice led to the proliferation of patriotic songs, the veneration of national flags and other symbols, and the development of national histories that emphasized patriotism and civic virtue.

Women's Rights and the Struggle for Social Justice

The abolition of slavery in the Western Hemisphere did not end racial discrimination or provide full political rights for every citizen. Not only blacks but also women, new immigrants, and native peoples in nearly every Western Hemisphere nation suffered the effects of political and economic discrimination. During the second half of the nineteenth century, reformers struggled to remove these limits on citizenship while also addressing the welfare needs of workers and the poor.

Progress toward equality between men and women was slow. No woman was able to receive a medical degree in Canada until 1895, so Canada's first women doctors were forced to train in the United States. Full enfranchisement occurred in Canada in the twentieth century, but Canadian women had gained the right to vote in some provincial and municipal elections before 1900. Like women in the United States, Canadian women provided leadership in temperance, child welfare, and labor reform movements. Argentina and Uruguay were among the first Latin American nations to provide public education for women. Both nations introduced coeducation in the 1870s. Chilean women gained access to some professional careers in the 1870s. In Argentina, the first woman doctor graduated from medical school in 1899. In Brazil, where many women were active in the abolitionist movement, four women graduated in medicine by 1882. More rapid progress was achieved in lower-status careers that less directly threatened male economic power. By the end of the century women dominated elementary school teaching throughout the Western Hemisphere.

From Canada to Argentina and Chile, the majority of working-class women had no direct involvement in these reform movements, but in their daily lives they succeeded in transforming gender relations. By the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of these women worked outside the home on farms, in markets, and, increasingly, in factories. Many bore full responsibility for providing for their children. Whether men thought women should remain in the home or not, by the end of the century women were unambiguously present in the economy (see also Chapter 23).

Throughout the hemisphere there was little progress toward eliminating racial discrimination. Blacks were denied the vote throughout the south in the United States. They also were subjected to the indignity of segregation—consigned to separate schools, hotels, restaurants, seats in public transportation, and even separate water fountains. Racial discrimination against blacks was also common in Latin America, though seldom spelled out in legal codes. After the abolition of slavery, black men and women organized to force an end to these oppressive systems.

Development and Underdevelopment

Although the Atlantic economy experienced three periods of economic contraction during the nineteenth century, nearly all the nations of the Western Hemisphere were richer in 1900 than in 1800. The Industrial Revolution, worldwide population growth, and an increasingly integrated world market stimulated economic expansion. Wheat, corn, wool, meats, and nonprecious minerals joined the region's earlier exports of silver, sugar, dyes, coffee, and cotton. The United States was the only Western Hemisphere nation to industrialize in the nineteenth century. To service distant markets, governments throughout the hemisphere constructed roads, railroads, canals, and telegraphs. They also sought to use tariff and monetary policies to promote economic diversification and growth. Yet by 1900 only three Western Hemisphere nations—the United States, Canada, and Argentina—had achieved levels of prosperity similar to those of western Europe.

The Children's Aid Society of Toronto Throughout the Western Hemisphere, women led the effort to develop social welfare institutions. Their leadership was most clearly evident in providing protection for poor and abandoned children. This photo shows a social worker and children sitting on the front step of the Children's Aid Society of Toronto in 1895. (City of Toronto Archives, #SC1-3)

Two distinct economic tracks were clearly visible among Western Hemisphere economies by 1900. One led to industrialization and prosperity—to what is now called *development*. The other continued colonial dependence on the export of raw materials and low-wage industries—*underdevelopment*. By the end of the nineteenth century, material prosperity was greater and economic development was more diversified in English-speaking North America than in the nations of Latin America. These important differences in development were due in part to cyclical swings in international markets.

When the United States gained independence in 1783, the world capitalist economy was in the first years of a four-decade period of rapid growth. With a large merchant fleet, a diversified economy that included some manufacturing, and adequate banking and insurance services, the United States benefited from the expanding world economy. Canada's struggle for greater political autonomy, which culminated in the Confederation in 1867, coincided with a second period of global economic expansion. Canada also benefited from its special trading relationship with the preeminent industrial power, Britain, and from a rising tide of immigrants after 1850.

Latin American nations, in contrast, gained independence in the 1820s, when the global economy was experiencing contraction due to the end of the Napoleonic Wars and market saturation provoked by the early stages of European industrialization. During the colonial period the region's economic resources had been concentrated on the production of agricultural and mining exports. After independence, those raw-material exports faced increased competition. Although these sectors experienced periods of great prosperity in the nineteenth century, their markets experienced sharp moves not only up but down. The history of these specialized Latin American economies, subject to periodic problems of oversupply and low prices, was one of boom and bust.

Weak governments, political instability, and, in some cases, civil war also slowed Latin American economic development. Because of the region's dependence on capital and technology obtained from abroad, Great Britain and, by the end of the century, the United States often were able to impose unfavorable trade conditions on Latin American governments and to protect British and American investments in Latin America from taxation and regulation by those governments. The combined impact of these domestic and international impediments to development became clear when Mexico, Chile, and Argentina failed to achieve high levels of domestic investment in manufacturing late in the nineteenth century, despite a rapid accumulation of wealth induced by a rising tide of income derived from traditional exports.

Altered Environments

Population growth, economic expansion, new technologies, and the introduction of plants and animals to new regions dramatically altered the Western Hemisphere's environment. Many of Cuba's forests were cut in the early nineteenth century to expand sugar production. The expansion of livestock raising put heavy pressure on often fragile environments in Argentina, Uruguay, southern Brazil, and the southwestern United States. On the North American prairies and the Argentine pampas, the use of plows eliminated many native grasses and increased the threat of soil erosion. In Brazil, coffee planters exhausted soil fertility with a destructive cycle of overplanting followed by expansion onto forest reserves cleared by cutting and burning. Expansion of mining resulted in erosion and pollution in the western United States, Chile, and Brazil.

Rapid urbanization also put heavy pressure on the environment. New York, Chicago, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Mexico City were among the world's fastest-growing cities in the nineteenth century. Governments strained to keep up with the need for sewers, clean water, and garbage disposal. A rising demand for building materials led to the rapid spread of the timber industry in many countries.

Efforts to meet increasing domestic demand for food and housing and to satisfy foreign demand for exports led to environmental degradation but also contributed significantly to the growth of the world economy and to regional prosperity. By the end of the nineteenth century, small-scale conservation efforts were under way in many nations, and the first national parks and nature reserves had been created. But when confronted by a choice between economic growth and the protection of the environment, all of the hemisphere's nations embraced growth.

CONCLUSION

The revolutions of the late eighteenth century began the transformation of Western society but did not complete it. In Europe, monarchy, multinational empires, and the established church retained the loyalty of millions and could call on large fiscal resources. Yet within a century the nation-state and the Enlightenment's legacy of rational inquiry, broadened political participation, and a secular intellectual culture would prevail. The nineteenth century witnessed enormous changes in the Western Hemisphere. Throughout the hemisphere, colonial rule was overturned and republican forms of government triumphed. By 1900, national governments were much stronger than they had been at independence. Although Latin America lagged behind the United States and Canada in institutionalizing democratic political reforms, Latin American nations were stronger and more open in 1900 than in 1850. All of the hemisphere's nations were better able to meet the threats of foreign intervention and regionalism as well. The increased strength of national governments made possible the abolition of slavery and the expansion of political rights.

Serious challenges remained. Amerindian peoples were relegated to reservations and excluded from national political life. Women did not receive full citizenship rights until the twentieth century. The baneful legacy of slavery and colonial racial stratification remained a barrier to many men and women. In 1900, nearly every American nation was wealthier, better educated, more democratic, and more populous than at independence. They also were generally more vulnerable to distant economic forces, more profoundly split between haves and have-nots, and more clearly divided into a rich North and a poorer South.

SUGGESTED READING

The American Revolutions has received a great deal of attention from scholars. Colin Bonwick, *The American Revolution* (1991), and Edward Countryman, *The American Revolution* (1985), provide excellent introductions. Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1992), is a brilliant examination of the ideological and cultural meanings of the Revolution.

For the role of women in the American Revolution see Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (1980), and Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800* (1980). Among the many works that deal with African-Americans and Amerindians during the era, see Sylvia Frey, *Water from Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (1991), and Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (1972).

For the French Revolution, George Rudé, *The Crowd in History: Popular Disturbances in France and England* (1981), remains the best introduction to the role of mass protest in the period. Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (1992), examines the gender content of revolutionary politics.

The Haitian Revolution has received less extensive coverage than the revolutions in America and France. C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins,* 2d ed. (1963), is the classic study. Anna J. Cooper, *Slavery and the French Revolutionists, 1788–1805* (1988), provides an overview.

For the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 see Arthur J. May, *The Age of Metternich, 1814–48*, rev. ed. (1963), for a brief survey. Paul Robertson's *Revolutions of 1848: A Social History* (1960) remains a valuable introduction to the period's social history.

For the independence era in Latin America see Jay Kinsbruner, *Independence in Spanish America* (1994). The postindependence political and economic struggles in Latin America can be traced in David Bushnell and Neil Macaulay, *The Emergence of Latin America in* *the Nineteenth Century* (1988). See also an excellent collection of essays, Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. 3, *From Independence to c. 1870* (1985).

Among the many worthy studies of the United States are William J. Cooper, *The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828–1856* (1978). For Canada see J. M. S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841–1857* (1967).

For an excellent summary of immigration see Walter Nugent, *Crossing: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870–1914* (1992). See also Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of Chinese in the United States, 1850–1870* (1964).

On the issue of slavery see David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (1984). For the women's rights movement see Ellen C. Du Bois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Woman's Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (1984). Among numerous excellent studies of Indian policies see Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890* (1984).

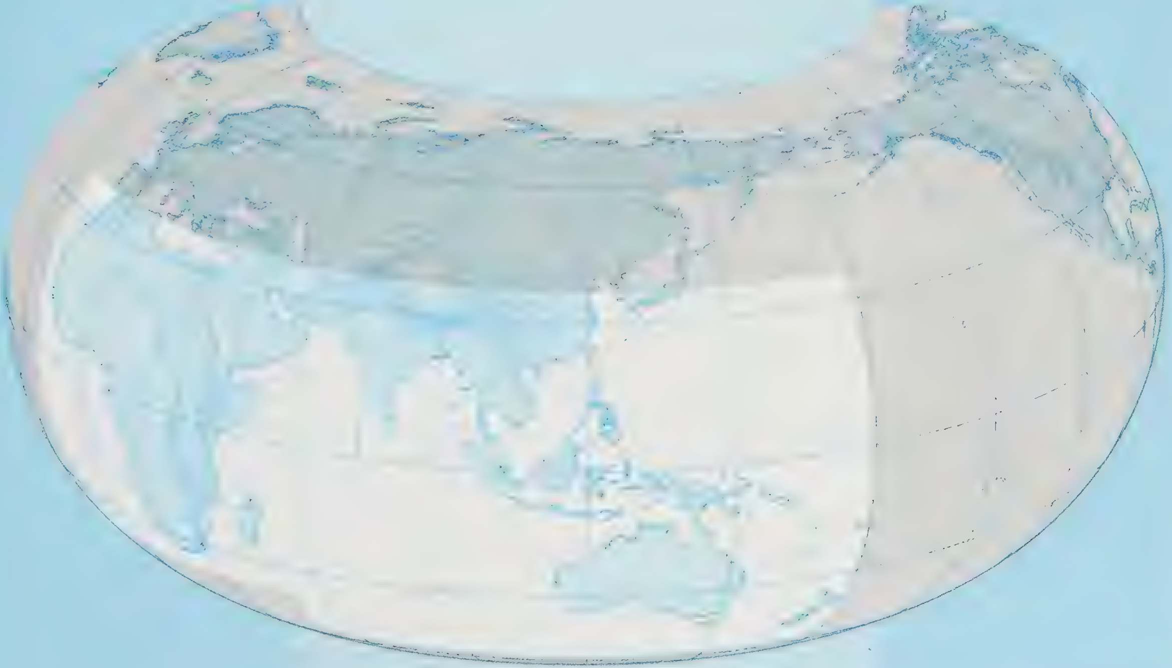
For abolition in Latin America and the Caribbean see Rebecca Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (1985). For an introduction to the place of women in Latin American society see Francesca Miller, *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice* (1991).

On the environmental consequence of North American development see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (1991).

Africa, India, and the New British Empire, 1750–1870

Changes and Exchanges in Africa • India Under Company Rule

Britain's Eastern Empire



In 1782 Tipu Sahib inherited the throne of Mysore, which his father had made the most powerful state in south India. The ambitious and talented new ruler also inherited a healthy distrust of the British East India Company's territorial ambitions. Before the company could invade Mysore, Tipu Sahib launched his own attack in 1785. He then sent an embassy to France in 1788 seeking an alliance against Britain. Neither of these ventures was immediately successful.

A decade later, the French chose to enter into a loose alliance with Tipu Sahib as part of a scheme to challenge Britain's colonial and commercial supremacy in the Indian Ocean. General Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt in 1798 to threaten British trade routes to India and hoped to use the alliance with Tipu Sahib to drive the British out of India. The French invasion of Egypt went well enough at first, but a British naval blockade and the ravages of disease crippled the French force. When the French withdrew, another military adventurer, Muhammad Ali, commander of the Ottoman army in Egypt, took advantage of the situation to revitalize Egypt and expand its rule. Tipu lost his life in 1799 while defending his capital against a British assault. Mysore was divided between the British and their Indian allies.

Between 1750 and 1870, both talented local leaders and European intruders were vying to build powerful states in South Asia and Africa. Midway through that period, it was by no means clear who would gain the upper hand. Britain and France were as likely to fight each other as they were to fight any Asian or African state. In 1800, the two nations were engaged in their third major war for overseas supremacy since 1750. By 1870, however, superior naval and industrial strength had gained Britain a decisive advantage over France.

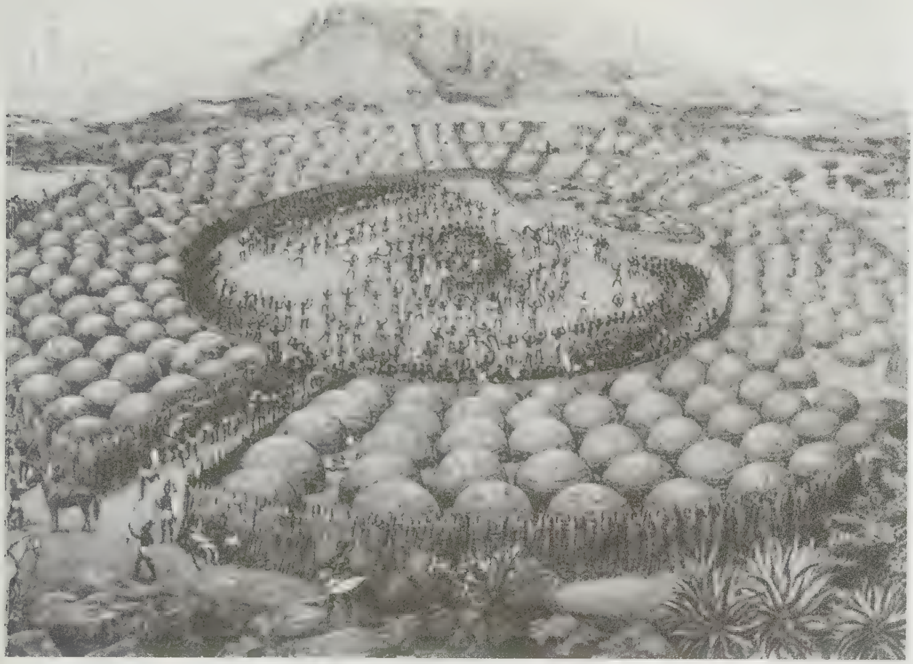
The new British Empire in the East included the subcontinent of India, settler colonies in Australia and New Zealand, and a growing network of trading outposts. Britain was able to enlarge its empire not only because of its military and economic strength but also because it did not face united opposition. By 1750 the Mughal Empire, which had ruled India since the end of the fifteenth century, was crumbling. Indigenous peoples elsewhere were split into many distinct units. Each state or society decided individually whether its interests were best served by resistance, cooperation, or alliance with the European intruders.

CHANGES AND EXCHANGES IN AFRICA

During the century before 1870, Africa underwent dynamic political changes and a great expansion of foreign trade. Indigenous African leaders as well as Middle Eastern and European imperialists built powerful new states or expanded old ones. As the continent's external slave trades died slowly under British pressure, trade in goods such as palm oil, ivory, timber, and gold grew sharply. In return Africans imported large quantities of machine-made textiles and firearms. These complex changes are best understood by looking at African regions separately.

New States in Southern and Inland West Africa

Most state growth in Africa between 1750 and 1870 was due to internal changes and leaders. The Zulu and other new kingdoms in southern Africa were the product of forces quite different from those giving rise to the Sokoto caliphate



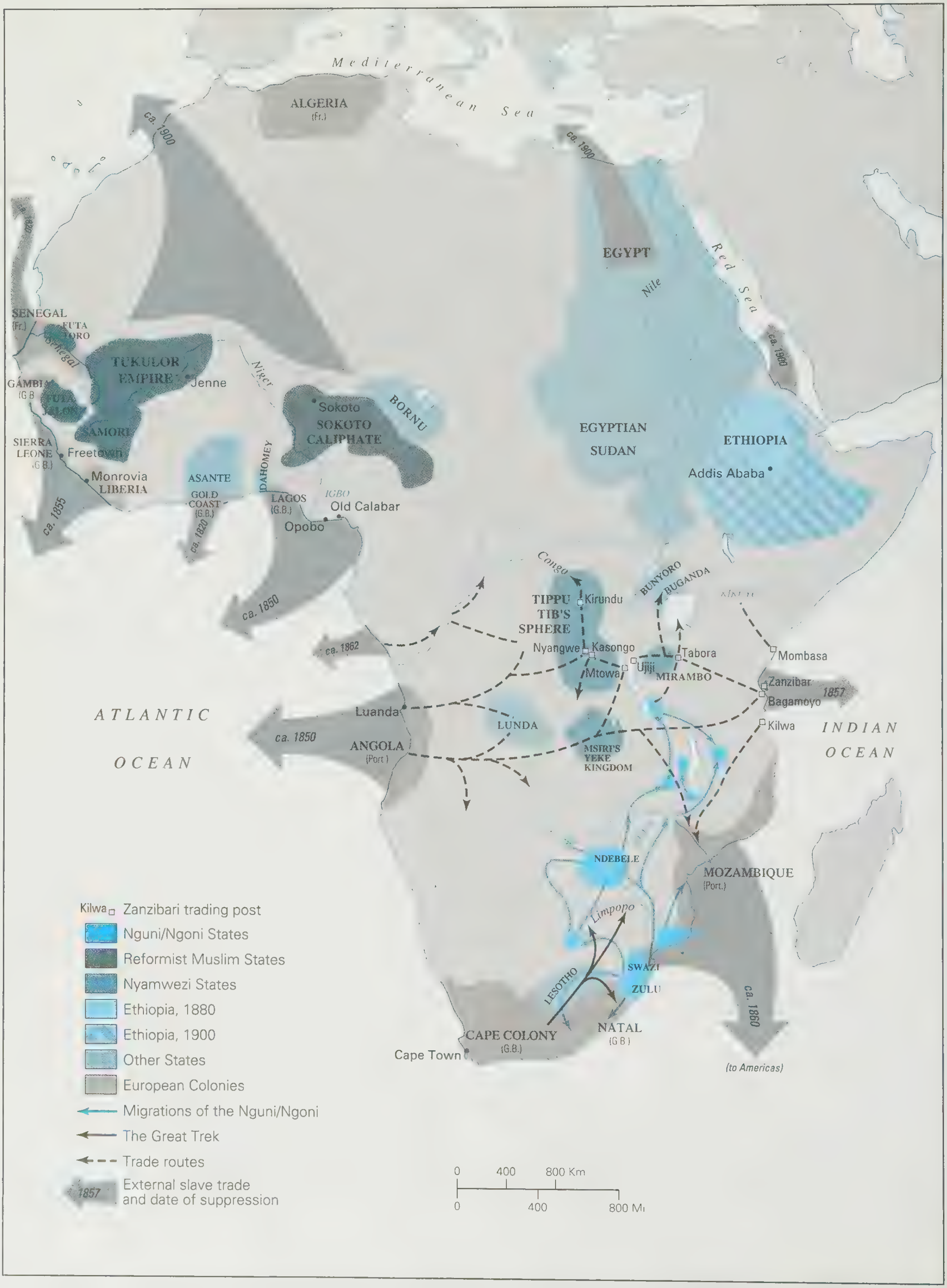
Zulu regimental camp Under King Shaka's leadership young men from across the Zulu kingdom were gathered together in camps, where they learned the arts of war and military discipline. Youths in the center of the camp are performing a dance. Notice the neat rows of "beehive" sleeping huts, the cattle enclosure in the upper right of the center, and the horses at the lower left—probably owned by European visitors. (National Archives, Zimbabwe)

and other reformist Islamic states in inland West Africa (see Map 21.1).

In the fertile coastlands of southeastern Africa (in modern South Africa), the Nguni peoples for many centuries had pursued a life based on cattle and agriculture. Small independent chiefdoms suited their political needs until a serious drought hit the region at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Out of the conflict for grazing and farming lands arose the Zulu kingdom. Its founder, an upstart military genius named Shaka (r. 1818–1828), developed strict military drill and close-combat warfare featuring oxhide shields and lethal stabbing spears. The Zulu became the most powerful and most feared fighters in southern Africa.

To protect themselves from the Zulu, some neighboring Africans created their own states. The Swazi kingdom consolidated north of the Zulu, and the kingdom of Lesotho grew by attracting refugees to strongholds in southern Africa's highest mountains. Both Lesotho and Swaziland survive as independent states to this day.

Meanwhile, Islamic reform movements in West Africa were creating another cluster of powerful states in the savannas south of the Sahara. The reformers followed a classic Muslim pattern: a *jihad* (holy war) added new lands, where governments enforced Islamic laws and promoted the religion's spread among conquered people. The largest of the new Muslim reform movements occurred in the Hausa states (in what is


Mediterranean Sea
ALGERIA
(Fr.)
ca. 1900
ca. 1900
EGYPT
Nile
Red Sea
ca. 1900
SENEGAL
(Fr.)
FUTA TORO
Senegal
TUKULOR EMPIRE
Jenne
Niger
GAMBIA
(G.B.)
FUTA JALLON
SAMORI
SIERRA LEONE
(G.B.)
Freetown
Monrovia
LIBERIA
ca. 1855
ASANTE
GOLD COAST
(G.B.)
ca. 1820
DAHOMEY
LAGOS
(G.B.)
IGBO
Old Calabar
Opobo
Sokoto
SOKOTO CALIPHATE
BORNU
ca. 1850
EGYPTIAN SUDAN
ETHIOPIA
Addis Ababa
Congo
TIPPU TIB'S SPHERE
Kirundu
BUNYORO
BUGANDA
ca. 1862
Nyangwe
Kasongo
Mtowa
Ujiji
Tabora
MIRAMBO
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Bagamoyo
1857
Kilwa
Luanda
ca. 1850
ANGOLA
(Port.)
LUNDA
MSIRI'S YEKE KINGDOM
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
NDEBELE
Limpopo
MOZAMBIQUE
(Port.)
SWAZI
ZULU
LESOTHO
NATAL
(G.B.)
CAPE COLONY
(G.B.)
Cape Town
ca. 1880
(to Americas)
Kilwa □ Zanzibari trading post
Nguni/Ngoni States
Reformist Muslim States
Nyamwezi States
Ethiopia, 1880
Ethiopia, 1900
Other States
European Colonies
Migrations of the Nguni/Ngoni
The Great Trek
Trade routes
1857 External slave trade and date of suppression
0
400
800 Km
0
400
800 Mi

now northern Nigeria) under the leadership of Usuman dan Fodio (1745–1817). He charged that the Hausa kings, despite their official profession of Islam, were "undoubtedly unbelievers . . . because they practice polytheistic rituals and turn people away from the path of God." Distressed by the lapses of the king of Gobir, Usuman issued a call in 1804 for a jihad to overthrow him. Muslims unhappy with their social or religious position spread the movement to other Hausa states. The successful armies united the conquered Hausa states and neighboring areas under a caliph (sultan) who ruled from the city of Sokoto. The Sokoto caliphate (1809–1906) was the largest state in West Africa since the fall of Songhai in the sixteenth century (see Chapter 16).

Modernization and Expansion in Egypt and Ethiopia

To the northeast, the ancient African states of Egypt and Ethiopia were undergoing a period of growth and modernization. Napoleon's invading army had withdrawn from Egypt by 1801, but the shock of this display of European strength and Egyptian weakness was long lasting. The successor to Napoleon's rule was Muhammad Ali (1769–1849), who eliminated his rivals and ruled Egypt from 1805 to 1848. He began the political, social, and economic reforms that created modern Egypt.

Muhammad Ali's central aim was to give Egypt sufficient military strength to prevent another European conquest, but he was pragmatic enough to make use of European experts and techniques to achieve that goal. His reforms transformed Egyptian landholding, increased agricultural production, and created a modern administration and army. Muhammad Ali set up a European-style state school system and opened a military college at Aswan. To pay for these ventures and for the European experts and equipment that he imported, he encouraged Egyptian peasants to cultivate cotton and other crops for export.

Map 21.1 Africa in the Nineteenth Century Africans created important new states as the result of Islamic reform movements in the west, new trade in the east, the Zulu revolution in the southeast, and Ethiopian and Egyptian expansion in the northeast. Aside from some enclaves on the Atlantic coast, European colonization by 1870 was confined to Algeria and southern Africa.

By the end of Muhammad Ali's reign, the modernization of Egypt was well under way. The population had nearly doubled, trade with Europe had expanded by almost 600 percent, and a new class of educated Egyptians had begun to replace the old ruling aristocracy. Egyptians were replacing many of the foreign experts, and the fledgling program of industrialization was providing the country with its own textiles, paper, weapons, and military uniforms. The demands on peasant families for labor and military service, however, were acutely disruptive.

Ali's grandson Ismail (r. 1863–1879) placed even more emphasis on westernizing Egypt. "My country is no longer in Africa," Ismail declared. "It is in Europe."[1] By 1870 there was a network of new irrigation canals, 800 miles (1,300 kilometers) of railroads, a modern postal service, and the dazzlingly new capital city of Cairo.

From the middle of the century, another process of state building and reform was under way in the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia, whose rulers had been Christian for fifteen hundred years. Weakened by internal divisions and the pressures of its Muslim neighbors, Ethiopia was a shadow of what it had been in the sixteenth century (see Chapter 14), but under Emperor Téwodros II (r. 1833–1868) and his successor Yohannes IV (r. 1872–1889) most highland regions were brought back under imperial rule. The only large part of ancient Ethiopia that remained outside Emperor Yohannes's rule was the Shoa kingdom, ruled by King Menelik from 1865. When Menelik succeeded Yohannes as emperor in 1889, the merger of their separate realms created the modern boundaries of Ethiopia.

Beginning in the 1840s, Ethiopian rulers purchased modern weapons from European sources and created strong armies loyal to the ruler. Emperor Téwodros also encouraged the manufacture of weapons locally. With the aid of Protestant missionaries his craftsmen even constructed a giant cannon capable of firing a half-ton shell. However, his efforts to coerce more technical aid by holding some British officials captive backfired when the British invaded instead. As the British forces advanced, Téwodros committed suicide to avoid being taken prisoner. Satisfied that their honor was avenged, the British withdrew. Later Ethiopian emperors kept up the program of reform and modernization.

European Invaders and Explorers

More lasting than Britain's punitive invasion of Ethiopia was France's conquest of Algeria, a move that anticipated the general European "Scramble for Africa" after 1870 (see Chapter 23). Equally pregnant with future meaning was the Europeans' exploration of the inland parts of Africa in the middle decades of the century.

Long an exporter of grain and olive oil to France, the North African state of Algeria had supplied Napoleon with grain for his 1798 invasion of Egypt. The failure of French governments to repay this debt led to many disputes between Algeria and France and eventually to a severing of diplomatic relations in 1827, after the ruler of Algeria allegedly struck the French ambassador in annoyance with a fly swatter. Three years later an unpopular French government, hoping to stir French nationalism with an easy overseas victory, attacked Algeria on the pretext of avenging this insult.

The invasion of 1830 proved a costly mistake. The war in Algeria dragged on for eighteen years. Algerian resistance finally fragmented in 1847, but the French occupiers faced resistance in the mountains for another thirty years.

Meanwhile, a more peaceful European intrusion was penetrating Africa's geographical secrets. Small expeditions of explorers, using their own funds or financed by private geographical societies, were seeking to uncover the mysteries of inner Africa that had eluded Europeans for four centuries. Besides discovering more about the course of Africa's mighty rivers, these explorers wished to assess the continent's mineral wealth or convert the African millions to Christianity.

The Scottish missionary David Livingstone (1813–1873) organized modest treks through southern and Central Africa. The missionary doctor's primary goal was to scout out locations for Christian missions, but he was also highly influential in tracing the course of the Zambezi River, between 1853 and 1856. He named its greatest waterfall for the British monarch Queen Victoria. Livingstone also traced the course of the upper Congo River, where in 1871 he was met by the Welsh-American journalist Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904) on a publicity-motivated search for the "lost" missionary doctor. On an expedition from 1874 to 1877, Stanley descended the Congo River to its mouth.

One of the most remarkable features of the explorers' experiences in Africa was their ability to move unmolested from place to place. The strangers were seldom harmed without provocation. Stanley preferred large expeditions that fought their way across the continent, but Livingstone's modest expeditions, which posed no threat to anyone, regularly received warm hospitality.

Abolition and Legitimate Trade in Coastal West Africa

Along much of coastal West Africa, commercial relations with Europeans remained dominant between 1750 and 1870. The value of trade between Africa and the other Atlantic continents more than doubled between the 1730s and the 1780s, then doubled again by 1870.[2] Before about 1825 the slave trade accounted for most of that increase, but thereafter African exports of vegetable oils, gold, ivory, and other goods drove overseas trade to new heights. Europeans played a critical role. The Atlantic slave trade had arisen to serve the needs of the first European empires, and its end—along with the rise of the new "legitimate" trade—was linked to the ideas and industrial needs of Britain's new economy and empire.

In 1808 both Great Britain and the United States made carrying and importing slaves from Africa illegal for their citizens. Most other Western countries followed suit by 1850, but few enforced their abolition with the vigor of the British. Once the world's greatest slave traders, the British became the most aggressive abolitionists. Britain sent a naval patrol to enforce the ban along the West African coast and negotiated treaties allowing the patrol to search other nations' vessels suspected of carrying slaves. During the half-century after 1815, Britain spent some $60 million (£12 million) in its efforts to end the slave trade, coincidentally a sum equal to the profits British slave traders had made in the fifty years before 1808.

Although British patrols captured 1,635 slave ships and liberated over 160,000 enslaved Africans, the trade proved difficult to stop, for Cuba and Brazil continued to import huge numbers of slaves. Such demand drove prices up and persuaded some African rulers and merchants to continue to sell slaves and to help foreign slavers evade the British patrols. Because the slave trade moved to other parts of Africa, the slave trade to the Americas did not end until 1867.

The demand for slaves in the Americas claimed the lives and endangered the safety of untold numbers of Africans, but it also satisfied other Africans' desires for the cloth, metals, and other goods that European traders brought in return. To continue their access to those trade goods, Africans revived old trades or developed new exports as the Atlantic slave trade was shut down. The most successful of the new exports from West Africa was palm oil, a vegetable oil used by British manufacturers for soap, candles, and lubricants. Though still a major source of slaves until the mid-1830s, the trading states of the Niger Delta simultaneously emerged as the premier exporters of palm oil.

King Jaja of Opobo This talented man rose from slavery in the Niger Delta port of Bonny to head one of the town's major palm-oil trading firms, the Anna Pepple House, in 1863. Six years later, Jaja founded and ruled his own trading port of Opobo. [From Michael Crowder, *West Africa: An Introduction to Its History* (Harlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman)]

Another effect of the suppression of the slave trade was the spread of Western cultural influences in West Africa. To serve as a base for their anti-slave-trade naval squadron, in 1808 the British had taken over the small colony of Sierra

Leone. Over the next several years, 130,000 men, women, and children taken from "captured" vessels were liberated in Sierra Leone. Christian missionaries helped settle these impoverished and dispirited "recaptives" in and around Freetown, the capital. In time the mission churches and schools made many willing converts among such men and women.

Other Western cultural influences came from people of African birth or descent returning to their ancestral homeland in this era. In 1821, to the south of Sierra Leone, free black Americans began a settlement that grew into the republic of Liberia, a place of liberty at a time when slavery was still legal and flourishing in the United States. After their emancipation in 1865 other African-Americans moved to Liberia. Free blacks from Brazil and Cuba chartered ships to return to their West African homelands, bringing with them Roman Catholicism, architectural motifs, and clothing fashions from the New World. Although the number of Africans exposed to Western culture in 1870 was still small, this influence grew rapidly in later decades.

Slaves and Secondary Empires in Eastern Africa

As British patrols hampered the slave trade in West Africa, slavers moved southward and then around the tip of southern Africa to eastern Africa. There the Atlantic slave trade joined an existing trade in slaves to the Islamic world that was also expanding in this period. Two-thirds of the 1.2 million slaves exported from eastern Africa in the nineteenth century went to markets in North Africa and the Middle East; the other third went to plantations in the Americas and to European-controlled Indian Ocean islands.

Slavery also became more prominent within eastern Africa itself. Between 1800 and 1873, Arab and Swahili owners of clove plantations along the coast purchased some 700,000 slaves from inland eastern Africa to do the labor-intensive work of harvesting this spice. The plantations were on Zanzibar Island and in neighboring territories belonging to the sultanate of Oman, an Arabian kingdom on the Persian Gulf that had been expanding its control over the East African coast since 1698. Zanzibar also was an important center of slaves and ivory. Most of the ivory was shipped to India, where it was carved into decorative objects for European markets.

Ivory caravans came to the coast from hundreds of miles inland under the direction of African and Arab merchants. Some of these merchants brought large personal empires under their control by using capital they had borrowed from Indian bankers and modern firearms they had bought from Europeans and Americans. These modern rifles not only felled countless elephants for their ivory tusks but also inflicted widespread devastation and misery on the people of this isolated area.

One can blame the Zanzibari traders for the pillage and havoc in the once-peaceful center of Africa, along with their master, the sultan of Oman. However, the circle of responsibility was still broader. Europeans supplied the weapons that the invaders used and were major consumers of ivory and cloves. For this reason historians have referred to the states carved out of eastern Africa by the Zanzibari and others as "secondary empires," in contrast to the empire that Britain was establishing directly. At the same time, Britain was working to bring the Indian Ocean slave trade to an end in eastern Africa. British officials pressured the sultan of Oman into halting the Indian Ocean slave trade from Zanzibar in 1857 and ending the import of slaves into Zanzibar in 1873.

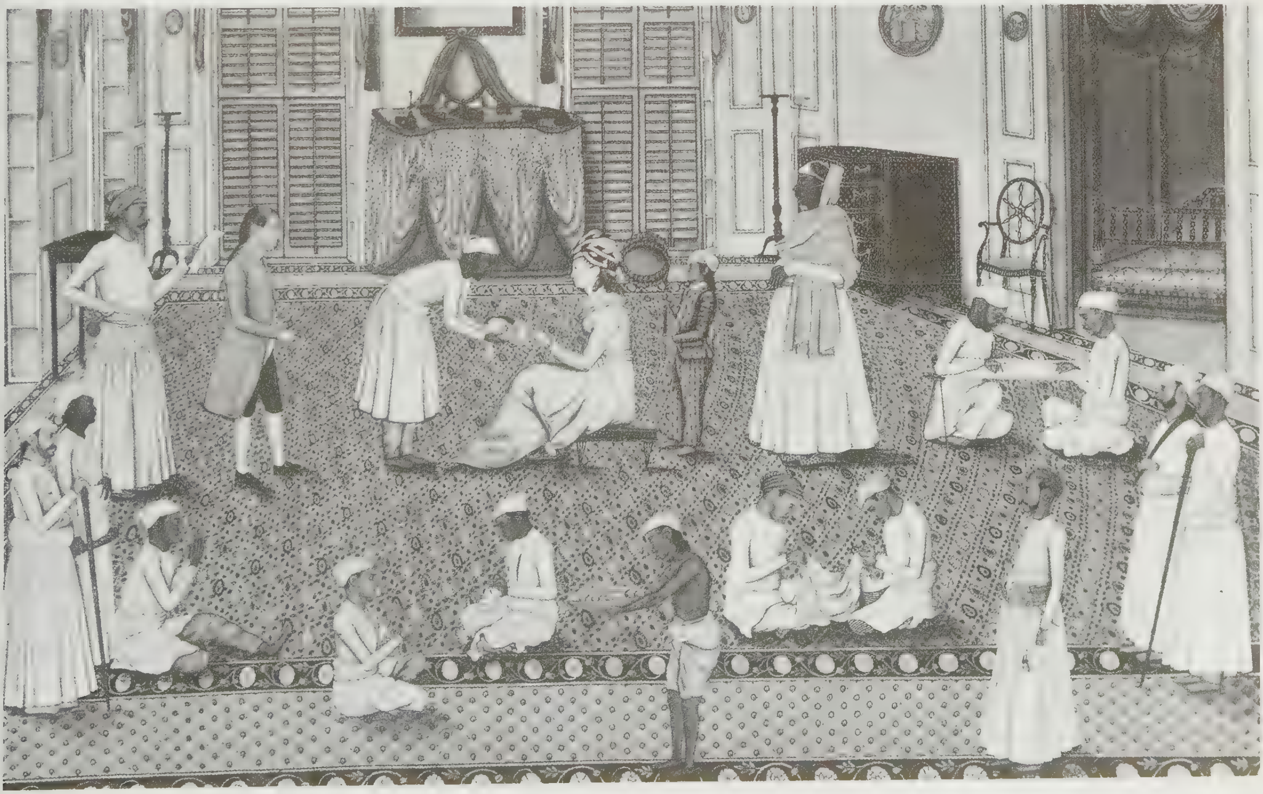
INDIA UNDER COMPANY RULE

The people of South Asia felt the impact of European commercial, cultural, and colonial expansion more immediately and profoundly than did the people of Africa. While Europeans were laying claim to only small parts of Africa between 1750 and 1870, virtually all of India (with three times the population of all of Africa) came under Britain's direct or indirect rule. After founding the British East India Company in 1600, it took British interests over 250 years to commandeer the colonies and trade of the Dutch East India Company, fight off rival French interests, and pick up the pieces of the decaying Mughal Empire (see Chapter 17). By 1763 the French were stymied, in 1795 the Dutch company was dissolved, and in 1858 the last Mughal emperor was dethroned, leaving the vast subcontinent in British hands.

Company Men

The British, Dutch, and French East India Companies were eager to expand their profitable trade into India in the eighteenth century. Such far-flung European trading companies were speculative and risky ventures in 1750. Their success depended on hard-drinking and ambitious young "Company Men," who used hard bargaining, and hard fighting when necessary, to persuade Indian rulers to allow them to establish trading posts at strategic points along the coast. To protect their fortified warehouses from attack

British Mem-sahib, ca. 1782 This charming painting by a Bengali artist shows Lady Impey, wife of the British East India Company's chief justice of Bengal, surrounded by her Indian servants in a room that mixes Indian and European decor. The Hindi word *sahib* was an honorific title; *mem-sahib* was the Anglo-Indian feminine form reserved for European women. (E. T. Archive)



by other Europeans or by native states, the companies hired and trained Indian troops known as *sepoys*. In divided India these private armies came to hold the balance of power.

In 1691, the British East India Company (BEIC) had convinced the *nawab* (the term used for Muslim princes who were deputies of the Mughal emperor, though in name only) of the large state of Bengal in northeast India to let the company establish a fortified outpost at the fishing port of Calcutta. A new nawab, pressing claims for additional tribute from the prospering port, overran the fort in 1756 and imprisoned a group of BEIC men in a cell so small that many died of suffocation. To avenge their deaths in this "Black Hole of Calcutta," a large BEIC force from Madras overthrew the nawab. In 1765, the weak Mughal emperor was persuaded to acknowledge the BEIC's right to rule Bengal. Fed by the tax revenues of Bengal as well as by profits from trade, Calcutta grew into a city of 250,000 by 1788.

In southern India, BEIC forces from Madras secured victory for the British Indian candidate for nawab of Arcot during the Seven Years War, thereby gaining an advantage over French traders who had supported the loser. The defeat of Tipu Sahib of Mysore at the end of the century (described at the start of the chapter) secured south India for the company and prevented a French resurgence.

Along with Calcutta and Madras, the third major center of British power in India was Bombay, on the western coast. There, after a long series of contests with the Maratha Confederation, a coalition of states in central India, the British East India Company gained a decisive advantage in 1818, annexing large territories to form the core of what was called the "Bombay Presidency." Some states were taken over completely, as Bengal had been, but many others remained in the hands of local princes who accepted the political control of the company.

The Raj and the Rebellion, 1818–1857

By 1818 the British East India Company controlled an empire of 130 million people, more people than in all of western Europe and fifty times the population of the colonies the British had lost in North America. One thrust of the British *raj* (reign) was to remake India on a British model through administrative and social reform, economic development, and the introduction of new technology. But at the same time the company men—like the Mughals before them—had to temper their interference with Indian social and religious customs lest they provoke rebellion or lose the support of their Indian princely allies. For this reason and because of the complexity of the task of ruling such a vast empire, there were many inconsistencies in Britain's policy toward India.

The main goal of reform was to create a powerful and efficient system of government. British rule before 1850 relied heavily on military power—170 sepoy regiments and 16 European regiments. Another goal very much in the interests of India's new rulers was to disarm approximately 2 million warriors who had served India's many states and turn them to civilian tasks, mostly cultivation. A third goal was to give freer rein to Christian missionaries eager to convert and uplift India's masses. Few converts were made, but the missionaries kept up steady pressure for social reforms.

Another key British goal was to substitute ownership of private property for India's complex and overlapping patterns of landholding. In Bengal this reform worked to the advantage of large landowners, but in Mysore the peasantry gained. Private ownership made it easier for the state to collect the taxes needed to pay for the costs of administration, the army, and economic reform.

Such policies of "westernization, Anglicization, and modernization," as they have been called, were only one side of British rule. The other side was the bolstering of "traditions"—both real and newly invented. In the name of tradition the Indian princes who ruled nearly half of British India were frequently endowed by their British overlords with greater power and splendor and longer tenure than their predecessors had ever had. The British rulers themselves invented many "traditions"—including elaborate parades and displays—half borrowed from European royal pomp, half freely improvised from Mughal ceremonies.

The British and Indian elites danced sometimes in close partnership, sometimes in apparent opposition. But the ordinary people of India suffered. Women of every status, members of subordinate Hindu castes, the "untouchables" and "tribals" outside the caste system, and the poor generally found little benefit in the British reforms and much new oppression in the taxes and "traditions" that exalted their superiors' status.

The transformation of British India's economy was also double-edged. On the one hand, the British raj created many new jobs as a result of the growth of internal and external trade and the expansion of agricultural production, such as in opium, coffee, and tea. On the other hand, competition from cheap cotton goods made in Britain's industrial mills drove many Indians out of the handicraft textile industry. In the eighteenth century India had been the world's greatest exporter of cotton textiles; in the nineteenth century India increasingly shipped raw cotton fiber to Britain.

Even the beneficial economic changes introduced under British rule were disruptive, and there were no safety nets for the needy. Officials were constantly wary of rebellion by displaced ruling elites, disgruntled religious traditionalists, and the economically dispossessed. The greatest concern was over the continuing loyalty of Indian sepoys in the British East India Company's army.

Discontent was growing among Indian soldiers. In the early decades of BEIC rule, most sepoys came from Bengal, one of the first states the company had annexed. The Bengali sepoys resented the active recruitment of other ethnic groups into the army after 1848, such as Sikhs from Punjab and Gurkhas from Nepal. Many Hindus objected to a new law in 1856 requiring new recruits to be available for service overseas in the growing Indian Ocean empire, for their religion prohibited ocean travel. The replacement of the standard military musket by the far more accurate Enfield rifle in 1857 also caused problems. Soldiers were ordered to use their teeth to tear open the ammunition cartridges, which were greased with animal fat. Hindus were offended by this order if the fat came from cattle, which they considered sacred. Muslims were offended if the fat came from pigs, which they considered unclean.

Although the cartridge-opening procedure was quickly changed, the cartridges transformed discontent into rebellion by Hindu sepoys in May 1857, and British troubles mushroomed when Muslim sepoys, peasants, and discontented elites joined in. The rebels asserted old traditions to challenge British authority: sepoy officers in Delhi proclaimed their loyalty to the Mughal emperor; others rallied behind the Maratha leader Nana Sahib. The rebellion was put down by March 1858, but it shook this piecemeal empire to its core.

Historians have attached different names and meanings to the events of 1857 and 1858. Concentrating on the technical fact that the uprising was an unlawful action by soldiers, nineteenth-century British historians labeled it the "Sepoy Rebellion" or the "Mutiny," and these names are still commonly used. Seeing in these events the beginnings of the later movement for independence, some modern Indian historians have termed it the "Revolution of 1857." In reality, it was much more than a simple mutiny, because it involved more than soldiers, but it was not yet a nationalist revolution, for the rebels' sense of a common Indian national identity was weak.

Political Reform and Industrial Impact, 1858–1900

Whatever it is called, the rebellion of 1857–1858 was a turning point in the history of modern India. Some say it marks the beginning of modern India. In its wake Indians gained a new centralized government, entered a period of rapid economic growth, and began to develop a new national consciousness.

The changes in government were immediate. In 1858 Britain eliminated the last traces of Mughal and BEIC rule. In their place, a new secretary of state for India in London oversaw Indian policy, and a new governor-general in Delhi acted as the British monarch's viceroy on the spot. A proclamation by Queen Victoria in November 1858 guaranteed all Indians equal protection of the law and the freedom to practice their religions and social customs; it also assured Indian princes that so long as they were loyal to the queen British India would respect their control of territories and "their rights, dignity and honour."[3]

A powerful and efficient bureaucracy controlled the Indian masses. Members of the elite Indian Civil Service (ICS), mostly graduates of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, held the senior administrative and judicial posts. Only a thousand men at the end of the nineteenth century, they visited the villages in their districts, heard lawsuits and complaints, and passed judgments. Beneath them were a far greater number of Indian officials and employees. Recruitment into the ICS was by open examinations. In theory any British subject could take these exams. But they were given in England, so in practice the system worked to exclude Indians. In 1870 there was only one Indian among the 916 members of the ICS. Subsequent reforms led to fifty-seven Indian appointments by 1887, but there the process stalled.

The key factor blocking qualified Indians' entry into the upper administration of their country was the racist contempt most British officials felt for the people they ruled. When he became commander-in-chief of the Indian Army in 1892, Lord Kitchener declared:

> It is this consciousness of the inherent superiority of the European which had won for us India. However well educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may have proved himself, I believe that no rank we can bestow on him would cause him to be considered an equal of the British officer.

A second transformation of India after 1857 resulted from involvement with industrial Britain. The government invested millions of pounds sterling in harbors, cities, irrigation canals, and other public works. British interests felled forests to make way for tea plantations, persuaded Indian farmers to grow cotton and jute for export, and created great irrigation systems to alleviate the famines that periodically decimated whole provinces. As a result, India's trade expanded rapidly.

Most of the exports were agricultural commodities for processing elsewhere: cotton fiber, opium, tea, silk, and sugar. In return India imported manufactured goods from Britain, including the flood of machine-made cotton textiles that severely undercut Indian hand-loom weavers. The effects on individual Indians varied enormously. Some women found new jobs, though at very low pay, on plantations or in the growing cities, where prostitution flourished. Others struggled to hold families together or ran away from abusive husbands. Everywhere in India poverty remained the norm.

The Indian government also promoted the introduction of new technologies into India not long after their appearance in Britain. Earlier in the century there were steamboats on the rivers and a massive program of canal building for irrigation. Beginning in the 1840s, a railroad boom (paid for out of government revenues) gave India its first national transportation network, followed shortly by telegraph lines. In 1870 India had the greatest rail network in Asia and the fifth largest in the world.

The freer movement of Indian pilgrims and the flood of poor Indians in the cities also promoted the spread of cholera, a disease transmitted through water contaminated by human feces. Cholera deaths rose rapidly during the nineteenth century, and eventually the disease spread to Europe (see Chapter 19). In many Indian minds *kala mari* ("the black death") was a divine punishment for failing to prevent the British takeover. This chastisement also fell heavily on British residents, who died in large numbers. In 1867 officials demonstrated the close connection between cholera and pilgrims who bathed in and drank from sacred pools and rivers. The installation of a new sewerage system (1865) and a filtered water supply (1869) in Calcutta dramatically reduced cholera deaths there. Similar measures in Bombay and Madras also led to great reductions, but most Indians lived in small villages where famine and lack of sanitation kept cholera deaths high. In 1900 an extraordinary four out of every thousand residents of British India died of cholera. Sanitary improvements lowered the rate later in the twentieth century.

Rising Indian Nationalism, 1828–1900

Both the successes and the failures of British India stimulated the development of Indian nationalism. Stung by the inability of the rebellion of 1857 to overthrow British rule, some thoughtful Indians began to argue that the only way for Indians to regain control of their destiny was to reduce their country's social and ethnic divisions and promote Pan-Indian nationalism.

Individuals such as Rammohun Roy (1772–1833) had promoted development along these lines a generation earlier. A Western-educated Bengali from a Brahmin family, Roy was a successful administrator for the British East India Company and a thoughtful student of comparative religion. His Brahmo Samaj (Divine Society), founded in 1828, attracted Indians who sought to reconcile the values they found in the West with the ancient religious traditions of India. They supported efforts to reform some Hindu customs, including restrictions on widows and the practice of child marriage. They advocated reforming the caste system, encouraged a monotheistic form of Hinduism, and urged a return to the founding principles found in the Upanishads, ancient sacred writings of Hinduism.

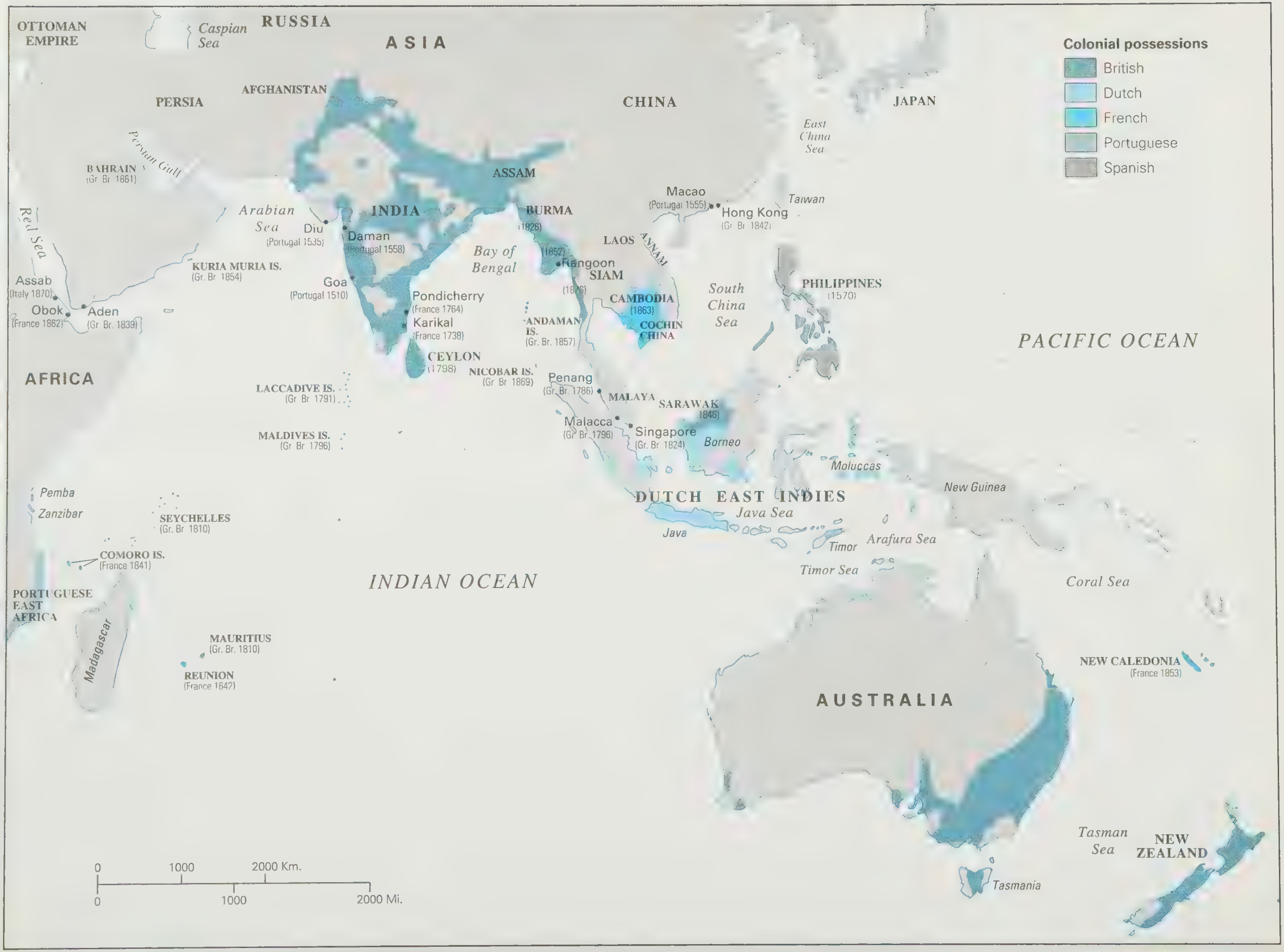
Roy and his supporters had backed earlier British efforts to reform or ban some practices they found repugnant. Widow burning (*sati*) was outlawed in 1829 and slavery in 1843. Reformers sought to correct other abuses of women: prohibitions against widows remarrying were revoked in 1856, and female infanticide was made a crime in 1870.

Although Brahmo Samaj remained an influential movement after the rebellion of 1857, many Indian intellectuals turned to Western secular values and nationalism as the way to reclaim India for its people. European and American missionaries played a prominent role in the spread of Western education. In 1870 there were 790,000 Indians in over 24,000 elementary and secondary schools, and India's three universities (established in 1857) awarded 345 degrees. The graduates of these schools articulated a new Pan-Indian nationalism that transcended regional and religious differences.

Many of the new nationalists came from the Indian middle class. Hoping to increase their influence and improve their employment opportunities in the Indian government, they convened the first Indian National Congress in 1885. The members sought a larger role for Indians in the Civil Service. They also called for more money to be spent on alleviating the poverty of the Indian masses. The Indian National Congress promoted unity among the country's many religions and social groups, but most early members were upper-caste Western-educated Hindus and Parsis (members of a Zoroastrian religious sect descended from Persians). The Congress effectively voiced the opinions of elite Indians, but until it attracted the support of the masses, it could not hope to challenge British rule (see Chapter 26).

BRITAIN'S EASTERN EMPIRE

In 1750 Britain's empire was centered on slave-based plantation and settler colonies in the Americas. A century later its main focus was on commercial networks and colonies in the East. In 1750 the French and Dutch were also serious contenders for global dominion. A century later they had been eclipsed by the British colossus straddling the world. Several distinct changes facilitated this expansion and transformation of Britain's overseas empire: a string of


Colonial possessions
▨ British
▨ Dutch
▨ French
▨ Portuguese
▨ Spanish
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Caspian Sea
RUSSIA
ASIA
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
CHINA
JAPAN
East China Sea
Persian Gulf
BAHRAIN (Gr Br 1861)
ASSAM
Macao (Portugal 1555)
Hong Kong (Gr Br 1842)
Taiwan
Red Sea
Arabian Sea
Diu (Portugal 1535)
INDIA
Daman (Portugal 1558)
BURMA (1826)
Bay of Bengal
(1852)
Rangoon
LAOS
ANNAM
SIAM
KURIA MURIA IS. (Gr. Br 1854)
Goa (Portugal 1510)
Assab (Italy 1870)
Obok (France 1862)
Aden (Gr. Br. 1839)
Pondicherry (France 1764)
Karikal (France 1738)
(1826)
ANDAMAN IS. (Gr. Br. 1857)
CAMBODIA (1863)
COCHIN CHINA
South China Sea
PHILIPPINES (1570)
PACIFIC OCEAN
CEYLON (1798)
AFRICA
LACCADIVE IS. (Gr Br 1791)
NICOBAR IS. (Gr Br 1869)
Penang (Gr. Br. 1786)
MALAYA
SARAWAK (1846)
Malacca (Gr Br 1796)
Singapore (Gr. Br 1824)
Borneo
MALDIVES IS. (Gr Br 1796)
Moluccas
New Guinea
DUTCH EAST INDIES
Java Sea
Java
Timor
Arafura Sea
Timor Sea
Pemba
Zanzibar
SEYCHELLES (Gr. Br 1810)
COMORO IS. (France 1841)
INDIAN OCEAN
Coral Sea
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
Madagascar
MAURITIUS (Gr. Br. 1810)
REUNION (France 1642)
NEW CALEDONIA (France 1853)
AUSTRALIA
Tasman Sea
NEW ZEALAND
Tasmania
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military victories, new trade policies, and changes in shipbuilding techniques. Linked to these changes were new European settlements in southern Africa, Australia, and New Zealand and the growth of a new long-distance trade in indentured labor.

Colonial Rivalries and Trading Networks

As the story of Tipu Sahib told at the beginning of this chapter illustrates, France was still a serious rival to Britain for dominion in the Indian Ocean at the end of the eighteenth century. However, France's defeats in the wars of the French Revolution (see Chapter 20) ended Napoleon's dream of restoring French dominance overseas. The wars also dismantled much of the Netherlands' Indian Ocean empire. When French armies occupied the Netherlands, the Dutch ruler, who had fled to Britain in January 1795, authorized the British to take over Dutch possessions overseas, to keep them out of French hands. British forces quickly occupied Cape Colony at the tip of southern Africa, the strategic Dutch port of Malacca on the strait between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, and the island of Ceylon (see Map 21.2).

Cape Colony was valuable because of Cape Town's strategic importance as a supply station for ships making the long voyages between Britain and India. With the port city came some twenty thousand descendants of earlier Dutch and French settlers. Despite their European origins, these people, who occupied far-flung farms and ranches in the hinterland, thought of themselves as permanent residents of Africa and were beginning to refer to themselves as *Afrikaners*, "Africans" in their dialect of Dutch. British governors prohibited any expansion of the white settler frontier because such expansion invariably led to wars with indigenous Africans. This decision, along with the imposition of laws protecting African rights within Cape Colony (including the emancipation of slaves in 1834), alienated many Afrikaners.

Meanwhile, another strategic British outpost was being established in Southeast Asia. The British East India Company established a new free port at Singapore in 1824, on the site of a small Malay fishing village with a superb harbor. By attracting British merchants and Chinese businessmen and laborers, Singapore soon became the center of trade and shipping between the Indian Ocean and China. Along with Malacca and other possessions on the strait, Singapore formed the "Straits Settlements," which British India administered until 1867. Further British expansion in Malaya (now Malaysia) did not occur until after 1874, but neighboring Burma was annexed in 1852.

Map 21.2 European Possessions in the Indian Ocean and South Pacific, 1870. After 1750 French and British competition for new territories greatly expanded the European presence established earlier by the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch. By 1870 the British controlled much of India, were settling Australia and New Zealand, and possessed important trading enclaves throughout the region.

Imperial Policies and Shipping

Through such piecemeal acquisitions, by 1870 Britain had added several dozen colonies to the twenty-six colonies it had in 1792, after the loss of the thirteen in North America (see Chapter 20). Nevertheless, historians usually portray Britain in this period as a reluctant empire builder, its leaders unwilling to acquire new outposts that could prove difficult and expensive to administer. This apparent contradiction is resolved when one recognizes that the underlying goal of most British imperial expansion during these decades was trade rather than territory. Most of the new colonies were meant to serve as ports in the growing network of shipping that encircled the globe or as centers of production and distribution for those networks.

This new commercial expansion was closely tied to the needs of Britain's growing industrial economy and reflected a new philosophy of overseas trade. Rather than rebuilding the closed network of trade with its colonies known as *mercantilism* (whose rise is charted in Chapter 16), Britain sought to trade freely with all parts of the world.

The factories of the industrialized nations supplied the colonies with manufactured goods at very attractive prices. By the mid-nineteenth century a major part of their textile production was destined for overseas markets. Sales of cotton cloth to Africa increased 950 percent from the 1820s to the 1860s. British trade to India grew 350 percent between 1841 and 1870 while India's exports increased 400 percent. Trade with other regions also expanded rapidly. In most cases such trade benefited both sides, but there is no question that the industrial nations were the dominant partners.

A second impetus to global commercial expansion was the technological revolution in the construction of oceangoing ships under way in the nineteenth century. The middle decades of the century were the golden age of the sailing ship. New techniques, such as the use of iron to fasten timbers together, permitted shipbuilders to construct much larger vessels. Merchant ships in the eighteenth century rarely exceeded 300 tons, but after 1850 swift American-built "clipper" ships of 2,000 tons were commonplace in the British merchant fleet. Huge canvas sails hung from tall masts also made the streamlined clippers faster than earlier vessels. Ships from the East Indies or India had taken six months to reach Europe in the seventeenth century; after 1850 the new ships could complete the voyage in half that time.

This increase in size and speed lowered shipping costs and further stimulated maritime trade. The growth in size and numbers of ships increased the tonnage of British merchant shipping by 400 percent between 1778 and 1860. To extend the life of such ships in tropical lands, clippers intended for Eastern service generally were built of teak and other tropical hardwoods from new British colonies in South and Southeast Asia.

Larger, faster ships also made transporting laborers halfway around the world affordable. Between 1834 and 1920 large numbers of Asians, Africans, and Pacific Islanders were recruited as indentured laborers, especially to work on sugar plantations. British India was the greatest source of such laborers, and other British colonies were their principal destinations.

Colonization of Australia and New Zealand

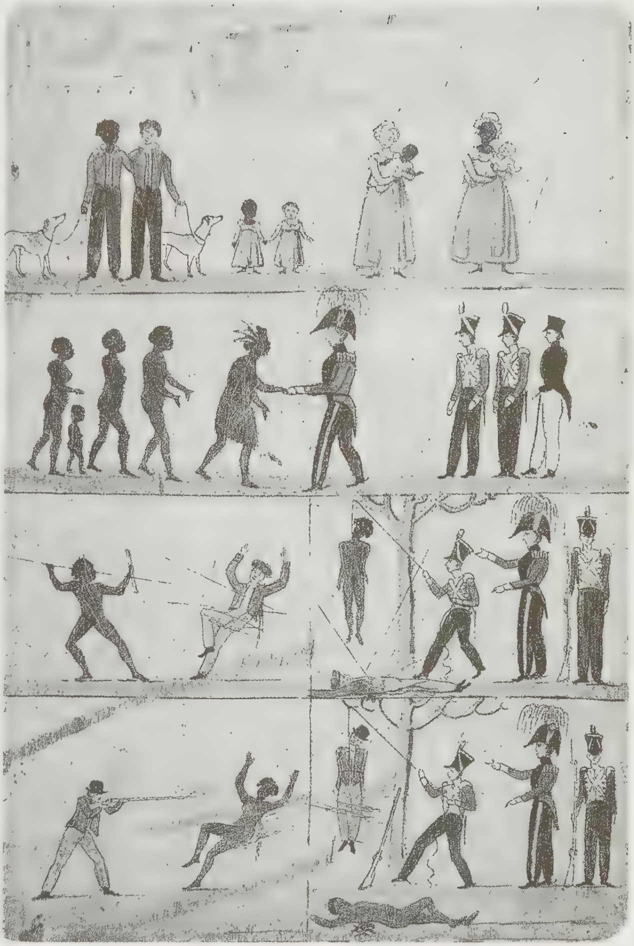
In the new British colonies of Australia and New Zealand, in the once-remote South Pacific, British settlers displaced indigenous populations, just as they had done in North America (see Chapter 16). Australia was the home of about 650,000 hunting and gathering people, whose Melanesian ancestors had settled there some 40,000 years earlier. The two islands of New Zealand, lying 1,000 miles (1,600 kilometers) southeast of Australia, were inhabited by about 250,000 Maoris, who practiced hunting, fishing, and simple forms of agriculture. Because of their long isolation from the rest of humanity, these populations were as vulnerable as the Amerindians had been to unfamiliar diseases introduced by new overseas contacts. By the late nineteenth century only 93,000 aboriginal Australians and 42,000 Maoris survived. By then they were outnumbered and dominated by British settler populations.

The first permanent British settlers in Australia were 736 convicts, of whom 188 were women, sent into exile from British prisons in 1788. For the next few decades Australian penal colonies grew slowly and had only slight contact with the indigenous population, whom the British called "Aborigines." However, the discovery of gold in 1851 brought a flood of free European settlers (and some Chinese) and hastened the end of the penal colonies. By 1860 the settler population had reached 1 million, and it doubled in the next fifteen years.

British settlers were drawn more slowly to New Zealand. Some of the first were temporary residents along the coast who slaughtered seals and exported seal pelts to Western countries to be made into men's felt hats. A single ship in 1806 took away sixty thousand sealskins. By the early 1820s overhunting had virtually exterminated the seal population. Sperm whales also were hunted extensively near New Zealand for their oil, used for lubrication, soap, and lamps; ambergris, an ingredient in perfume; and bone, used in women's corsets (see Environment and Technology: Whaling). Military action that overcame Maori resistance, a brief gold rush, and the availability of faster ships and subsidized passages attracted more British immigrants after 1860. The colony especially courted women immigrants to offset the preponderance of single men. By the early 1880s, fertile agricultural lands of this farthest frontier of the British Empire had a settler population of 500,000.

Britain's policies toward its settler colonies in the South Pacific were shaped by a desire to avoid the conflicts that had led to the American Revolution in the eighteenth century. By gradually turning over governing power to the colonies' inhabitants, Britain satisfied the settlers' desire for greater control over their own territories, muted demands for independence, and made the colonial governments responsible for most of their own expenses. Indigenous peoples were outvoted by the settlers or even excluded from voting. An 1897 Australian law segregated the remaining Aborigines onto reservations, where they lacked the rights of Australian citizenship. The requirement that voters had to be able to read and write English kept Maori from voting in early New Zealand elections, but four seats in the lower house of the legislature were reserved for Maori from 1867.

In other ways the new settler colonies were more progressive, developing powerful trade unions and promoting the availability of land for the common person. Australia and New Zealand were also among the first states in the world to grant women the right to vote, beginning in 1894.



British proclamation to the Australian aborigines, ca. 1830 Affixed to trees in rural areas of Tasmania, this poster was intended to convey the message that the indigenous population could expect the European settlers to be their friends and that the settler government would punish murderers with equal severity, regardless of their race. The poster failed to produce mutual trust. (Tasmanian Museum & Art Gallery)

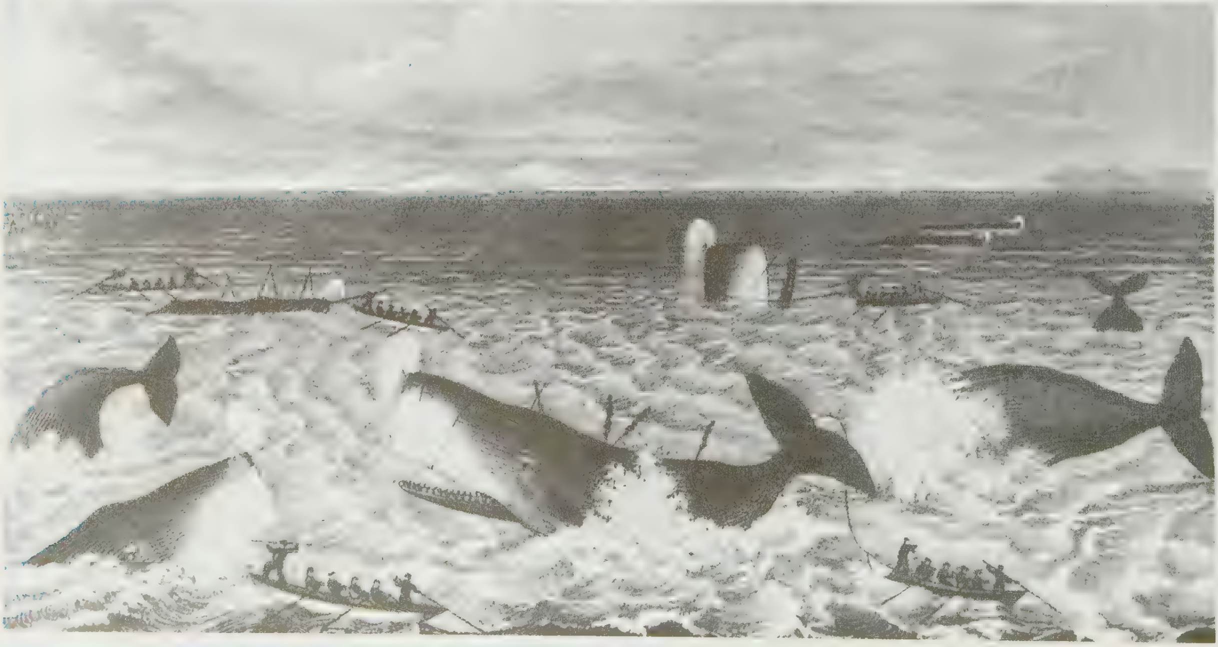
ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

Whaling

The rapid expansion of whaling aptly illustrates the growing power of technology over nature in this period. Many contemporaries, like many people today, were sickened by the killing of the planet's largest living mammals. American novelist Herman Melville captured the conflicting sentiments in his epic whaling story, *Moby Dick* (1851). One of his characters enthusiastically explains why the grisly and dangerous business existed: "But, though the world scorns us as whale hunters, yet does it unwittingly pay us the profoundest homage; yea, an all abounding adoration! for almost all the tapers, lamps, and candles that burn around the globe, burn, as before so many shrines, to our glory!"

Melville's character overstates the degree to which whale oil dominated illumination and does not mention its many other industrial uses. Neither does he describe the commercial importance of whalebone (baleen). For a time its use in corsets allowed fashionable women to achieve the hourglass shape that they desired. Whalebone—the plastic of its day—was used for umbrella stays, carriage springs, fishing rods, suitcase frames, combs, brushes, and many other items.

New manufacturing technologies went hand in hand with new hunting technologies. The revolution in ship design enabled whalers from Europe and North America to extend the hunt into the southern oceans off New Zealand. By the nineteenth century whaling ships were armed with guns that shot a steel harpoon armed with vicious barbs deep into the whale. In the 1840s explosive charges on harpoon heads ensured the whale's immediate death. Yet, as this 1838 engraving of an expedition off the north cape of New Zealand shows, flinging small harpoons from rowboats in the open sea continued to be part of the dangerous work. Another century of extensive hunting devastated many whale species before international agreements finally limited the killing of these giant sea creatures.



Whaling expedition, 1838 engraving (From Joann Druett, *Petticoat Whalers*. Reproduced with permission of the author.)

CONCLUSION

What is the global significance of these complex political and economic changes in southern Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific? One perspective stresses the continuing exploitation of the weak by the strong, of African, Asian, and Pacific peoples by aggressive Europeans. In this view, the emergence of Britain as a dominant power in the Indian Ocean basin and South Pacific continues the European expansion that the Portuguese and the Spanish pioneered and the Dutch continued. Likewise, Britain's control over the densely populated lands of South and Southeast Asia and over the less populated lands of Australia and New Zealand was a continuation of the conquest and colonization of the Americas.

From another perspective what was most important about this period was not the political and military strength of the Europeans but their growing dominance of the world's commerce, especially through long-distance ocean shipping. In this view, like other Europeans, the British were drawn to Africa and southern Asia by a desire to obtain new materials, but Britain's commercial expansion in the nineteenth century was increasingly the product of Easterners' demand for industrial manufactures. The growing exchanges could be mutually beneficial. African and Asian consumers found industrially produced goods far cheaper and sometimes better than the handicrafts they replaced or supplemented. Industrialization also created new markets for African and Asian goods, as in the case of the palm-oil trade in West Africa or cotton in Egypt and India. But there was a negative impact, too, in the case of the weavers of India and the damage to species of seals and whales.

The emphasis on Europeans' military and commercial strength did not mean that African, Asian, and Pacific peoples were reduced to appendages of Europe. The balance of power was shifting in the Europeans' favor between 1750 and 1870, but local cultures were still vibrant and local initiatives often dominant. Islamic reform movements and the rise of the Zulu nation had greater significance for their respective regions of Africa than did Western forces. Despite some ominous concessions to European power, Southeast Asians were still largely in control of their own destinies. Even in India, most people's lives and beliefs showed more continuity with the past than change due to British rule.

Finally, it must not be imagined that Asians and Africans were powerless in dealing with European expansion. The Indian princes who extracted concessions from the British raj in return for their cooperation and the Indians who rebelled against the raj both forced the system to accommodate their needs. Moreover, some Asians and Africans were beginning to use European education, technology, and methods to transform their own societies. Leaders in Egypt, India, and other lands, like those in Russia, the Ottoman Empire, China, and Japan—the subject of Chapter 22—were learning to challenge the power of the West on its own terms. In 1870 no one could say how long and how difficult that learning process would be, but Africans and Asians would continue to shape their own futures.

SUGGESTED READING

Until the publication of *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. William Roger Louis, vol. 3, *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. A. R. Porter (forthcoming), the broadest global survey of this period remains *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. 2, *The Growth of the New Empire, 1783–1870* (1940), ed. J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton, and E. A. Benians.

Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore provide a brief introduction to Africa in *Africa Since 1800*, 4th ed. (1994). More advanced works are J. F. Ade Ajayi, ed., *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. 6, *Africa in the Nineteenth Century Until the 1880s* (1989), and John E.

Flint, ed., *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 5, *From c. 1790 to c. 1870* (1976).

Very readable introductions to India in this period are Percival Spear, *India: A Modern History* (1961), chapters 16–26, and Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, 4th ed. (1993), chapters 12–16.

Environmental and technological perspectives on India are offered in Daniel Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850–1940* (1988).

A good introduction to the complexities of Southeast Asian history is D. R. SarDesai, *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*, 2d ed. (1989). A multicultural and gendered perspective is provided by *Images of Australia*, ed. Gillian Whitlock and David Carter (1992). *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, ed. Keith Sinclair (1990), provides a wide-ranging introduction.

For summaries of recent scholarship on the indentured labor trade see David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922* (1995).

An outstanding analysis of British whaling is Gordon Jackson's *The British Whaling Trade* (1978).

NOTES

1. Quoted in P. J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt: From Muhammad Ali to Mubarak*, 4th ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 74.

2. David Eltis, "Precolonial Western Africa and the Atlantic Economy," in *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic Economy*, ed. Barbara Solow (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), table 1.

3. Quoted by Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 165.

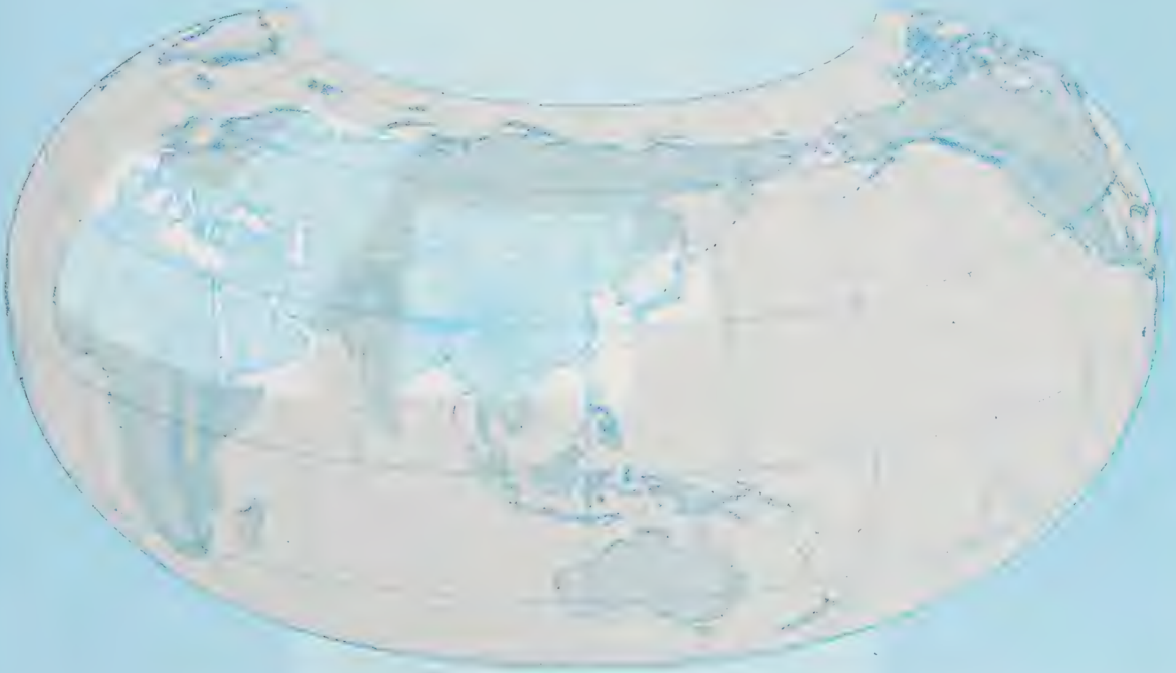
CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

The Ottoman Empire and East Asia, 1800–1870

The Ottoman Empire and the European Model

The Qing Empire and Foreign Coercion

Japan, from Shogunate to Empire



When the Qianlong emperor of the Qing died in 1799, the court received a shock. For decades the emperor had indulged his handsome young favorite, Heshen, allowing him extraordinary privileges and power. Senior bureaucrats had come to hate Heshen, suspecting him of overseeing a widespread network of corruption. They believed he had been scheming to prolong the inconclusive wars against the native Miao peoples of southwest China in the late 1700s. Glowing reports of successes against the rebels had poured into the capital, enormous sums of government money had flowed to the battlefields, but there was no evidence that the war actually was progressing and no adequate accounting for the funds. After the emperor's death, Heshen's enemies ordered his arrest. When they searched his mansion, they discovered magnificent hoards of silk, furs, priceless porcelain, furniture, and gold and silver. His cash alone exceeded what remained in the imperial treasury.

The new emperor ordered Heshen to commit suicide with a rope of golden silk. But the damage could not be undone. Even with the recovery of Heshen's fortune, the expenses of the Qing government were so great that it was permanently bankrupt. The declining agricultural base could not replenish the state coffers, and pressures for internal police and military action rose after 1800. Repeated investigations of the bureaucracy revealed growing corruption. Thus, in the 1800s, the Qing Empire faced a growing challenge from the sea-based powers of western Europe with an empty treasury, a stagnant economy, and a troubled society.

The problems of the Qing were not unique. They were common to all of the land-based empires of Eurasia: the Ottoman in the Middle East, the Mughal in India, and the Romanov in Russia. During the early 1800s, much of Eurasia was affected by rapidly increasing population and by a slowing of the agricultural growth that had been so important in the 1700s. Meanwhile, military expansion had overstretched the resources of the imperial treasuries. In the 1800s these traditional regimes reached a crisis point in their economies and societies. The result was the general indebtedness—through either direct loans or failure to pay indemnities after losing military conflicts—of the Eurasian empires to western Europe.

Westernizers argued for the adoption of the technological and managerial techniques that appeared to underlie the strength and aggressiveness of the European powers. But many sectors of these Eurasian societies—often including the westernizers themselves—were anxious to protect the traditional cultural values that legitimated the status of their elites and offered some symbols for national definition. Thus the challenge of importing certain European goods, knowledge, and advisers while trying to limit their influence was complex and ultimately created political instability. Perhaps more important, that challenge inspired these empires to pursue programs of military and financial reform, rather than undertaking a thoroughgoing restructuring of their economies and of their political life.

Although the situations of the Eurasian empires were similar, there were distinct and important differences in the ways they managed their internal and foreign problems. Ottoman reforms began early, and despite frequent tensions with Europe in the 1800s, the empire managed to work out a cooperative relationship with western Europe. In the Qing Empire, in contrast, the arrival of European military forces and cultural influences came as a shock. That empire began reforms far too late to permit even its central territories to unite during the 1800s.

This chapter concentrates on the experience of the Ottoman and the Qing Empires. But to understand the significance of the similarities between them, we need to examine a dramatic contrasting case: Japan. Japan faced many of the same problems as the Ottoman and Qing Empires in the 1800s. Because of the uniquely decentralized system of rule under the Tokugawa, however, Japan could not attempt similar top-down reforms. Instead, Japan's first direct contact with a foreign sea power led to the destruction of the traditional Japanese state. It was replaced by a centralized and relatively efficient order whose leaders were determined not to be victims of European expansion but to be participants in the evolving colonial order in Asia. The effects of the transformation of Japan—felt first in Korea, then in China, then in Central and Southeast Asia, and now throughout the world—have been profound.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE EUROPEAN MODEL

Although the Ottoman Empire experienced the problems and challenges sketched above, its position close to Europe gave it a relatively early exposure to European ambitions and capabilities. Consequently, the Ottoman rulers were earlier than the rulers of other empires to experiment with financial and military modernization (see Chapter 17). Not until the mid-nineteenth century, however, did the Ottoman government overcome entrenched opposition to change and put into place a series of reforms designed to remove the influence of religious elites from many areas of the state and economy. The reforms created momentum for centralization and helped promote nationalism in the late nineteenth century, and they created a practical base for the founding of a Turkish republic in the twentieth century (see Chapter 25).

The Tanzimat Reforms

In 1826 Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) revived the reform movement begun in the early 1800s by Selim III (r. 1789–1807). Traumatic episodes such as a bloody revolt in 1805 against reforms by the Janissaries, the specially trained corps of military slaves, and the execution of Selim himself had taught the Ottoman court a lesson: reform, if it was to be pursued, had to be more systematic and ruthless than had been the case earlier. Thus Mahmud II dissolved the Janissaries and reduced the political power of the religious elite. Education and law were placed under the authority of the civil government, and the bureaucracy was restructured. Property laws were amended to make the charitable trusts (*auqaf*) by which religious communities and families managed their wealth subject to civil review and regulation. Even the public judgments of the Muslim councilors, the *ulama*, were to be regulated by Ottoman bureaucrats. In most of his attempts to secularize the state, Mahmud II relied on laws to establish a uniform civil code of government, and he cultivated the image of a progressive legal reformer. Many of his ideas were given their widest expression in the Tanzimat reforms, announced by his sixteen-year-old son and successor, Abdul Mejid (r. 1839–1861), soon after Mahmud's death in 1839.

A striking feature of the Tanzimat proclamations (*tanzimat* means "restructuring") was a set of guaranteed political rights, which have been compared to Magna Carta, the charter of limited political and civil liberties that the king of England issued in 1215. The Tanzimat called for public trials and for equal protection for all under the law, regardless of religious affiliation. It also guaranteed some rights of privacy, equalized the eligibility of men for conscription into the army, and provided for a new, formalized method of tax collecting that legally ended tax farming in the empire. No Islamic country had ever produced anything so nearly approaching a constitution, and the Ottoman Empire enjoyed a renewed reputation as a progressive influence in the Middle East.

Mahmud II also revived military and education reforms begun by Selim III. A conscript army was mandated, and with it came educational reforms that attempted to promote the appeal of secular, international, urban cultural attitudes. In the 1830s an Ottoman imperial school of military sciences, with European instructors, was established at Istanbul. General educational reforms followed. The first medical school in the Ottoman Empire was established for army doctors and surgeons in 1834. In 1838 a national system of preparatory schools was created. French was the preferred language of instruction in all advanced professional and scientific training.

Army dress Change in the Ottoman armies was gradual, beginning with the introduction of European guns and artillery. To use the new weapons efficiently and safely, the Janissaries were required to modify their dress and their beards. Beards were trimmed, and elaborate headgear was reserved for ritual occasions. Traditional military units attempted to retain distinctive dress whenever possible, and one compromise was the brimless cap, the fez (shown here), adapted from the high hats that some Janissaries had traditionally worn. (Osterreichisches Nationalbibliotek)

The wealth and influence of the urban elites accelerated, particularly at Istanbul. There, a cosmopolitan milieu embracing European languages and culture, as well as military professionalism and an interest in progressive political reform, thrived. Newspapers, printed mostly in French, were published at Istanbul, and travel to Europe—particularly to England and France—by wealthy Turks became more common. Among self-consciously progressive men, European dress was the fashion in the Ottoman cities of the later 1800s. Traditional dress was a symbol of the religious, the rural, and the parochial.

Mahmud II and later reforming rulers quickly appreciated that limited technical improvements could not be isolated from more general issues of society and culture. The introduction of modern weaponry and drill organization required a change in the traditional military dress. Beards were deemed unhygienic and, among the artillery units, a fire hazard. They were restricted, along with the wearing of loose trousers and turbans. Military headgear also became a controversial issue. European military caps, which had leather bills on the front to protect against the glare of the sun, were not acceptable, because soldiers wearing them would be unable to touch their foreheads to the ground while bowing to Mecca in daily prayer. The compromise was the brimless cap now called the *fez*. Military castes had been important in traditional Ottoman society, and the alteration in military dress—so soon after the vanquishing of the Janissaries—was universally recognized as symbolizing a change in the social meaning of military service.

Secularization of the legal code had profound implications for the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottomans. Neither Christianity nor Judaism was forbidden in the Islamic state. Non-Muslims, however, had frequently been under special tax obligations and been excluded from certain professions, including the military, unless they converted to Islam. In addition, the role of Islamic judges in the legal process had often limited the extent to which non-Muslims could seek redress or protection. The reforms gave all male subjects, regardless of their religion, access to the courts, and they equalized taxation.

The Tanzimat reforms were explicitly limited to the rights and political participation of men. Private life—including everything connected to marriage and divorce—was left within the sphere of religious law, and at no time was there a question of political participation by women. But women were not simply denied the new rights and privileges that the reforms guaranteed to all men. The reforms actually decreased women's influence.

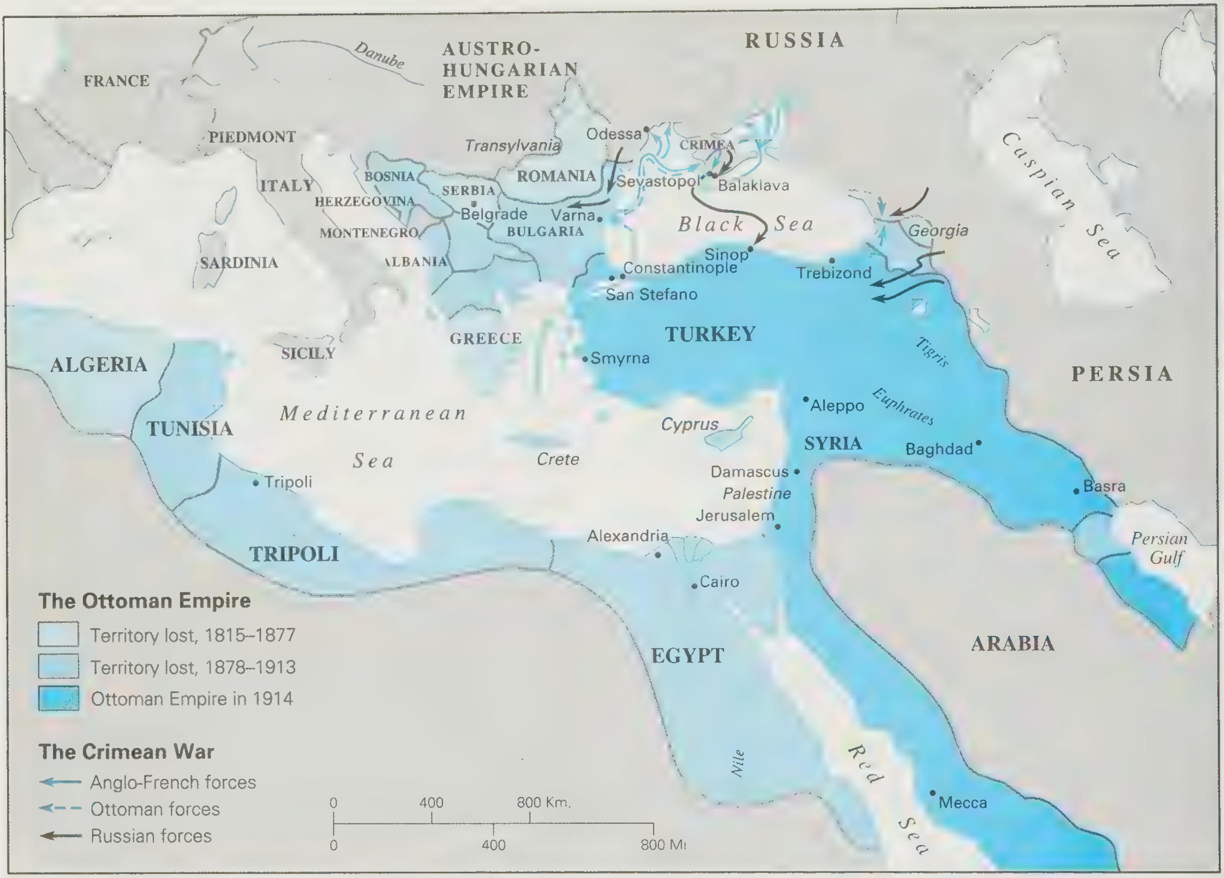
Before the Tanzimat reforms women in Ottoman society had considerable influence, particularly in the management and disposal of their property. After marriage, women often were pressured to convert their landholdings to cash, the better to transfer their wealth to the family of their husbands, with whom they would reside. But many women had retained influence over the distribution of property through the creation of charitable trusts for their sons. Because these trusts were negotiated through the religious courts, they could be set up to conform to the women's wishes and women of wealthy families could exercise significant indirect control over property. The secularizing reforms of Mahmud II, however, removed the charitable trusts from the jurisdiction of the religious courts and brought them under the regulation of the state. The general effect was to destroy women's control over their own and their families' property and to lower the status of Ottoman women. In addition, reforms in the military, in higher education, in the professions, and in commerce all bypassed women, and by the late 1800s the isolation of women was a highly valued symbol of Turkish nativism and Muslim traditionalism.

The Crimean War

Russian rulers since Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725) had decried Ottoman occupation of the former Byzantine capital at Istanbul (formerly Constantinople), but their protests were empty political rhetoric. By the end of the 1700s the Romanov Empire had taken control of Hungary, Transylvania, and the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea away from the Ottomans (see Map 22.1). The threat of Russian intervention had forced the Ottomans to leave Serbia effectively independent after the 1805 uprising of the Janissaries, and in 1829 the two empires were squabbling over the Georgian region of the Caucasus, which Russia seized and kept. In contrast, when the forces of the industrializing leader Muhammad Ali of Egypt had threatened to depose the Ottoman rulers, Russia had announced itself in support of the Ottomans (see Chapter 21). Nevertheless, Russia seemed poised to exploit Ottoman weakness and seize key territories in the Balkans and in Central Asia.

Cracks in Ottoman control also had appeared in the Middle East. Although Egypt remained formally under Ottoman rule, the real power there was held by the local governor. In the Arab lands, the leaders of nomadic federations constantly challenged Ottoman domination. During the last years of the 1700s, France itself began to battle the Ottomans for control of Egypt. In 1798 French troops landed at Cairo, and open warfare between France and the Ottoman Empire was declared. But three years later French forces left Egypt, and the Ottomans resumed close cooperation with France in their mutual struggle against Russia, which had assumed an assertive political role in Europe after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

Those developments contributed to the outbreak of war in Crimea (see Map 22.1). Britain and France were resentful and distrustful of Russia because successive tsars had played a reactionary role in Europe after the Congress of Vienna (1815). Russian forcefulness had squeezed the Ottoman Empire in the early 1800s, exerting not just military but also ideological pressure. The tsars demanded to be acknowledged as the spiritual and political patrons of Orthodox Christians living in the Ottoman territories. Not to be outdone, France insisted that Catholics in the Ottoman territories of Palestine—where French influence had been growing since the late eighteenth century—should have status equal or



Map 22.1 Ottoman Empire and Crimean War The Ottoman Empire at its height controlled most of the perimeter of the Mediterranean Sea. But in the 1800s Ottoman territories shrank as many countries gained independence—frequently with the aid of France or Russia. The Black Sea, which left the Turkish coast vulnerable to assault by the Russian navy, was a weak spot that was intensely contested in the Crimean dispute.

superior to the status of Orthodox believers. Bolstered by the promised support of Britain and France, the Ottomans rejected the demands of the Romanov tsar Nicholas I (r. 1825–1855) and mobilized to drive the Russian forces out of what is now Romania. The Ottomans held their own in the land engagements, but the Russians swiftly won the naval battles on the Black Sea.

Britain and France entered the war on the side of the Ottoman Empire in 1854, and these countries decided to conquer the Russian territory of Crimea. Later the Italian kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont joined the fray on the Ottoman side, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire—previously Russia's long-standing ally—threatened to support the Ottomans.

The Crimean War was one of the critical confrontations of the mid-1800s. It not only employed recently developed military technology but stimulated the development of communications, transportation, and battlefield medicine. The carnage caused by rapid-fire weapons, long-range rifles, mines, infection, and disease reached unprecedented levels and was reported with unprecedented speed to the populations of the fighting states. In 1856 the isolated Russians were forced to negotiate the Treaty of Paris, ending the war.

The treaty guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The formal alliance of Britain and France with the Ottoman rulers blocked Romanov expansion into eastern Europe and into the Middle East. The terms of the treaty also gave Britain and France a means of checking each other's colonial ambitions in the Middle East: neither, according to the Paris terms, was entitled to take Ottoman territory for its exclusive use.

European Patronage and Economic Decline

Mahmud II's successors continued to secularize Ottoman financial and commercial institutions and to model them closely on European counterparts. The Ottoman imperial bank was founded in 1840, and a few years later currency reform linked the value of Ottoman gold coins to the British pound. Banks, insurance companies, and legal firms were created throughout the empire. Between 1850 and 1880 many of the major cities of the empire doubled—in some cases, tripled—in size. A strong urban professional class emerged, as well as a considerable class of wage laborers.

The Ottoman reforms were ineffective in correcting the insolvency of the imperial government, however. Ottoman finances were damaged by declining revenues from agricultural yields and by widespread corruption. From the conclusion of the Crimean War in 1856 on, the imperial government of the Ottomans was heavily dependent on foreign loans for reform and for survival. Commercial and financial life was rapidly restructured to fit European practices. Trade tariffs were altered to favor European imports, and European banks were established in Ottoman cities. The Ottoman currency was changed to allow more systematic conversion to European currency. Urban residence laws were revised to allow Europeans to live in Istanbul and other commercial centers in their own enclaves, under their own laws (a practice called *extraterritoriality*).

European exposure Increasing exposure to French and British influence stimulated the programs of the Ottoman rulers to modernize their armies. By the time of the Crimean War, the Janissaries had been replaced by a professional military, trained in special schools, adept in the use of modern artillery, and dressed in the fashion of the European infantry and cavalry. (Hulton Getty/Liaison)

Because of the stimulation that the inflow of European trade, money, and culture provided, the cities became attractive to laborers, and the massive movement of people from the countryside to the cities continued. For wage-dependent workers in the bloated cities, the economic situation worsened. The growing foreign trade brought large numbers of imports to the empire, but few exports went abroad, apart from the Turkish opium that American traders took to

China to compete against the Indian opium of the British. Together with the growing national debt, these factors in the middle 1800s aggravated inflationary trends.

This vicious circle was frustrating to the ruling elite but had a much sharper impact on the generations of young men who, in the mid-1800s, aspired to wealth and influence. These groups, mostly based in the cities, were educated but wielded no political power. They believed that the Ottoman rulers would be forced to—or indeed would be willing to—allow the continued domination of the empire's political, economic, and cultural life by Europeans. Inspired, ironically, by the European nationalist movements of 1848 (see Chapter 20), they banded together in the 1860s as the "Young Turks." To them, freedom from European domination meant the destruction of the Ottoman Empire from within. They proposed that the empire be replaced by a national republic—a Turkish national state, their "Fatherland." The Young Turks continued to foster nationalism, but the Ottoman Empire continued its weakened existence under the sponsorship of Western powers until 1922.

THE QING EMPIRE AND FOREIGN COERCION

Around the year 1800 the Qing Empire was facing many of the same crises as the Ottomans, but no early reform movement emerged. The reasons are not difficult to understand. The primary European influences in China before 1800 were not writers of the Enlightenment or nationalist leaders like Napoleon. They were Jesuits, who centuries before had sought out China and other societies in Asia to find converts to Catholicism (see Chapter 18). The Qing felt no threat from western Europe and had negotiated both military and diplomatic coexistence with the Russian Empire. Complaints from European merchants at Canton (Guangzhou) who chafed against the restrictions of the Canton system (see Chapter 18) were brushed off as the dissatisfaction of wealthy and privileged men desiring more wealth and privilege.

Disorder was primarily domestic and was regarded as routine: rebellions among displaced indigenous peoples, among the poor in distressed areas, among people protesting local injustices. These troubles, thought the Qing rulers, could be dealt with in the usual way: by suppressing rebels and dismissing incompetent or untrustworthy officials. The Qing rulers of 1800 had no compelling reason to think that revolutionary challenges were headed their way.

Economic and Social Disorder

The Qing conquest had brought stability to central China, encouraging the recovery of farmland, the opening of previously uncultivated areas, and the restoration and expansion of the road and canal system. The result had been a dramatic expansion of agriculture and a gigantic leap in population (see Chapter 18). As enormous numbers of farmers, merchants, and day laborers migrated across China in search of less crowded conditions, a permanent "floating population" of the unemployed and homeless emerged. By the end of the 1700s, population strain on the land had resulted in serious environmental damage in central and western China: deforestation, erosion, and soil exhaustion left swollen populations stranded on rapidly deteriorating land.

The dissatisfactions of this population were joined by those of other groups: minority peoples who had been driven off their lands during the boom of the 1700s; Mongols who resented the appropriation of their grazing lands and the displacement of their traditional elites; village vigilante organizations that had grown used to policing and governing regions that the Qing had become too weak to manage; and growing numbers of people who suspected that all officials were corrupt. In the 1800s, the increasing presence and privileges of foreign merchants and missionaries in the treaty ports—a visible reminder of the inability or unwillingness of the Qing court to protect the country from foreign intrusion—aggravated these endemic social problems.

As the nineteenth century opened, the White Lotus Rebellion—partly inspired by a mystical ideology that predicted the restoration of the Chinese Ming dynasty and the coming of the Buddha—was raging across central China and could not be suppressed until 1804. The White Lotus was the first large rebellion in a series of internal conflicts that continued through the 1800s. Ignited by deepening social instabilities, these movements were intensified sometimes by local ethnic conflicts and sometimes by the unorthodox religion.

The Opium War

Unlike the Ottomans, the Qing until the mid-1800s believed that the Europeans were remote and only casually interested in trade. They knew little of the enormous fortunes that European and American merchants in this period were reaping from smuggling opium into China. Qing officials slowly learned, however, that Britain had colonies in India, where opium was grown; that at Singapore Britain had a major naval base through which it could transport opium to China and other parts of eastern Asia; that Britain was determined to right the trade imbalance that had occurred with China as a result of the tea trade; and that opium offered Britain the key.

In opium, British merchants had discovered an extremely profitable trade, and a large Chinese commerce had arisen around the distribution of the drug. Most devastating to Chinese society, however, was the dramatic increase in the early 1800s in the use of, and addiction to, opium. By the 1830s addiction had spread to all levels of Chinese society. For a time the Qing court debated whether to legalize opium and tax it or to enforce the existing ban on the drug more strictly. The decision was to root out the use and importation of opium, and in 1839 Lin Zexu was sent to Canton to deal with the matter (see Voices and Visions: Lin Zexu).

The Qing insistence on banning the opium trade appeared to Britain an intolerable restraint on trade, a direct threat to Britain's economic health, and indirectly a cause for war. The British declared war when their naval and marine forces arrived off the coast of China in late 1839. The Opium War that lasted from 1839 to 1842 exposed the fact that the traditional, hereditary soldiers of the Qing Empire were hopelessly obsolete. The war was fought mostly from the sea. British ships landed troops who pillaged coastal cities and then returned to their ships and sailed to new destinations. The Qing had no national navy at all, and until they were able to engage the British in prolonged fighting on land, they were unable to defend themselves. Even in the land engagements, Qing resources proved spectacularly inadequate.

When the invaders approached Nanjing, the revered former Ming capital, the Qing decided to negotiate an end to the war. The Treaty of Nanking (1842) guaranteed "most-favored nation" status to Britain, meaning that any privileges granted to future signatories of treaties with China would also accrue to Britain. This system would in effect prevent the colonization of Chinese territory, because giving land to one Western country would necessitate giving it to all. The British established their rights of residence in five Chinese "treaty ports," a very low tariff on imports, and a long-standing debt of the Qing Empire to Britain in the form of an indemnity, or penalty for having started the war. Soon after, an American treaty established extraterritoriality and legalized the right of foreigners to import opium to China. French treaties later established the rights of foreign missionaries to travel extensively in the Chinese countryside and preach their religion.

European Pressures and Privilege

The treaty system in China resulted in the colonization of very small pockets of Qing territory,

VOICES & VISIONS

Lin Zexu

In early 1839, Lin Zexu resigned his post as a provincial governor in order to act as a special imperial commissioner at Canton. The Qing court felt that local officials were so partial to the interests of the Canton merchants that enforcement of the new anti-opium policy would be impossible without an agent as determined and as honest as Lin Zexu. In the short term, the combined Chinese and European merchants were no match for Lin: they surrendered their opium, and a majority signed bonds swearing they would import no more. Shortly afterward, Lin wrote to Queen Victoria, hoping to persuade her to prevent British merchants from continuing the opium trade.

We find that your country is [very far] from China. Yet there are barbarian ships that strive to come here for trade for the purpose of making a great profit. . . . That is to say, the great profit made by barbarians is all taken from the rightful share of China. By what right do they in return use the poisonous drug to injure the Chinese people? Even though the barbarians may not necessarily intend to do us harm, yet in coveting profit to an extreme, they have no regard for injuring others. Let us ask, where is your conscience? I have heard that the smoking of opium is very strictly forbidden by your country; that is because the harm caused by opium is clearly understood. Since it is not permitted to do harm to your own country, then even less should you let it be passed on to the harm of other countries—how much less to China! Of all that China exports to foreign countries, there is not a single thing which is not beneficial to people: they are of benefit when eaten, or of benefit when used, or of benefit when resold: all are beneficial. Is there a single article from China that has done harm to other countries?

When open warfare broke out between the Qing and British Empires, Lin was blamed by the governments of both countries for the conflict. The Qing court banished him to remote Xinjiang province. In a letter to a friend he reflected on the consequences of the empire's technology gap with Britain.

When I was in office in [Canton] I had made plans regarding the problems of ships and cannon and a water force. Afraid that there was not enough time to build ships, I at first rented them. Afraid that there was not enough time to cast cannon and that it would not be done according to the regulations, I at first bought foreign ones. The most painful thing was that when the [harbor] was broken into, a large number of good cannon fell into the hands of the rebellious barbarians. I recall that after I had been punished two years ago, I still took the risk of calling the Emperor's attention to two things: ships and guns.

Lin's appreciation of the dangers of losing advanced weapons to the enemy foreshadowed many of the dangers of the later period of the Taiping conflict. Though his analysis of the predicament the empire had found itself in because of its neglect of technology was penetrating, it also was very late, and by the time Lin came to this conclusion the Qing was already under the constant pressure from European powers and the United States that made systematic, centralized reforms very difficult to accomplish.

How do the attitudes evident in these two passages from Lin's writings contrast with each other? How do they compare to the attitudes of Ottoman elites in the 1830s and 1840s?

Source: Adapted from Teng Ssu-Yu et al., *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839–1923* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), 24–29.

where foreign merchants, missionaries, and their military guards lived but Qing law did not apply. This was the same extraterritorial system that existed in the Ottoman Empire and elsewhere in Asia. As in the Ottoman Empire, the greatest territorial losses for the Qing rulers resulted from the actual or nominal independence of the regions they had dominated. In the early 1800s, both Britain and Russia were actively trying to erase the last vestiges of Qing sovereignty from Central Asia. In the late 1800s France would force the court of Vietnam to end its vassalage to the Qing, while Britain encouraged Tibetan independence. But it was Japan that snapped the critical Qing hold over Korea.

There were small but violent conflicts between Japanese and Chinese forces in Korea in the 1870s and 1880s, and in the 1890s Japan sponsored a movement for Korean national independence from China. By the end of the century Japan had by force or the threat of force taken from the Qing the Liuqiu Islands (including Okinawa) and Taiwan and had established military domination over Korea.

An important result of the treaty system was the creation of small urban pockets and some rural channels where there was intense exposure to Western people, culture, and economic power. In Canton, Shanghai, and some other coastal cities, Westerners were seen entertaining themselves in exclusive restaurants and bars, maintaining offices and factories where all but a few of the Chinese people present were engaged in menial labor, or building comfortable housing in zones where they refused to allow the Chinese to live. Around the foreign establishments, gambling and prostitution offered employment to some of the urban "floating population."

Often, Chinese regarded the work of Christian missionaries both in the cities and in the countryside as benevolent, as when the congregations sponsored hospitals, shelters, and soup kitchens or gave out stipends to Chinese men and women who attended church on Sundays. But just as often the missionaries were regarded as an additional evil. At every turn they seemed to subvert Confucian beliefs, whether by condemning ancestor worship, pressuring poor families to put their children into orphanages, or denouncing footbinding. The growing numbers of Westerners, and their growing privileges, quickly became a target of resentment for a deeply dissatisfied, daily more impoverished, and increasingly militarized society.

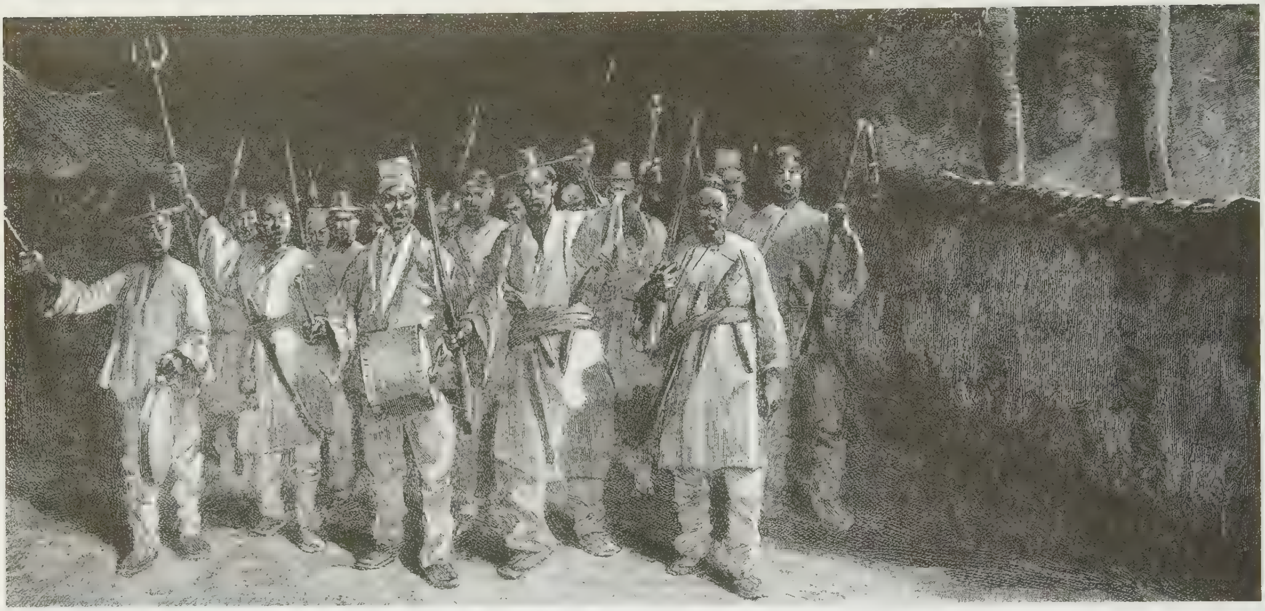
The Taiping Rebellion

The most startling demonstration of the inflammatory mixture of social unhappiness and foreign intrusion was the Taiping Rebellion. Guangxi, where the Taiping movement originated, was beset by the entrenched social problems that had been generating disorders throughout the empire for a half-century. Agriculture in the region was unstable, and many people made their living from arduous and despised trades such as carrying away human waste, making charcoal, and mining. Ethnic divisions complicated economic distress. A minority group, the Hakkas, were frequently to be found in the lowliest trades, and tensions between them and the majority were rising.

The founder of the Taiping movement, Hong Xiuquan (1813–1864), came from a humble Hakka background. He saw himself as the younger brother of Jesus, commissioned by God to drive the Manchu conquerors, the Qing, out of China. Hong called his new religious movement *Taiping tianguo*, the "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace."

Beginning with a circle of friends and relatives, Hong amassed a community of believers, primarily Hakkas, around him at Thistle Mountain in Guangxi. News of the heresy reached the government, and Qing troops were dispatched to arrest the Taiping leaders. But the imperial troops were soundly repelled. Local loyalty to the Taipings spread quickly, their numbers multiplied, and they began to enlarge their domain.

As the Taiping movement grew, it edged toward eastern and northern China. Panic was widespread. Villagers feared being forced into the Taiping units, and the Confucian elites recoiled in horror from the bizarre ideology. In the early 1850s attempts at local defense were overwhelmed by the huge numbers the Taipings were able to muster, but soon the local communities began to achieve greater success. In 1853, when the Taiping armies crossed the Yangzi River and made their way to Nanjing, their



Advance of the Taipings Units of the Taiping army were strictly divided between men and women, but women were fully included in the work of the Taiping communities. They were also mobilized on the field of battle, as shown here. The minority Hakka group had never practiced footbinding, and as other peoples—including the majority Han Chinese—were pressed into the Taiping units, the ban on footbinding was extended to them. (Culver Pictures)

momentum was slowing and they were looking for a permanent base.

By then, Qing military commanders were gaining some ground in their attempts to halt the Taipings. The empire's successes were due mainly to the flexibility of the imperial military commanders in the face of this unprecedented challenge. In addition, the military received strong backing from a group of civilian provincial governors who had studied the techniques that local militia forces used for self-defense. The Qing court agreed to special taxes to fund new armies and acknowledged the new combined leadership of the civilian and professional force. When the Taipings settled into Nanjing, these new armies quickly surrounded the city, hoping to starve out the rebels. But this was not easily done. For more than a decade the Taiping leadership remained ensconced at Nanjing, and their "Heavenly Kingdom" endured. Qing forces contained the rebellion, but there was no certainty that they could eradicate it.

By 1856, Britain and France were concerned about the situation in China. Although the Taipings were not going to topple the Qing, the outbreak of another rebellion in northern China, the Nian Rebellion, was ominous, for a series of simultaneous large insurrections might indeed destroy the empire. Perhaps more important, Britain and France were considering making war on the Qing themselves: the Qing had not observed the provisions of the treaties signed after the first Opium War, and European patience was exhausted.

In 1856 the British and French launched a series of brutal coastal attacks, which culminated in a British and French invasion of Beijing in 1860, followed by a new round of treaties punishing the Qing for not enacting the provisions of the earlier treaties. When these wars were concluded, British and French forces joined the Qing in the campaign against the Taipings. Attempts to coordinate the international forces were sometimes riotous and sometimes tragic, but the injection of European weaponry and money aided in the quelling of both the Taiping and the Nian Rebellions during the 1860s.

The Taiping Rebellion ranks as the world's bloodiest civil war and greatest armed conflict before the twentieth century. Estimates of deaths in the years of fighting between 1850 and 1864 range from 20 million to 30 million. The loss of life was due primarily to starvation and disease, for most engagements consisted of surrounding the enemy holed up in fortified cities and waiting until they died, surrendered, or were so weakened that they could be vanquished easily. Many sieges continued for a year or more, and people within some cities found that after starving for a year under the occupation of the rebels, they had to starve for another year under imperial occupation. Reports of people eating grass, leather, hemp, and human flesh were widespread. The dead were rarely buried properly, and epidemic disease was common in the war zone.

Internal and External Restructuring

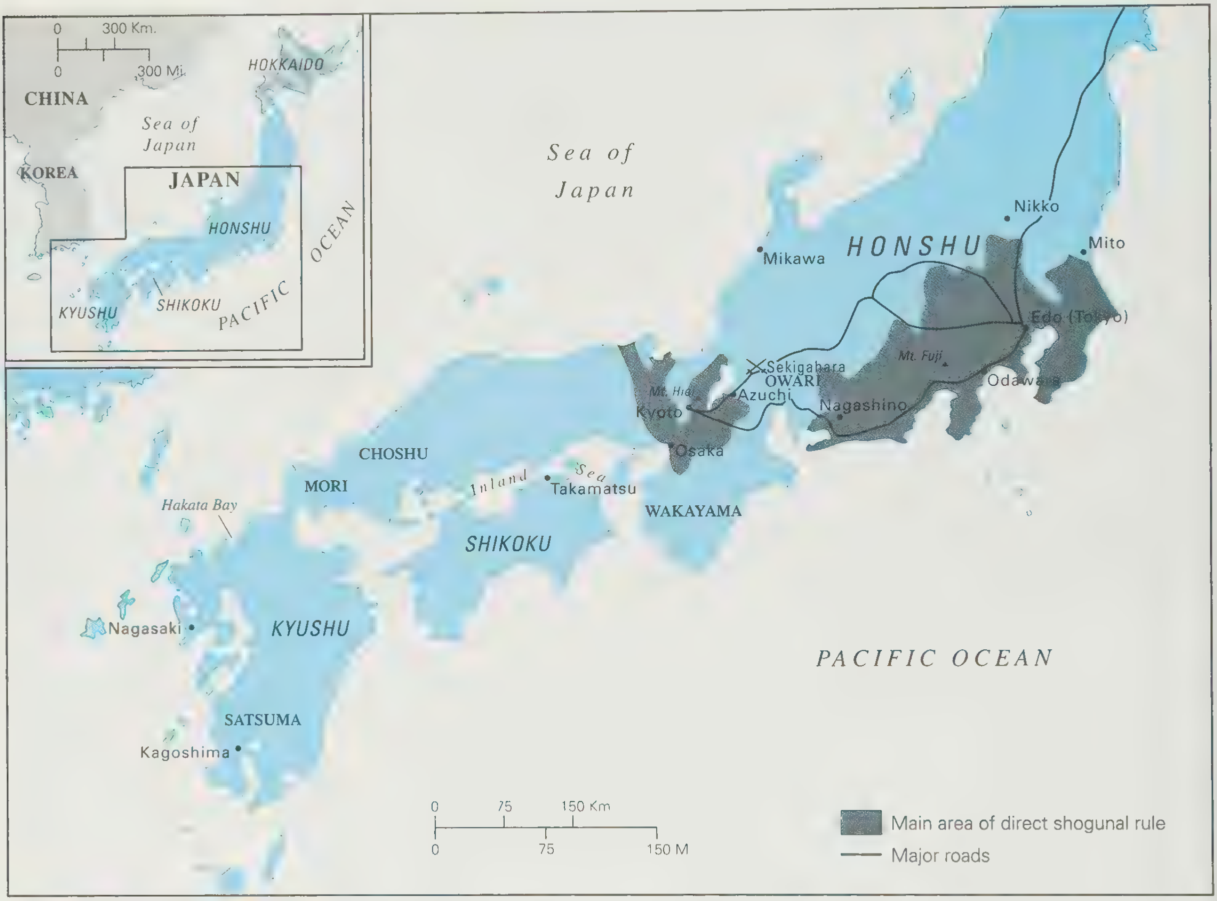
The Qing government emerged from this civil war with no hope of achieving solvency. Even before the uprising at Thistle Mountain in 1850, the Qing had been bankrupted by the corruption of the 1700s, by efforts in the very early 1800s to restore waterworks and roads, by declining yields from land taxes, and by the geometrically increasing burden of indemnities demanded by Europeans in treaties that followed the Opium War. By 1850, the Qing government already was spending ten times more than it took in. The Taiping Rebellion worsened this situation. Vast stretches of formerly productive rice land were devastated. The population was dispersed. Immediate relief for refugees was demanded. The imperial, volunteer, foreign, and mercenary troops that had suppressed the Taipings were insisting that their unpaid wages, provisions, and weapons costs be made good.

With the Qing government deeply in their debt, Britain and France became active participants in the period of recovery—sometimes called the "Tongzhi Restoration," because it occurred during the reign of the Tongzhi emperor (r. 1862–1875). The real work of the recovery, however, was managed by the civilian provincial governors who had assumed leadership in the struggle against the Taipings. To prosecute the war, they had gained from the Qing court permission to levy their own taxes, raise their own troops, and run their own bureaucracies. These special powers were not entirely canceled when the war ended.

The period of recovery marked a fundamental structural change in the Qing Empire. After the Taiping Rebellion, the emperors were ineffective rulers, but a coalition of members of the aristocracy supported the reform and recovery programs. If they had been unwilling to legitimate the new powers of provincial governors, the empire might have evaporated within a generation. Instead, the empire came under the control of a group of reformist aristocrats and military men, independently powerful civilian governors, and a small number of foreign advisers. The Qing lacked strong, central, unified leadership and could not recover their powers of taxation, legislation, and military command once they had been granted to the provincial governors. From the 1860s forward, the Qing Empire fragmented into large power zones in which provincial governors handed over leadership to their protégés.

JAPAN, FROM SHOGUNATE TO EMPIRE

In the early 1800s, the Tokugawa shogunate in Japan also responded to the threat of foreign invasion by attempting to strengthen its finances and its military forces. Unlike the Qing and Ottoman Empires, the Tokugawa govern-



Map 22.2 Japan in the 1800s The Tokugawa shogunate was the last of the decentralized governments of Japan that put primary power into the hands of a military leader and protector of the emperor. Provincial leaders at the western end of Honshu island—regarded as an undesirable location in the early Tokugawa period—experienced higher rates of economic growth and managerial innovation than did leaders in the central provinces. In eastern Honshu, provincial leaders exploited the northern island of Hokkaido, which in the 1800s began to reveal its potential for development in fishing, mining, and animal husbandry.

ment was decentralized by design, and decentralization prevented the state from forming and carrying out a single policy to resist European and American encroachment. Instead, regional governments, which did not believe the shogunate had the ability or the will to protect the islands, developed their own armies, arsenals, and shipyards.

The arrival of a small American fleet in 1853 with demands for an opening of Japan to trade with the United States started a process that in 1868 ended with the destruction of the Tokugawa shogunate by leaders of the most powerful provinces. They banded together and began a profound political, economic, and technological transformation of Japan. Within an astoundingly short period of time, Japan joined several of the European sea empires and the United States at the pinnacle of international power and prestige (see Map 22.2).

Collapse of the Shogunate

In the early 1800s, the economic and political weakness of the shogunate prompted some leaders in the Tokugawa government to attempt a restrengthening, primarily by placing new burdens on the hereditary provincial governors. Some provincial academies for aspiring soldiers, scholars, and bureaucrats began to disseminate a new ideology of loyalty to the shoguns, who depended on the politically weak emperors of Japan for their legitimacy. But the arrival of the American Commodore Matthew C. Perry and his fleet in 1853 shattered the shoguns' attempts to restore their influence. Perry's demand that Japan open its ports to American ships for refueling and for trade sparked a crisis in the shogunate. Consultation among the provincial governors and the shogunal officials was extensive, with the shogunal advisers finally advocating capitulation. In 1858 U.S. representatives and representatives of the Tokugawa shogun signed the Treaty of Kanagawa—modeled on the unequal treaties between the West and China. Angry and disappointed, some provincial governors began to call for the destruction of the Tokugawa regime and expulsion of foreigners from Japan.

Tensions between the shogunate and some provinces increased in the early 1860s. In 1867 several of the large provinces joined forces and declared war on the Tokugawa. The fighting was intense but brief. In 1868, a new government was founded, and the young emperor Mutsuhito (r. 1868–1912) was declared "restored."

The "Meiji Restoration"

It was one thing to destroy the old state, but it was another to assemble a new state having the resources and experience to deal with economic and military problems. Although Japan is smaller than the landmass of either the Qing or the Ottoman Empires, its many islands are far-flung, and its natural resources are extremely limited. So its size was not necessarily a decisive advantage in the apparent ease with which it was reformed. Perhaps more important was the fact that, unlike the Qing and Ottoman Empires, Japan was of no great strategic importance to Europe or to the United States. Thus there was no foreign effort to sustain the Tokugawa shogunate economically or strategically. When it was destroyed, Japanese strategists were unimpeded in carrying out their plans for a centralized, industrialized national state.

The new state was known by Mutsuhito's reign name, *Meiji*, meaning "brilliant rule." The ideology of the state was one source of its power. The new leaders claimed that by "restoring" the emperor they had ended centuries of imperial seclusion and disempowerment by the shoguns. Taking advantage of the mystique of the emperor, nationalism, and anxiety over the foreign threat, for a decade the leaders focused efforts to transform Japan from a decentralized, traditional military government to a centralized, civil, industrializing state. The distinctively nationalistic ideology of the "Restoration" coexisted in the early Meiji period with an intense interest in European government, education, industry, and dress, and occasionally popular culture.

The achievements of the Meiji Restoration were remarkable. A group of talented and farsighted men—the "Meiji oligarchs"—oversaw the reforms. They overcame regional resistance and gradually but systematically brought about the downfall of the traditional provincial governors and of their own samurai class. The oligarchs introduced new educational systems, a conscript army, and new communications. Judicious deficit financing without extensive foreign debt paid for heavy industry.

With a conscript army and a revamped educational system the oligarchs attempted to create a citizenry that was literate, competent, and loyal. When nationalistic passions ran high and threatened to disrupt the political process, they permitted a small incursion into Korean territory in 1874. It resulted in Japan forcing on Korea a treaty modeled on the treaty that Commodore Perry had forced on Japan.

Yamagata Aritomo (1838–1922) Yamagata and the other young provincial leaders who banded together to overthrow the Tokugawa shogunate in 1867–1868 overcame regional rivalries and many personal conflicts to form a new government. The "Meiji oligarchs" were brilliant in guiding Japan out of the dangers of subjugation to the powers of Europe and the United States, in initiating the industrialization of the country, and in modernizing its military. Yamagata designed the modern Japanese army and remained a formidable force in Japanese policymaking until his death in 1922. (Asahi Shimbun Photo)

European music, dance, literature, dress, architecture, theater, and political systems were all popular in Japan after the Restoration. Then as tensions with the European powers in East Asia mounted in the later 1800s, a nativist movement appeared. As Japan approached the end of the nineteenth century, the oligarchs' unwillingness to permit the development of institutions for popular participation took its toll. A constitution issued in 1890 was a design for an authoritarian system that legislated imperial charisma, institutionalized military prestige, and strictly limited the role of political leaders. As Japan's military security and economic influence increased in the late 1800s, the new empire was accepted into the international power elite that held in its hands the fate of the Qing Empire and of Korea, Okinawa, Annam (Vietnam), and the Philippines. At the same time, however, the Japanese political system remained undeveloped, heavily dependent on personal authority, and unable to adapt either to the passing of the oligarchs or to domestic crises.

CONCLUSION

Japan's response to the challenge of the industrializing nations was a striking contrast to the Ottoman and Qing responses. An important point of comparison is the relationship between financial resources and top-down reform. The Ottoman and Qing courts attempted to mandate reforms in the military. To meet the cost, these revenue-starved empires debased their currencies and thereby stimulated inflation. To continue the reforms, they became dependent on loans from the Western powers. Japan, in contrast, experienced comparatively few top-down major reforms under the Tokugawa shoguns. Instead, the decentralized provinces provided their own means of experimenting with local military improvement, new educational programs, and deficit financing before the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

Japan's exposure to the military and economic pressure of the Western sea powers was also much more limited than that of the Ottoman and Qing. Japan did not control extensive trade networks and urban centers to which Britain and France wished to gain privileged access. Nor was its position regarded as strategically significant.

The American treaty that Commodore Perry forced on Japan was nearly Japan's only experience with "unequal treaties." In contrast, the terms demanded by the British in the Treaty of Nanking of 1842 were harsh, and it ushered in the period of "unequal treaties" that resulted in a vast system of foreign privilege in China.

The oligarchs of Japan hoped that its relatively remote location and relatively insignificant political status would protect Japan from Western domination. The Qing and the Ottoman rulers could only hope that mutual distrust among the European powers would limit the ambitions of any individual European state. In China, this strategy was referred to as "using the barbarians against the barbarians."

In the Ottoman Empire, as in the Qing territories, it was not necessary for Europeans or Americans to establish colonies in order to enjoy privileged status. They had pockets of wealth—primarily in the cities—that they could exploit, and exploitation was best done through strategic alliances or diplomatic instruments, not by the expensive and risky methods of colonization.

In Japan, as in China, long-standing social tensions combined with foreign provocation to spark a civil war. But in Japan the war was short, featured little foreign involvement, and ended in a clean break with the former political system. In China, the civil war was long and monstrously destructive of life, economy, and culture, and it gradually incorporated massive involvement of foreign weapons and advisers. In this sense the Taiping Rebellion shared with the Crimean War the distinction of being one of several large and bloody wars in the middle 1800s—including the American Civil War (see Chapter 20) and the Indian "Mutiny," or "Sepoy Rebellion" (see Chapter 21). These conflicts saw the application of lethal technologies, the invention of new generations of killing machines, and the resulting slaughter of soldiers and civilians at a rate never before witnessed.

The Crimean War and the Taiping Rebellion were watershed events in the loss of centralization and autonomy for the Ottoman and Qing Empires, respectively. The processes bear some striking similarities, not least of which was that in each conflict the empire in question emerged as nominally victorious. Both land-based Eurasian empires were overextended. They suffered from declining revenues and social dislocation. Ironically, there remained in these empires enclaves of merchants and artisans who were enriched by the trade with Europe and America, but the empires never found a way to tax these new incomes.

Much domestic wealth flowed from the Ottoman and Qing Empires to the West in payment for legal as well as illegal commodities, although these states could not find resources for arms and education. Increasing pressure from Britain and France deepened the financial woes and political tensions of the two empires and heightened elite Ottoman and Qing awareness of the necessity for military reform. During the wars themselves, financial obligations and strategic advantages led the empires to form alliances with Britain and France. And in the aftermath of the conflicts, the empires experienced serious problems with decentralization, loss of control over their borders, permanent indebtedness and inflation, a progressive loss of international and domestic credibility, and dependence on foreign protection.

The differences between the Ottoman and Qing are also illuminating. Before the end of the 1700s, the Ottomans made an attempt to modernize their military and make their government more efficient. The intense struggle between France and Russia gave the Ottomans a strategic position that made it distinctly to the advantage of France to side with the Ottomans in their territorial struggles. For their part, the Ottomans were comparatively swift in their adaptation of aspects of French culture, military practices, and commercial institutions. This adaptability allowed for the Tanzimat reforms, which through the middle of the 1800s recentralized the Ottoman state. On the strength of that recentralization, the secular programs that defined a civil sphere and a Turkish identity gave strength to the very nationalist movement that eventually helped destroy the Ottoman Empire.

Unlike the Ottomans, the Qing were not able to achieve even a modest degree of recentralization and reform before or after the Taiping Rebellion. Suppression of the rebellion required the systematic dissolution of the traditional military structures, regionalization of command and support, and the use of foreign commanders, soldiers, and weapons. The alliance formed by Britain and France at this time became more active in the very late 1800s, as the European powers and the United States attempted repeatedly to prevent colonization of Qing territory by Japan. This was a local chapter in the growing global struggle to balance new emerging economic and military powers.

SUGGESTED READING

For the Ottoman Empire there is a large and interesting literature, much based on original documents, some in translation, relating to Ottoman administration throughout Europe and the Middle East. Two widely available general histories are Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (1976–1977), and J.P.D.B. Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire* (1977).

On the Qing Empire of the nineteenth century see Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (1990). For general histories of the Opium War see Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War, 1840–1842: Barbarians in the Celestial Empire in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century and the War by Which They Forced Her Gates Ajar* (1975). Enduring sources on the Taiping Rebellion are S. Y. Têng, *The Taiping Rebellion and the Western Powers: A Comprehensive Survey* (1971), and C. A. Curwen, *Taiping Rebel: The Deposition of Li Hsiu-ch'eng* (1976).

The classic work on the period leading to the Meiji Restoration in Japan is Albert M. Craig, *Choshu in the Meiji Restoration* (1961). See also Peter Booth Wiley with Korogi Ichiro, *Yankees in the Land of the Gods: Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan* (1990), and George M. Wilson, *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan: Motives in the Meiji Restoration* (1992).

PART SEVEN

Global Dominance and Diversity, 1850–1945

The era of Western global hegemony includes two distinct periods: from 1850 to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, a period of increasing Western—and, to a lesser degree, Japanese—ascendancy over the nonindustrialized parts of the world; and the period from World War I in 1914 to the end of World War II in 1945, a time of struggle among the industrialized countries for global dominance.

From the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, one cultural area dominated the rest of the world in a way that had never happened before. In a phenomenon that historians call the "New Imperialism," the major nations of Europe extended their commercial and political influence over Africa and most of Asia, and the United States did the same in Latin America. One non-European country, Japan, avoided subordination to the West and by the end of the nineteenth century had joined the Western powers in their imperialist expansion.

The preeminence of Europe, the United States, and Japan had many causes, but two stand out. One was nationalism, an emotional bond uniting the people of a state or territory who share a common culture or history. The expanded participation of ordinary citizens in politics and the emergence of politicians who appealed to the general public were among the major consequences of revolutionary events in England, America, and France. In those three nations, public participation eventually resulted in democratic institutions such as a free press, universal suffrage, and strong parliamentary institutions, and in the lessening or elimination of monarchial privileges. Elsewhere, mass participation and democratization did not always go hand in hand. In Germany and Russia, autocratic monarchs and conservative politicians learned to use nationalist feelings to mobilize mass support. Similarly, the leaders of Japan harnessed public opinion behind a program of rapid industrialization. Despite their differences, all those nations competed for global influence and resources.

The other cause of Western and Japanese power in this period was industrialization. New technologies and new economic arrangements transformed the lives of people of all classes and professions—not always for the better. Industrialization increased the power and wealth of entrepreneurs, managers, and engineers but did little to help those whose income was derived from the land. Work increasingly took place in factories and offices, separating employment from home life, husbands from wives, children from parents. A growing proportion of married women became housewives, while compulsory education systems took over the care of children. The United States and Canada experienced the first wave of mass consumption in this period.

Intensifying industrial activities transformed the natural environment. Pollution from manufacturing, long a local problem, began to affect whole regions. Cities expanded into giant metropolitan areas. The industrial world's dependence on raw materials raised fears of depletion and sped the search for synthetic substitutes.

Industrialization also transformed warfare. Military forces adopted increasingly destructive weapons, and the first industrializing countries had the means to conquer traditional societies, and a strong desire for foreign markets, resources, and military bases.

The factors that gave Europe, the United States, and Japan so great an advantage over the rest of the world were also the causes of their own worst troubles. Modern life, an outgrowth of industrialization, threatened older values and customs. Cycles of economic boom and bust worsened tensions between nations and social classes. In the twentieth century, nationalism developed into contempt for foreigners and ethnic minorities, especially in wartime.

Until 1914, in one way or another, Britain, France, and the United States dominated over half of the area and peoples of the world. Germany and Japan, latecomers to mass politics and industrialization, entered the competition for overseas colonial empires when few unconquered territories remained. Germany's desire to become a global power was a major cause of the First World War (1914–1918). Its defeat by France, Britain, and the United States did not restore the prewar equilibrium, as the victorious Allied nations had hoped. Instead, a revolution in Russia threatened to destabilize the rest of the world.

Shaky in the 1920s, the world economy collapsed in the Great Depression of the 1930s. The resulting social disruption brought to power extremist politicians in Germany and Japan. Once in office, they sought redress for economic problems and perceived national humiliation by seiz-

Technology

Industrial expansion
Mass production of consumer goods in the United States and western Europe
Railroad networks in Europe, North America, India, and Russia
Telegraphs (intercontinental from 1866) and telephones (from 1880s)
Construction of Suez (1869) and Panama (1914) Canals
From early twentieth century—automobiles, highways, airplanes in the United States and western Europe
New weapons and military technologies inspired by the world wars

Environment

Rise of mega-cities and industrial regions
Pollution from cities and factories
New lands opened in North and South America
Irrigation projects in India, Egypt, the United States, and Australia
Wartime environmental destruction

United States

To 1928—Territorial growth
1929—Stock market crashes

1910–1930s—
Mexican Revolution

South America

British railroads in Argentina and Brazil
To 1914—Informal empire

ing the territories of their neighbors through intimidation or force.

Nationalism showed its most hideous face in the Second World War (1937–1945). By 1941 the conflict was pitting Japan and Germany against Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States, and the fighting had spread over half of the world. In addition to the enormous damage to cities and civilian populations caused by mechanized military forces, the war also fomented racial hatred and the deliberate massacre of millions of innocent people.

Nationalism and rivalries among the industrialized nations affected other areas of the world in radical ways. In Asia, Africa, and Latin America, domination by the great powers weakened traditional cultures and political structures, while population growth kept living standards low and put stress on the natural environment. Leaders of a new generation in Asia, Africa, and Latin America attempted to rescue their people through revolutions of national liberation. Their political aspirations gave voice to the distress of the poor—especially the peasants—brought on by population growth, economic ups and downs, and the dislocations of war. As the great powers fought each other for mastery of the world, non-Western societies prepared to overcome their long subjugation. Mexico and China succeeded only after years of warfare and social upheaval. In contrast, India erupted in violent ethnic conflict at the moment of independence.

The year 1945 marks the end of western European dominance. After the defeat of Germany and Japan in World War II, only the United States and the Soviet Union were in a position to compete for global influence. Meanwhile, nationalism was rapidly spreading to the rest of the world.

4–1918—World War I
9–1945—World War II
1917–1921—
Russian Revolution
East Asia
1904–1905—Russo-Japanese War
To 1911—Qing dynasty in China
1911–1949—Revolution and civil war in China
1937–1945—War between Japan and China
India
1885–1947—
Independence movement
French colonial expansion
British colonial expansion

Society

- Expansion of nationalism and mass politics
- Increased racial and ethnic tensions; maximum violence in Nazi Germany (1933–1945)
- Escalation of mass migrations
- To World War I—"Victorian" morality and gender relations (Europe and North America)
- Independence movements in India (from 1885) and Middle East (from World War I)
- Social revolutions and peasant uprisings in Mexico (from 1910), China (from 1911), and Russia (1917–1921)
- 1929–1940—Great Depression

Culture

- Spread of Islam and Christianity in Africa
- Revolution in physics
- Spread of Marxism in Europe
- New social sciences
- From 1920s—mass media (North America and Europe)

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

The New Power Balance, 1850–1914

New Technologies and the World Economy • Social Transformations

Women and Gender Relations in the Victorian Age

Nationalism and the Unification of Germany

The Great Powers of Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century • Great Powers Overseas

On January 18, 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors of the palace at Versailles, King Wilhelm I of Prussia was proclaimed emperor of Germany before a crowd of officers and other German rulers. This ceremony marked the unification of many small German states into one nation. Off to one side stood Otto von Bismarck, the man responsible for the creation of a united Germany. A few years earlier, he had declared: "The great issues of the day will be decided not by speeches and votes of the majority—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood." Indeed it was "blood,"—that is, victories on the battlefield—rather than popular participation that had led to the unification of Germany; among the dignitaries in the Hall of Mirrors that day, only two or three were civilians. As for "iron," it meant not only weapons but, more important, the industries required to produce weapons. Thus, after 1871, nationalism, once a dream of revolutionaries and romantics, became ever more closely associated with military force and with industry.

In this chapter we will see how industry and nationalism transformed the economies and environments, the societies, and the politics of the great powers—Germany, France, Britain, Russia, the United States, and Japan—from 1850 to the start of World War I in 1914. In the next chapter, which deals with the era of the "New Imperialism" (1870–1914), we will see how these nations used their power to conquer colonial empires in Asia and Africa and to control Latin America. Together, Chapters 23 and 24 describe an era in which a handful of wealthy industrialized nations—all but one of them of European culture—imposed on the other peoples of the world a domination more powerful than any experienced before or since.

NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND THE WORLD ECONOMY

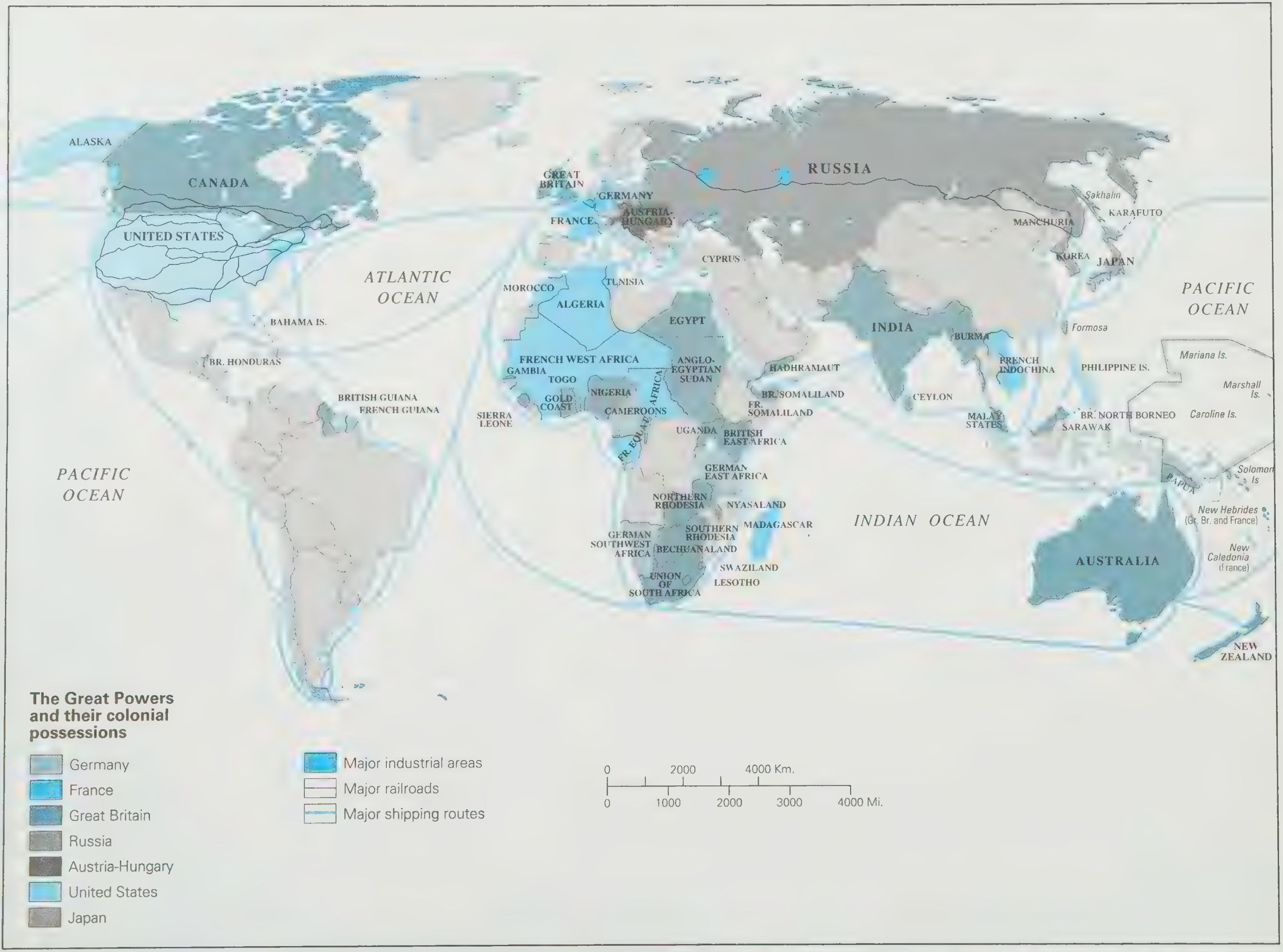
After the mid-nineteenth century, industrialization took off in new directions. Soon Germany and the United States surpassed Great Britain as the world's leading industrial powers. Small companies were overshadowed by large corporations, some owned by wealthy capitalists, others (especially in Russia and Japan) by governments. And new technologies based on advances in physics and chemistry revolutionized everyday life and transformed the world economy.

The Steel and Chemical Industries

A series of inventions in the 1850s made steel the cheapest and most versatile metal ever known. As a result, world steel production rose from a half-million tons in 1870 to 28 million in 1900, of which the United States produced 10 million, Germany 8, and Britain 4.9. Steel became cheap and abundant enough to make rails, bridges, ships, and even "tin" cans meant to be used once and thrown away.

The new steel mills were hungry consumers of coal, iron ore, limestone, and other raw materials. They took up as much space as whole towns, belched smoke and particulate night and day, and left behind huge hills of slag and other waste products. Environmental degradation, long familiar in certain communities, affected entire regions such as the English Midlands, the German Ruhr, and parts of Pennsylvania (see Map 23.1).

The chemical industry followed a similar pattern. Until the late eighteenth century, chemicals were produced by trial and error in small workshops. By the early nineteenth century, soda, sulfuric acid, and chlorine bleach (used in the cotton



The Great Powers and their colonial possessions

industry) were manufactured on a large scale, especially in Britain. The first synthetic dye, aniline purple, was created in 1856, and industry began mass-producing other organic chemicals—compounds containing carbon atoms. Toward the end of the century, German chemists synthesized red, violet, blue, brown, and black dyes as well.

Chemistry also made possible important advances in the manufacture of explosives. In 1866, the Swedish scientist Alfred Nobel found a way to turn nitroglycerin into a stable solid—dynamite. This and other new explosives enabled the armies and navies of the great powers to arm themselves with increasingly accurate and powerful rifles and cannon.

Electricity

In the 1870s inventors devised efficient generators that turned mechanical energy into electric current and opened the way to a host of new applications. Arc lamps lit up public squares, theaters, and stores. For a while homes continued to rely on gas lamps, which produced a softer light. Then between 1878 and 1881, incandescent lamps, well suited to lighting small rooms, were developed. In 1882, Thomas Edison created the first electrical distribution network, in New York. By the turn of the century, electric lighting was rapidly replacing gas lamps in the cities of Europe and America.

Other uses of electricity quickly appeared. In the 1880s, electric streetcars and, later, subways helped alleviate the traffic jams that clogged cities. Electric motors replaced steam engines and power belts, increasing productivity and improving workers' safety. As demand grew, engineers learned to use waterpower to produce electricity and hydroelectric plants were built.

Electricity helped alleviate some environmental problems. Electric motors and lamps did not pollute the air. Power plants were built at a distance from cities. As electric trains and streetcars replaced horse-drawn trolleys and coal-burning locomotives, cities became noticeably cleaner and healthier. At the same time, electricity created a huge demand for copper, bringing Chile, Montana, and southern Africa into the world economy as never before.

Map 23.1 The Great Powers and Their Colonial Possessions in 1913 By 1913, a handful of countries claimed sovereignty over more than half of the land area of the earth. Global power was closely connected with industries and a merchant marine, rather than with a large territory. This explains why Great Britain, the smallest of the great powers, possessed the largest empire.

Shipping and Telegraph Cables

At midcentury, a series of developments radically transformed ocean shipping. Steel hulls took the place of wood. Propellers replaced paddle wheels. Engineers built more powerful and fuel-efficient engines. By the turn of the century a marine engine could convert the heat produced by burning a sheet of paper into the power to move one ton over half a mile. The average size of freighters increased from 200 tons in 1850 to 7,500 tons in 1900. Coaling stations and ports able to handle large ships were built around the world. The Suez Canal, constructed in 1869, shortened the distance between Europe and Asia and triggered a massive switch from sail power to steam (see Chapter 24).

As the world's fleet of merchant ships grew from 9 million to 35 million tons between 1850 and 1910, shipping lines developed to offer fast, punctual, and reliable service on a fixed schedule. To control their ships around the globe, shipping companies used a new medium of communications: cables laid on the ocean floor linking the continents. Submarine cables were first laid across the Atlantic in 1866, and by the turn of the century, cables connected every country and almost every inhabited island.

Railroads

Although the industrialized nations, especially the United States, built the most expensive railroad lines—by 1915 the American network reached 390,000 miles (627,900 kilometers)—railroads could be constructed almost anywhere they seemed likely to be of value to business or government. Such places included regions with abundant raw materials or agricultural products, like South Africa, Mexico, or Argentina, and densely populated countries like Egypt. The British built the fourth longest rail network in the world in India in order to reinforce their presence and develop trade with their largest colony (see Chapter 21).

Everywhere they were built, railroads consumed huge amounts of land. Many old cities doubled in size to accommodate railroad stations, sidings, tracks, warehouses, and repair shops. In the countryside, railroads required bridges, tunnels, and embankments. Railroads also consumed vast quantities of timber for ties to hold the rails, for bridges, and for fuel. Throughout the world, they opened new land to agriculture, mining, and other uses.

World Trade and Finance

Between 1850 and 1913, thanks to the greater efficiency of steamships, world trade expanded tenfold. Its growth transformed the economies of different parts of the world in different ways.

The economies of western Europe, the first to industrialize, grew more prosperous and diversified. These capitalist economies, however, were prey to sudden swings in the business cycle—booms followed by deep depressions in which workers lost their jobs and investors their fortunes. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, Germany, the United States, and other late-industrializing Western nations raised tariffs to protect their industries from foreign competition. Yet trade barriers could not insulate them from the business cycles, for money continued to flow almost unhindered around the world.

Nonindustrial areas also were tied to the world economy as never before. Their vulnerability to changes in price and demand was especially great, for many of them produced raw materials that could be replaced by synthetic substitutes or alternative sources of supply. Nevertheless, until World War I, the value of exports from the tropical countries generally remained high, and the size of their populations remained moderate.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Profound social changes in the industrial nations accompanied the technological and economic changes of the late nineteenth century. A fast-growing population swelled cities to unprecedented size, and millions of Europeans emigrated to the Americas. Strained relations between industrial employers and workers spawned labor movements and new forms of radical politics.

Population and Migrations

The population of Europe grew faster from 1850 to 1914 than ever before or since, almost doubling from 265 million to 468 million. In non-European countries with a predominantly Caucasian (white) population—the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Argentina—the increase was even greater because of the inflow of Europeans (see Environment and Technology: Railroads and Immigration). Between 1850 and 1900, on average, 400,000 Europeans migrated overseas every year, and between 1900 and 1914 the flood rose to over 1 million each year. The proportion of Caucasians in the world's population rose from one-fifth to one-third.

Much of the increase came from a drop in the death rate, as epidemics and starvation became less common. Food supplies increased faster than the population. Fertilizers boosted crop yields, and canning and refrigeration made food abundant year-round. Diet improved as meat, fruit, vegetables, and oils became part of the daily fare of city dwellers, in winter as well as in summer.

ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

Railroads and Immigration

Why did so many Europeans emigrate to North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? The quick answer is, They wanted to. Millions of people longed to escape the poverty or tyranny of their home countries and start a new life in a new land of freedom and opportunity. Personal desire alone, however, does not account for the migrations. After all, poverty and tyranny existed long before the late nineteenth century. Two other factors helped determine when and where people migrated: whether they were allowed to migrate and whether they were able to migrate.

In the nineteenth century, Asians were recruited to build railroads and work on farms. But from the 1890s on, the United States and Canada began closing their doors to non-Europeans, so regardless of what they wanted, they could not move to North America. In contrast, emigrants from Europe were admitted until after the First World War.

The ability to travel resulted from the availability of transportation. Until the 1890s, most immigrants came from Ireland, England, or Germany—countries with good rail transportation to their own harbors and low steamship fares to North America. As rail lines were extended into eastern and southern Europe, more and more immigrants came from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. Similarly, until the 1870s most immigrants to North America settled on the east coast. Then as the railroads pushed west, more of them settled on farms in the central and western parts of the continent. The power of railroads moved people as much as their desires did.

Emigrant waiting room (Library of Congress)

LUNCH BASKETS FILLED FOR 25 CENTS
TAKE NOTICE BLACK HILLERS

Many of the European migrants were peasants who hoped to become farmers in their new homelands. As they "opened up" the midwest regions of the United States and Canada, the pampas of Argentina, and large areas of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, these settlers evicted the original inhabitants and transformed the landscape. Forests were clear-cut for lumber, open grasslands were fenced and plowed or turned into cattle ranches, and railroads cut across the landscape. Everywhere, houses were built and towns sprang up.

Urbanization and Social Structures

In 1851, Britain became the first nation in history to have a majority of its population living in towns and cities. By 1914, 80 percent of its population was urban, as were 60 percent of the German and 45 percent of the French populations. Cities grew to unprecedented size. London, already the world's largest city in 1800 with 900,000 inhabitants, grew to 2.7 million in 1850 and to 6.6 million in 1900, a sevenfold increase in a century. Population growth and the building of railroads and industries allowed cities to invade the countryside, swallowing up nearby towns and villages. London in 1800 measured about 4 square miles (10.4 square kilometers); by 1900 it covered twenty times more area. In the English Midlands and the German Ruhr, towns fused together after devouring the fields and woods that once had separated them.

In preindustrial and early industrial cities, the poor crowded together in tenements, sanitation was bad, water often was contaminated with sewage, and darkness made life dangerous. New urban technologies—water pipes, gas and then electric lighting—transformed city life for all but the poorest residents. By the turn of the century, municipal governments provided police and fire departments, sanitation and garbage removal, schools, and other amenities. As sanitation improved, epidemics became rare. For the first time in history, urban death rates fell below birthrates. The decline in infant mortality was especially significant. Confident that their children would survive infancy, couples began to limit the number of children they had.

In America, planners laid out new cities like Chicago on a rectangular grid, and middle-class families moved to new developments on the edges of cities. In Paris, older downtown neighborhoods with their narrow crooked streets and rickety tenements were replaced with broad boulevards and modern apartment buildings. Brilliantly lit by gas and electricity, Paris became the "City of Lights," a model for city planners from New Delhi to Buenos Aires.

Lower population densities and better transportation divided cities into industrial, commercial, and residential neighborhoods for different social classes. Improvements such as electricity and streetcars always benefited the wealthy first, then the middle class, and the working class last of all. Businesses of all kinds arose, and having a profession took on increased importance. The new middle class exhibited its wealth in fine houses, servants, and elegant entertainment.

In fast-growing cities such as London, New York, and Chicago, newcomers arrived so quickly that construction and services could not keep up. Immigrants who saved their money to reunite their families could not afford costly municipal services. As a result, the poorest neighborhoods remained overcrowded, unhealthy, and dangerous.

While urban environments improved in many ways, air quality worsened. Coal, burned to power steam engines and heat buildings, polluted the air, coating everything with a film of grimy dust. And the thousands of horses that pulled the carts and carriages covered the streets with their wastes, causing a terrible stench.

Labor Movements and Socialist Politics

Industrialization combined with the revolutionary ideas of the late eighteenth century to produce two kinds of movements—socialism and labor movements—calling for further changes. Socialists questioned the sanctity of private property and argued in support of industrial

Paris lit up by electricity, 1900 The electric light bulb was invented in the United States and Britain, but Paris made such extensive use of the new technology that it was nicknamed "City of Lights." To mark the Paris Exposition of 1900, the Eiffel Tower and all the surrounding buildings were illuminated with strings of light bulbs while powerful spotlights swept the sky. (Civica Raccolta delle Stempe Achille Bertarelli, Castella Sforzesco, Milan. Photographer: Roberto Alberti)

workers against their employers. Industrial workers formed labor unions to defend their interests. The socialist and labor movements were never identical. Most of the time they were allies; occasionally they were rivals.

Labor unions had practical goals. They sought better wages, improved working conditions, and insurance against illness, accidents, disability, and old age. By the end of the century, British labor unions counted 2 million members, and German and American unions had a million members each.

The best-known socialist was Karl Marx (1818–1883), a German who lived most of his life in England. Marx provided an intellectual framework for the growing dissatisfaction with industrial capitalism. In the late nineteenth century, business tycoons' ostentatious displays of wealth contrasted sharply with workers' poverty. Marx offered a persuasive explanation of the causes of this contrast between workers and employers and the antagonisms it bred. He expressed his ideas succinctly in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) and in great detail in *Das Kapital* (1867).

He argued that the capitalist system allowed the bourgeoisie (the owners of businesses and factories) to extract the "surplus value" of workers' labor—that is, the difference between workers' wages and the value of the goods they manufactured. He saw business enterprises becoming larger and more monopolistic and workers growing more numerous and impoverished with every downturn in the business cycle.

Despite Marx's predictions about class warfare between workers and employers, workers did not flock to the revolutionary socialist banner. They found other ways to redress their grievances, such as by joining labor unions and by exercising the right to vote.

Just as labor unions strove to enable workers to share in the benefits of a capitalist economy, so did electoral politics persuade workers to become part of the existing political system instead of seeking to overthrow it. The nineteenth century saw a gradual extension of the right to vote throughout Europe and North America. Universal male suffrage became law in the United States in 1870, in France and Germany in 1871, in Britain in 1885, and in the rest of Europe soon thereafter. Socialist politicians could now expect to capture many seats in their nations' parliaments, since the newly enfranchised working class was so large. The socialists' goal was to use their voting power to gain concessions from government.

Working-class women, burdened with both job and family responsibilities, found little time for politics and were not welcome in the male-dominated trade unions or radical political parties. Female suffrage did not come about until well into the twentieth century.

WOMEN AND GENDER RELATIONS IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

In English-speaking countries, the period from 1850 to 1914 is known as the "Victorian Age." The expression refers not only to the reign of Queen Victoria of England but to rules of behavior and to an ideology surrounding the family and the relations between men and women.

Upper- and Middle-Class Women

Victorian morality claimed to be universal, yet it best fit the European upper- and middle-class family. Men and women were thought to belong in "separate spheres." Successful businessmen spent their time at work or relaxing in men's clubs. They put their wives in charge of rearing the children, running the household, and spending the family money to enhance the family's social status.

Victorian morality glorified the home life of women but frowned on their career ambitions and other outside interests. Governments enforced the legal discrimination against women. Until the end of the century, most European countries considered women minors for life—that is, subject to their fathers before marriage and to their husbands after. Even Britain, among the most progressive countries, did not give women the right to control their own property until 1882.

Young middle-class women were allowed to work until they got married, but only in genteel occupations such as retail and office work where a young woman could display her fine manners. Jobs that required higher education were closed to women. Until late in the century, few universities granted degrees to women. The first profession open to them was teaching, as more and more countries passed laws calling for universal compulsory education. Women were considered well suited to teaching young children and girls—an extension of the duties of Victorian mothers. Teaching, however, was judged suitable only for single women; married women were expected to get pregnant right away and stay home taking care of their own children rather than the children of other people.

Some middle-class women became volunteer nurses or social workers, working for little or no pay. Others organized to fight prostitution, alcohol, and child labor. By the turn of the century, a few were challenging male domination of politics and the law and demanding the right to vote. The more radical used violent tactics such as breaking windows, setting fire to houses, or throwing themselves under horses' hoofs. By 1914, women had won the right to vote in twelve states of the United States, but British women did not vote until 1918.

Working-Class Women

Working-class women led lives of toil and pain, considerably harder than the lives of their menfolk. Although the worst abuses of child labor had been banned in most European countries by midcentury, parents expected girls as young as ten to contribute to the household budget and to their own upkeep. Many became servants in homes of the well-to-do and worked sixteen or more hours a day, six and a half days a week, for little more than room and board. Female servants were vulnerable to sexual abuse by their masters or their masters' sons.

When young women could find work in a factory, they often preferred it to domestic service. Labor was strictly divided by gender. Men worked in construction, iron and steel, heavy machinery, or on railroads; women worked in textiles and the clothing trades, two extensions of traditional women's household work. Most industrial countries passed protective legislation limiting the hours or forbidding the employment of women in the hardest and most dangerous occupations, such as mining and foundry work. Such legislation limited abuses but also reinforced gender divisions in industry, keeping women in low-paying subordinate positions.

Married women with children were expected to stay home, even if their husbands did not make enough to support the family. Neverthe-

Women's work in the Victorian Age As industrialization spread, increasing numbers of young women found employment in factories but always in specifically designated "female" jobs requiring manual dexterity rather than physical strength. These women workers are packing matches into boxes in a London match factory. (Bryant & May Collection, Hackney Archives Department.)

less, most married women of the working class were expected to contribute to their family's income while raising the children and doing housework. Families who had room to spare, even a bed or a corner of the kitchen, took in boarders. Many women did piecework such as sewing dresses, making lace, or weaving baskets. The hardest and worst-paid work was washing other people's clothes.

The poorest of the poor were orphans and single women with children. Unable to find jobs or support themselves at home, many turned to prostitution. The wealth of middle-class men made it easy for them to take advantage of the poverty of working-class women.

NATIONALISM AND THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

The most influential idea of the nineteenth century was nationalism. According to the French revolutionary ideology described in Chapter 20, people were not the subjects of a sovereign but citizens of a *nation*—a concept identified with a territory, the state that ruled it, and the culture of its people. Because the most widely spoken language in nineteenth-century Europe was German, the unification of most German-speaking people into a single state in 1871 had momentous consequences for the world.

Language and National Identity Before 1871

Language was often the crucial element in creating a feeling of national unity, yet language and nationality seldom coincided. The fit between France and the French language was exceptional. The Italian- and German-speaking peoples were divided among many small states. Living in the Austrian Empire were peoples who spoke German, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, and other languages. Even where people spoke a common language, they could be divided by religion or institutions. For example, the Irish, though English-speaking, were Catholics, whereas the English were Protestants.

The idea of realigning the boundaries of states to accommodate linguistic, religious, or cultural differences was revolutionary. In Italy and Germany, it led to the forging of large new states out of many small ones. In Central and eastern Europe, nationalism was divisive and threatened to break up large states into smaller ones.

Until the 1860s, nationalism was associated with *liberalism*, the revolutionary middle-class ideology that asserted the sovereignty of the people and demanded constitutional government, a national parliament, and freedom of expression. The governments of Russia, Prussia, and Austria persecuted people who espoused such ideas, but the new ideas could not be quashed. Even conservative regimes required educated personnel, and education meant universities—the seedbed of new ideas transmitted by a national language.

Also, the strength of the revolutionary movements of 1848 convinced conservatives that governments could not forever keep their citizens out of politics, and that mass politics, if properly managed, could strengthen rather than weaken the state. A new generation of conservative political leaders learned how to preserve the social status quo through public education, universal military service, and colonial conquests, all of which built a sense of national unity.

The Unification of Germany

Until the 1860s, the region of Central Europe where people spoke German (the former Holy Roman Empire) consisted of Prussia, parts of the Austrian Empire, and numerous smaller states. Some German nationalists wanted to unite all Germans under the Austrian throne. Others wanted to exclude Austria with its many non-

Wilhelm I proclaimed emperor of Germany On January 18, 1871, Prussia and the smaller states of Germany united to form the German Reich (empire). King Wilhelm I of Prussia was proclaimed kaiser (emperor) as his chancellor, Otto von Bismarck (in a white jacket), and dozens of generals and lesser princes cheered. The ceremony took place in the Great Hall of Mirrors in the palace of Versailles, near Paris, to mark Prussia's stunning victory over France. (Bismarck Museum, Friedrichsruh/AKG London)

Germanic peoples and unite all other German-speaking areas under Prussia. The Prussian state had two advantages: (1) the newly developed industries of the Rhineland and (2) the first European army to make use of railroads, telegraphs, weapons, and other products of modern industry.

The king of Prussia, Wilhelm I (r. 1861–1888), had entrusted the running of his government to his chancellor, the brilliant and authoritarian aristocrat Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), who was determined to use Prussian industry and German nationalism to advance the interests of the Prussian state. Victories in three regional wars between 1864 and 1871 unified the German-speaking provinces into one nation. The last conflict, the Franco-Prussian War, gave the Prussian army two provinces of France bordering on Germany: Alsace and Lorraine. To the Germans, this region was German because a majority of its inhabitants spoke a dialect of German. To the French, it was French because it was part of France when the nation of France was forged in the Revolution and because most of its inhabitants considered themselves French. These conflicting definitions of nationalism kept enmity between France and Germany smoldering for decades. In this case, nationalism turned out to be more often a divisive rather than a unifying force.

Nationalism After 1871

The Franco-Prussian War of 1871 changed the political climate of Europe. France and Britain became wholeheartedly liberal. Germany, Austria-Hungary (the Austrian Empire renamed itself in 1867 to please its Hungarian people), and Russia remained conservative and used nationalism to maintain the status quo.

All politicians tried to manipulate public opinion to bolster their governments. They were greatly aided by the press, especially cheap daily newspapers that published sensational articles about overseas conquests and foreign threats. Recognizing the advantages of an educated populace, governments opened public schools in every town. The spread of literacy allowed politicians and journalists to appeal to the emotions of the poor, diverting their anger from their employers to foreigners and their votes from socialist to nationalist parties.

In many countries, the dominant group used nationalism to justify the imposing of its language, religion, or customs on minority populations. The Russian Empire attempted to "Russify" its diverse ethnic populations. Immigrants to the United States were expected to learn English, to safeguard national unity.

Western culture in the late nineteenth century exalted the powerful over the weak, men over women, rich over poor, Europeans over other races, and humans over nature. Some people even looked to science for support of political dominance. Philosophers applied biologist Charles Darwin's ideas about "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest" to human society. They argued that it was not by accident that Europeans were able to conquer empires in Asia and Africa and that some people were poor and others well-to-do. Such disparities, claimed the social Darwinists, had "natural" causes. These ideas were not at all what Darwin had meant, nor were they based on any research. Nevertheless, they gave a scientific-sounding justification for the power of the privileged.

THE GREAT POWERS OF EUROPE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

After 1871, politicians and journalists discovered how easily they could whip up popular frenzy against neighboring countries. Rivalries over colonial territories, ideological differences between liberal and conservative governments, and even minor trade disagreements contributed to a growing atmosphere of international tension.

Germany at the Center of Europe

International relations revolved around a united Germany, because Germany was located in the center of Europe and it had the most powerful army on the European continent. After creating a unified German Empire in 1871, Bismarck put his effort into maintaining the peace in Europe. To isolate France, the only country with a grudge against Germany, he forged a loose coalition with Austria-Hungary and Russia. Despite the competing ambitions of Austria and Russia in the Balkans, he was able to keep this conservative coalition alive for twenty years.

Bismarck proved equally adept at manipulating mass politics at home. To weaken the influence of middle-class liberals, he extended the vote to all adult males. By imposing high tariffs on manufactured goods and wheat, he gained the support of both the wealthy industrialists of the Rhineland and the great landowners of eastern Germany, traditional rivals for power. He stole the thunder of the socialists by introducing social legislation—medical, unemployment, and disability insurance and old-age pensions—long before other industrial countries. Under his leadership, the German people developed a strong sense of national unity and pride in their industrial and military power.

In 1888 Wilhelm I was succeeded by his grandson Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918), who dismissed Chancellor Bismarck. Whereas Bismarck had shown little interest in acquiring colonies overseas, Wilhelm II talked about his "global policy" and demanded a colonial empire: he believed that Germany deserved "a place in the sun."

The Liberal Powers: France and Great Britain

France, once the dominant nation in Europe, had difficulty reconciling itself to being in second place. Though a prosperous country with flourishing agriculture and a large colonial empire, France could field an army only two-thirds the size of Germany's. Its population was scarcely growing. Another weakness was the slow growth of French industry, due to the loss of the iron and coal mines of Lorraine in 1871.

The French people were deeply divided over the very nature of the state: some were monarchists and Catholic; a growing number held republican and anticlerical views. Yet if French political life seemed fragile and frequently in crisis, a long tradition of popular participation in politics and a strong sense of nationhood, reinforced by a fine system of universal public education, gave the French people a deeper cohesion than appeared on the surface.

Great Britain was the only other country in Europe with something approaching a democratic tradition. The British government alternated smoothly between the Liberal and Conservative Parties, and the income gap between rich and poor gradually narrowed. Nevertheless, Britain had problems that grew more apparent as time went on.

One problem was Irish resentment of English rule. British nationalism did not stir hearts of the Irish; they felt excluded because they were Catholic and mostly poor. Another problem was the British economy. Once the workshop of the world, Great Britain had fallen behind the United States and Germany in iron and steel, chemicals, electricity, and textiles. Even in shipbuilding and shipping, Britain's traditional specialties, Germany was catching up. Britain also was preoccupied with its enormous and fast-growing empire. A source of wealth for investors and the envy of other imperialist nations, the empire also was a constant worry and a drain on Britain's finances.

For most of the nineteenth century, Britain turned its back on Europe and pursued a policy of "splendid isolation." Only once, in 1854, did it intervene militarily in Europe, joining France in the Crimean War against Russia (see Chapter 22). Periodic "Russian scares" and Britain's age-old rivalry with France for overseas colonies diverted the attention of British politicians away from the rise of a large, powerful, united Germany.

The Conservative Powers: Russia and Austria-Hungary

The forces of nationalism weakened rather than strengthened Russia and Austria-Hungary. The reason for this effect was that their populations were far more divided, socially and ethnically, than were the German, French, or British peoples.

Russia was the most misunderstood country in Europe. Its enormous size and population led many Europeans to exaggerate its military potential, but France and Britain easily defeated Russia in the Crimean War.

In 1861, the moderate conservative Tsar Alexander II (r. 1855–1881) freed the Russian serfs. The outcome was not the birth of a modern society on the western European model. Emancipation turned serfs into tenant farmers indebted to their former owners. Alexander's successors Alexander III (r. 1881–1894) and Nicholas II (r. 1894–1917) opposed all forms of social change, so wealthy landowning aristocrats continued to dominate the Russian court and administration and blocked most reforms.

The weaknesses in Russia's society and government became glaringly obvious during a war with Japan in 1904 and 1905. The Russian army was soon defeated by the better trained and equipped Japanese, and the Russian navy, after a long journey around Europe, Africa, and Asia, was met and sunk by the Japanese fleet. The shock of defeat caused a popular uprising, the Revolution of 1905, that forced Tsar Nicholas II to grant a constitution and an elected Duma (parliament). But as soon as he was able to rebuild the army and the police, he reverted to the despotism of his forefathers. Small groups of radical intellectuals, angered by the contrast between the wealth of the elite and the poverty of the common people, began plotting the violent overthrow of the tsarist autocracy.

Russia's ethnic diversity also contributed to its instability. The tsarist empire included Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Ukraine, the very mixed peoples of the Caucasus, and the Muslim population of Central Asia conquered between 1865 and 1881. Furthermore, Russia had the largest Jewish population in Europe, despite the harshness of its anti-Semitic laws and periodic *pogroms* (massacres), which prompted many Jews to flee to America. All in all, only 45 percent of the peoples of the tsarist empire spoke Russian. This meant that Russian nationalism and the state's attempts to impose the Russian language on its subjects were divisive instead of unifying forces in the empire.

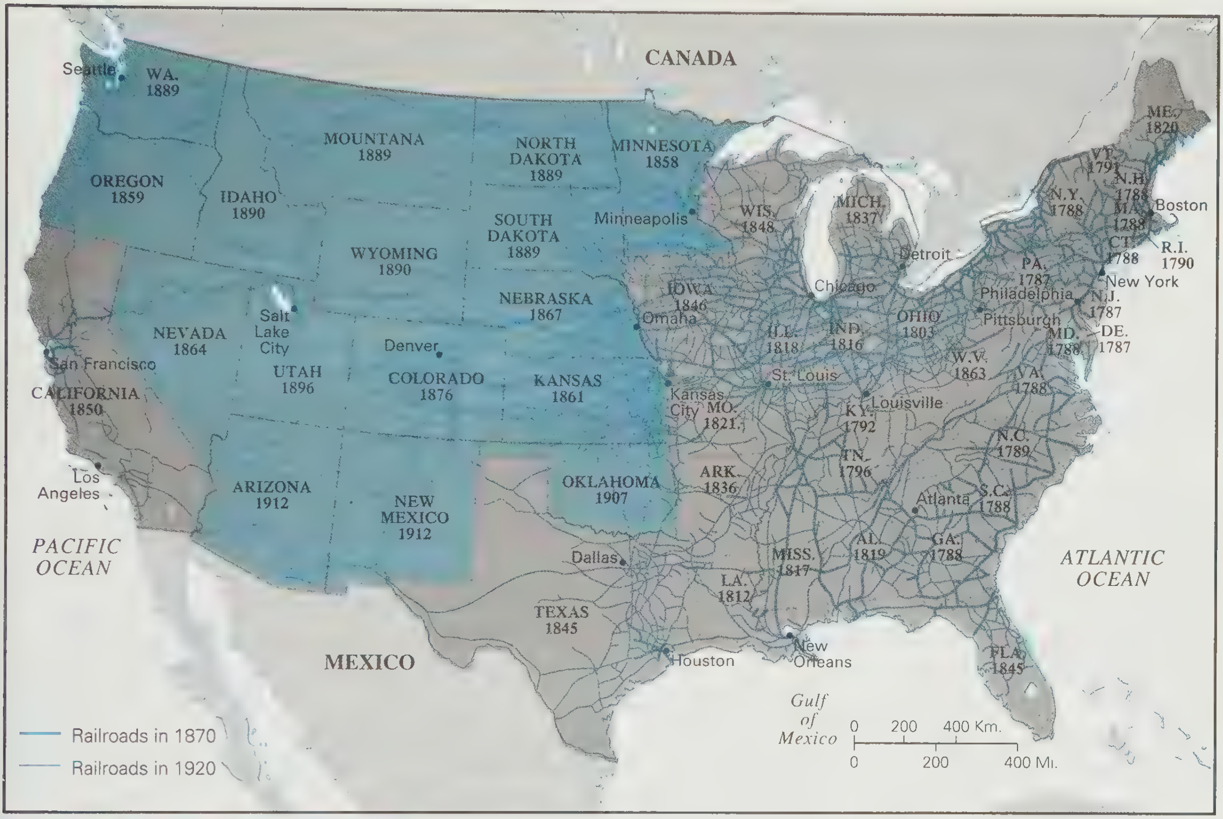
Nationalism also was divisive in south-central Europe, where people speaking many different languages lived in close proximity. In 1867 the Austrian Empire's decision to rename itself the Austro-Hungarian Empire pleased the Hungarian population but alienated Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and other Slavic minorities. The Austro-Hungarian Empire thought of itself as a great power and attempted to dominate the nearby Balkans. This strategy irritated Russia, which thought of itself as the protector of Slavic peoples everywhere. The Austrian annexation of the former Turkish province of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 worsened relations between the two empires. Festering quarrels over the Balkans—the "tinderbox of Europe"—eventually pushed Europe into war (see Chapter 25).

GREAT POWERS OVERSEAS

Since the sixteenth century, Europeans had come to regard their continent as the center of the universe and their states as the only great powers in the world. The late nineteenth century marked the high point of European power and arrogance, as the nations of Europe rushed to gobble up the last remaining unclaimed pieces of the world (see Map 23.1 and Chapter 24). Yet at that very moment two nations outside Europe were becoming great powers. One of them, the United States, was mainly inhabited by people of European origin, and its rise to great-power status had been predicted early in the nineteenth century by astute observers like the French traveler Alexis de Tocqueville. The other one, Japan, seemed so distant and exotic in 1850 that no Europeans guessed it would soon join the ranks of the great powers.

The United States

After the Civil War ended in 1865, the United States entered a period of vigorous growth (see Chapter 20). Hundreds of thousands of immigrants arrived every year, mainly from Russia, Italy, and Central Europe, raising the population from 39 million in 1871 to 63 million in 1891, an increase of 62 percent. Although many settled on the newly opened lands west of the Mississippi



Map 23.2 The United States, 1850–1920 This map shows the expansion of the United States from the coasts into the interior of the continent. In the western half of the continent, only California and Texas were states in 1850; territories located further from the coasts became states later. The economic development, shown by the railroad lines, followed much the same pattern, radiating west and south from the northeastern states and—to a lesser extent—eastward from California.

River (see Map 23.2), most of the migrants moved to towns, which mushroomed into cities in a few years. The nation became an industrial giant. The rail network expanded eleven-fold between 1865 and 1915, creating the largest single integrated market anywhere. To make rails, locomotives, bridges, and other material, U.S. industry produced 20 million tons of steel annually in 1900. By then the United States had overtaken Britain and Germany as the world's leading industrial power.

This explosive growth occurred with few government restrictions. In fact, in the last years of the nineteenth century, the federal, state, and local governments seemed to be influenced by (if not in the pay of) the business sector, on which they lavished free land, tariffs, and other benefits. In this atmosphere of unfettered free enterprise, the nation got rich fast, as did its upper and middle classes.

The sudden expansion created many victims, however. First among them were the American Indians. When the railroads penetrated the west after the Civil War, they brought white colonists eager to start farming, ranching, or mining. The U.S. government had signed numerous treaties with the Indians but tore them up when settlers demanded land. After decades of warfare and starvation, the government confined the remaining Indians to reservations on the poorest lands.

The U.S. government also abandoned African-Americans after the Civil War, especially in the defeated southern states. Though freed from slavery in 1865, most of them became sharecroppers who were at the mercy of their landowners. In the 1890s, the southern states instituted "Jim Crow" laws segregating blacks in public transportation, jobs, and schools. Black Americans also were subject to the lawless violence of mobs, which lynched an average of fifty blacks a year until well into the twentieth century.

Working-class whites benefited little from the booming economy. The United States had few labor laws and offered little unemployment compensation. Police or the army repressed strikes and unions. The courts consistently supported employers against employees, capital against labor, and business against government.

Working-class women bore the brunt of repressive labor practices, because they earned less than men, had more responsibilities, and seldom were members of labor unions. As in Britain, activist middle-class women organized to demand female suffrage and to fight against alcohol, prostitution, and other social evils.

The booming economy and the waves of immigrants radically transformed the environment, as timber companies clear-cut large areas of Michigan, Wisconsin, and the Appalachian Mountains for lumber and farmers cleared the forests and plowed the prairies. Buffalo, the dominant animals of the western territories, were massacred by the hundreds of thousands to starve out the Indians and clear the land for cattle. In the west, the government began massive irrigation projects. In the industrial northeast, iron foundries, steel mills, and steam engines caused severe, local air pollution. The North American continent was so huge, however, that large parts of it remained unspoiled. A few especially beautiful areas were declared national parks, and large parts of the western states were set aside as national forests.

Most citizens showed little interest in foreign affairs. Patriots tended to celebrate American freedom and democracy, the conquest of a huge continent, and the country's remarkable technological achievements. In this period, the inventor Thomas Edison was probably the most admired man in America.

The expansionism of the United States and its businesses exerted a strong influence on Mexico and the Caribbean. In 1898 the United States annexed Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines and turned Cuba into an American protectorate (see Chapter 24). Nevertheless, although their country was fast becoming a global power, most Americans still preferred George Washington's policy of "no European entanglements."

China and Japan

In the late nineteenth century, the power of Europe and the United States reached around the world. China resisted Western influence and became weaker. Japan transformed itself into a major industrial and military power on a par with the West.

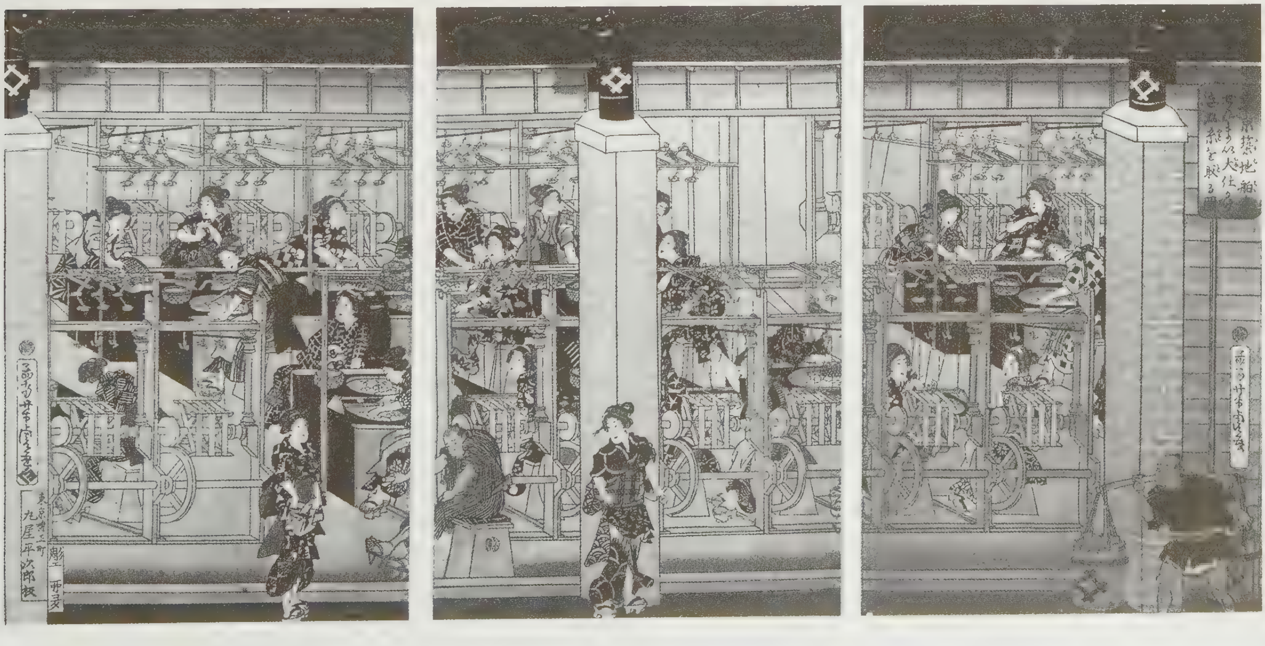
In the 1860s, China had not yet recovered from the Taiping Rebellion (see Chapter 22), and the French and British took advantage of its troubles to demand treaty ports where they could trade at will. The British took over China's customs and allowed the free import of opium until 1917. Foreign influence penetrated inland as well. By 1894, some two thousand Christian missionaries (many of them Americans) were founding churches, hospitals, and schools, taking over the traditional role of the Chinese gentry. Although Christians had little success in gaining converts, the gentry resented their special privileges.

A Chinese "self-strengthening movement" tried in vain to bring about significant reforms by reducing government expenditures and eliminating corruption. Government officials, who did not dare resist the Westerners outright, secretly encouraged crowds to attack and destroy intrusive foreign technologies such as telegraphs, mines, and railways. They were able to slow the foreign intrusion, but in doing so, they denied themselves the best means of defense against foreign pressure.

Unlike China, Japan had little contact with the outside world until the 1850s. The arrival in Tokyo Bay in 1853 of American warships commanded by Commodore Matthew Perry came as a shock to Japanese society. In 1867 and 1868, after thirteen years of violence and uncertainty, provincial rebels overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate and proclaimed the Meiji era (see Chapter 22). Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese were under no illusions that they could fend off the powerful Westerners without changing their institutions or their society. Japan had a long history of adopting technologies from China and Korea. In the same spirit, the Japanese eagerly sought to learn the technological secrets of Western strength. From 1868 until the early twentieth century, the "Meiji oligarchs" kept Japan free of Western imperialism by encouraging Japan's transformation into a world-class industrial and military power, under an authoritarian system of government.

A new Japan embraced all foreign ideas, institutions, and techniques useful to strengthen the nation. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, the Japanese government sent hundreds of students to Britain, Germany, and the United States. It hired foreign experts to teach Japanese how to build railroads, organize a modern army and navy, and operate a bureaucracy. It opened vocational, technical, and agricultural schools and founded four imperial universities. It brought in an Englishman, William Ayrton, to the newly created Imperial College of Engineering as the first professor of electrical engineering anywhere in the world.

A silk factory in Japan in the 1870s Silk manufacture had long been one of Japan's best-known industries. In 1872, the Japanese government built a modern silk factory containing the latest silk-reeling equipment and technology imported from Europe. This government action inspired private entrepreneurs. Notice that all the workers in this factory in Tokyo were women, as was true in most textile mills of that period. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1959. (JP 3346))



The Meiji leaders created a government structure similar to that of imperial Germany. They modeled the Japanese navy on the British navy and the Japanese army on the Prussian army, and they introduced Western-style postal and telegraph systems, railroads and harbors, banking, clocks, and calendars. Though imposed by aristocrats, the Meiji Restoration marked as profound a change in political and social life as the French Revolution. By the end of the century, Japan was sufficiently westernized that the Western powers rescinded the unequal treaties they had imposed forty years earlier.

The Japanese government also encouraged industrialization. It taxed farmers heavily to pay for the purchase of ships, machines, and other capital goods. It set up enterprises to manufacture cloth and inexpensive consumer goods for sale abroad. The first Japanese industries exploited workers ruthlessly, just as the first industries in Europe and America had done.

The methods that strengthened Japan against the imperial ambitions of others could be used to carry out its own conquests. Once involved with the outside world, Japan quickly moved from defensive to offensive action. Its quick defeat of China for influence over Korea, in 1894, demonstrated its new strength. Japan forced China to evacuate Korea, cede Taiwan and the Liaodong Peninsula, and pay a heavy indemnity.

Western leaders made Japan give up Liaodong in the name of the "territorial integrity" of China. In exchange for their "protection," the Western powers then made China grant them territorial and trade concessions, including ninety treaty ports where foreigners enjoyed the privileges of extraterritoriality. In spite of Western attempts to restrict Japan to the role of junior partner, the Japanese continued to increase their military and economic influence. In the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, Japan surprised the world by defeating the Russian Empire. It gained control of southern Manchuria, one of China's richest provinces, with its industries and railroads. In 1910, it annexed Korea, thereby joining the ranks of the world's colonial powers.

CONCLUSION

After World War I broke out in 1914, many people, especially in Europe, looked back on the period from 1850 to 1914 as a golden age. For some, and in certain ways, it was. Industrialization was a powerful torrent changing Europe, North America, and East Asia. Memories of the great scourges—famines, wars, and epidemics—faded. Clean water, electric lights, and railways began to improve the lives of city dwellers, even the poor. Goods from distant lands, even travel to other continents, came within the reach of millions.

European and American society seemed to be heading toward better organization and greater security. Municipal services made city life less dangerous and chaotic. Through labor unions, workers achieved some measure of recognition and security. By the turn of the century, liberal political reforms had taken hold in western Europe and the United States and seemed about to triumph in Russia as well. Morality and legislation aimed at providing security for women and families, though equality between the sexes was still beyond reach.

The framework for all these changes was the nation-state. The world economy, international politics, even cultural and social issues revolved around a handful of countries—the great powers—that believed themselves in control of the destiny of the world. Seldom in history had there been such a concentration of wealth, power, and self-confidence.

The success of the great powers rested on their ability to extract resources from nature and from other societies, especially in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In a global context, the counterpart of the rise of the great powers is the story of imperialism and colonialism. To complete our understanding of the period before 1914, let us turn now to the relations between the great powers and the rest of the world.

SUGGESTED READING

Industrialization is the subject of Peter Stearns, *The Industrial Revolution in World History* (1993). Two interesting works on nationalism are E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (1990), and Hans Kohn, *The Age of Nationalism* (1976).

Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1966), is a classic essay on European society. On European women see Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuard, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (1987), and Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (1975). The history of family life is told in Beatrice Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World from the Black Death to the Industrial Age* (1993). Albert Lindemann, *A History of European Socialism* (1983), covers the labor movements as well.

Germany in the late nineteenth century is well treated in Erich Eyck, *Bismarck and the German Empire* (1964). On Britain see Donald Read, *The Age of Urban Democracy: England, 1868–1914* (1994). On France see Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1976). A good introduction to Russian history is Hans Rogger, *Russia in the Age of Modernization and Revolution, 1881–1917* (1983). Carl Schorske, *Fin de Siècle Vienna* (1980), is an interesting book on the politics and culture of Austria-Hungary.

On American life see Carl Degler's *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (1970) and Emily Rosenberg's *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (1982).

There are several interesting books on Japan. In particular see Richard Storry, *A History of Modern Japan* (1982). A fine book on the history of modern China is John King Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800–1985* (1987).

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

The New Imperialism, 1869–1914

The New Imperialism: Motives and Methods • The Scramble for Africa

Asia and Western Dominance • Imperialism in Latin America

The World Economy and Tropical Environments

In November 1869, Empress Eugénie of France, Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary, and sixteen hundred other dignitaries from the Middle East and Europe assembled at Port Said in Egypt to celebrate the inauguration of the greatest construction project of the century: the Suez Canal. Ismail, the khedive (ruler) of Egypt, had invited all the Christian princes of Europe and all the Muslim princes of Asia and Africa, except the Ottoman sultan, his nominal overlord. He wanted to show that Egypt was not only independent but an equal of the great powers.

Ismail also used this occasion to emphasize the harmony and cooperation between the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Europe. A French journalist wrote:

> This multitude, coming from all parts of the world, presented the most varied and singular spectacle. All races were represented. . . . We saw, coming to attend this festival of civilization, men of the Orient wearing clothes of dazzling colors, chiefs of African tribes wrapped in their great coats, Circassians in war costumes, officers of the British army of India with their shakos [hats] wrapped in muslin, Hungarian magnates wearing their national costumes.[1]

To bless the inauguration, Ismail also had invited clergy of the Muslim, Orthodox, and Catholic faiths. A reporter noted: "The Khedive . . . wished to symbolize thereby the unity of men and their brotherhood before God, without distinction of religion; it was the first time that the Orient had seen such a meeting of faiths to celebrate and bless together a great event and a great work."[2]

The canal was a great success, but not in the way Ismail intended it to be. Ships using it could travel between Europe and India in less than two weeks—much less time than the month or longer consumed by sailing around Africa and into the Indian Ocean. By lowering freight costs, the canal stimulated shipping and the construction of steamships, thereby giving an advantage to nations that had heavy industry and a large maritime trade. Great Britain, which long opposed construction of the canal for fear that it might fall into enemy hands, benefited more than any other nation. France, which provided half of the capital and most of the engineers, came in a distant second, for it had less trade with Asia than Britain did. Egypt, which contributed the other half of the money and most of the labor, was the loser in this affair. Instead of making Egypt powerful and independent, the Suez Canal provided the excuse for a British invasion and occupation of Egypt. Far from inaugurating an era of harmony among the peoples of three continents and three faiths, the canal triggered a wave of European domination over Africa and Asia.

Between 1869 and 1914 Germany, France, Britain, Russia, and the United States used industrial technology to impose their will on the nonindustrial parts of the world. In this chapter, we study the workings of this "New Imperialism" in Africa, Central and Southeast Asia, the Pacific, and Latin America. We identify the motives that drove the imperialists, the technical and administrative methods they used, and the consequences for the world economy and for the peoples and environments of the colonized countries.

THE NEW IMPERIALISM: MOTIVES AND METHODS

The New Imperialism was characterized by an explosion of territorial conquests. Between 1869 and 1914, in a land grab of unprecedented speed, Europeans took territories in Africa and Central Asia, and both Europeans and Americans took territories in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Approximately 10 million square miles (26 million square kilometers) and 150 million people fell under the rule of Europe and the United States in this period. The New Imperialism, however, was more than a land grab. It also involved the use of economic and technological means to reorganize dependent regions and bring them into the world economy as suppliers of foodstuffs and raw materials and as consumers of industrial products.

What inspired Europeans and Americans to venture overseas and impose their will on other societies? There is no simple answer. Economic, cultural, and political motives were involved in each case.

Religion and imperialism European penetration into Africa was accompanied by enthusiastic efforts to convert the Africans to Christianity. European missionaries built schools and clinics as well as churches. Here African schoolchildren are shown a picture of the Virgin Mary holding the baby Jesus, an image designed to replace traditional African religious objects. Mary and Jesus are represented as Europeans. (Ikon/USGP)

Political Motives

The great powers of the late nineteenth century, as well as less powerful countries like Italy, Portugal, and Belgium, were competitive and hypersensitive about their status. French leaders, humiliated by their defeat at the hands of Prussia in 1871 and by the loss of Alsace and Lorraine (see Chapter 23), sought to reestablish their nation's prestige through territorial acquisitions overseas. Great Britain, already in possession of the world's largest and richest empire, felt the need to protect India, its "jewel in the crown," by acquiring colonies in East Africa and Southeast Asia. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck had little interest in acquiring colonies, but many Germans believed that a country as important as theirs required an equally impressive empire overseas.

Political motives were not limited to statesmen in the capital cities. Colonial governors, even officers posted to the farthest colonial outposts, often decided on their own to claim a piece of land before some rival got it. Armies fighting frontier wars found it easier to defeat their neighbors than to make peace with them. Governments felt obligated to back up their men-on-the-spot in order not to lose face. The great powers of Europe acquired much of West Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific islands in this manner.

Cultural Motives

The late nineteenth century saw a Christian revival in Europe and North America, as both Catholics and Protestants founded new missionary societies. Their purpose was not only religious but also cultural in the broadest sense. They sought to export their own norms of "civilized" behavior: they were determined to abolish slavery in Africa and bring Western education, medicine, hygiene, and monogamous marriage to all the world's peoples.

This sense of moral duty and cultural superiority was not limited to missionaries. Many

Europeans and Americans, equating technological innovations with "progress" and "change for the better," believed that Western technology proved the superiority of Western ideas, customs, and culture. This attitude, though self-congratulatory, at least included the idea that non-Western peoples could achieve, through education, the same cultural level as Europeans and Americans. More harmful were racist ideas that relegated non-Europeans to a status of permanent inferiority.

Young men, finding few opportunities for adventure and glory at home in an era of peace, sought them overseas as the Spanish *conquistadores* had done over three centuries earlier. At first, the European public and parliaments were indifferent or hostile to overseas adventures, but a few easy victories in the 1880s overcame their reluctance. By the 1890s, imperialism was a popular cause; it was the overseas extension of the nationalism propelling the power politics of the time.

Economic Motives

Industrialization stimulated demand for minerals such as copper, tin, chrome, manganese, coal, and, most of all, gold and diamonds. Demand for industrial crops such as cotton and rubber and for stimulants such as sugar, coffee, tea, and tobacco also grew. European merchants, manufacturers, and shippers argued that their respective countries needed secure sources of tropical raw materials and foodstuffs and protected markets for their industries. Declining business opportunities at home prompted entrepreneurs and investors to look for profits from mines, plantations, and railroads in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Yet motives alone are not enough to explain the events of the time. What made the motives effective, what made it seem desirable and even relatively simple to conquer a piece of Africa, to convert the "heathen," or to start a plantation, was the sudden increase in the power that industrial peoples could wield over nonindustrial peoples and over the forces of nature. Technological advances explain both the surge of motives and the outcome of the New Imperialism.

Tools of the Imperialists

In the early part of the nineteenth century, technological innovations began to tip the balance of power in favor of Europe. Since the end of the fifteenth century, Europeans had dominated the oceans, and their naval power increased still more with the introduction of steamships. The development of a global network of submarine telegraph cables further enhanced their advantage.

On land, new and much deadlier firearms shifted the balance of power. Western innovations included the breechloader, which could be fired accurately ten times as fast as, and five or six times farther than, a musket; smokeless gunpowder; and repeating rifles. In the 1890s, European and American armies began using machine guns, which could fire eleven bullets per second. Asians and Africans also acquired better firearms—mostly old weapons that European armies had discarded. As European firearms improved, the firepower gap widened, making colonial conquest easier than ever before. By the 1880s and 1890s, European-led forces of a few hundred could defeat non-European armies of thousands.

Colonial Agents and Administration

Once colonial agents took over a territory, their home government expected them to cover their own costs and, if possible, return some profit to the home country. In some cases, there was already a considerable trade that could be taxed. In many places, however, the profits of colonialism could come only from investments and from a thorough reorganization of the indigenous societies.

Colonies that were *protectorates* retained their traditional governments, even their monarchs, but had a European "resident" or "consul-general" to "advise" them. Other colonies were

The Battle of Omdurman In the late nineteenth century, most battles between European (or European-led) troops and African forces were one-sided encounters because of the disparity in the opponents' firearms and tactics. The Battle of Omdurman in Sudan in 1898 is a dramatic example. The forces of the Mahdi, some on horseback, were armed with spears and single-shot muskets. The British troops and their Egyptian allies, lined up in the foreground, used repeating rifles and machine guns able to shoot much farther than the Sudanese weapons. As a result, there were many Sudanese casualties but very few British or Egyptian. (E. T. Archive)

directly administered by a European governor. The impact of colonial rule depended much more on economic and social conditions than on narrow legal distinctions. One important factor was the presence or absence of European settlers. In Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, whites were already in the majority by 1869, and their colonial "mother-country," Britain, encouraged them to elect parliaments and rule themselves. In colonies with few white settlers, the European governors ruled autocratically.

Nowhere could colonialism operate without the cooperation of indigenous elites, because no colony was wealthy enough to pay the salaries of more than a handful of European officials. In most cases, the colonial governors exercised power through traditional rulers willing to cooperate. In addition, colonial governments also educated a few local youths for "modern" jobs as clerks, nurses, policemen, customs inspectors, and the like. In this way colonialism created an indigenous elite.

As conquest gave way to peaceful colonialism, and as steamships and railroads made travel less difficult, colonial officials and settlers began bringing their wives to the colonies. By the 1880s, the British Women's Emigration Association was recruiting single women to go out to the colonies to marry British settlers. Many colonial wives found themselves in command of numerous servants and expected to follow the complex etiquette of colonial entertainment in support of their husbands' official positions. Only occasionally did these women find opportunities to exercise personal initiatives, usually charitable work involving indigenous women and children. However well meaning, their efforts were always subordinated to the work of men.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

As late as 1879, Africans ruled more than 90 percent of their continent. Then within a decade Africa was invaded and divided among the European powers in a movement often referred to as the "Scramble for Africa" (see Map 24.1). This invasion affected all regions of the continent. Let us look at the most significant cases.

Egypt

Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, the khedives of Egypt tried to modernize their armed forces; build canals, harbors, railroads, and other public works; and reorient Egyptian agriculture toward export crops, especially cotton (see Chapters 19 and 21). Their interest in the Suez Canal was part of this policy. These ambitions cost vast sums of money, some of which the khedives borrowed from European creditors at high interest rates.

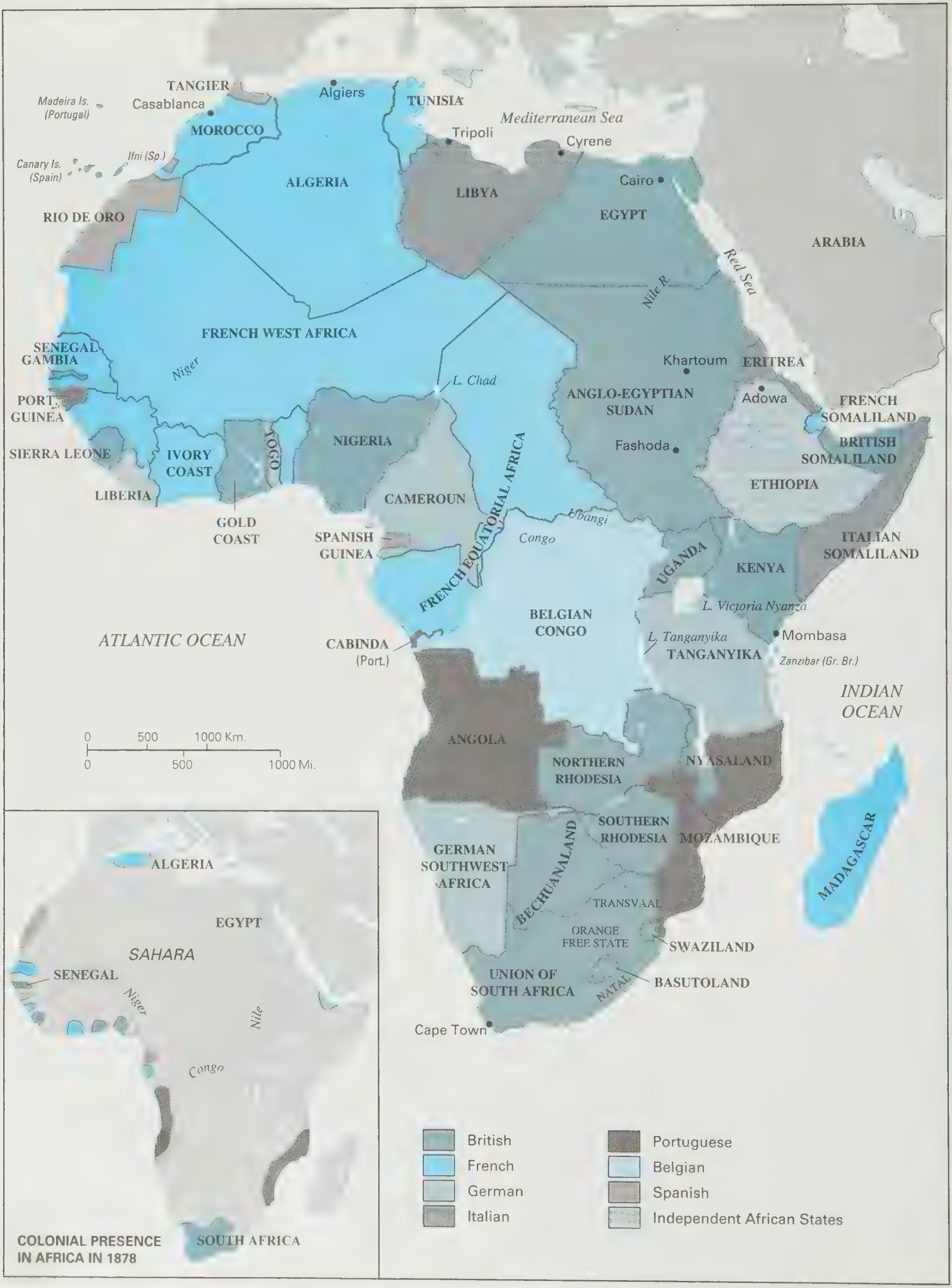
By 1876, Egypt's foreign debt had risen to £100 million sterling. To avoid bankruptcy, the Egyptian government sold its shares in the Suez Canal to Great Britain and accepted four foreign "commissioners of the debt" to oversee its finances. French and British bankers lobbied their governments to secure the loans by stronger measures, then persuaded the Ottoman sultan to depose Ismail when high taxes caused hardship and popular discontent. This foreign interference provoked a military uprising, which threatened the Suez Canal.

Fearing for their investments, the British sent an army into Egypt in 1882. They intended to occupy Egypt for only a year or two, but so important was the Suez Canal to their maritime supremacy that they stayed for seventy years. During those years the British ruled Egypt "indirectly"—that is, they maintained the Egyptian government and the fiction of Egyptian sovereignty but retained the real power in their own hands.

The economic development of Egypt by the British enriched a small elite of landowners and merchants, many of them foreigners. Egyptian peasants got little relief from the heavy taxes collected to pay for their country's crushing foreign debt and the expenses of the British army of occupation. Western ways that conflicted with the teachings of Islam offended Muslim religious leaders. By the 1890s, most Egyptian politicians and intellectuals were demanding that the British leave, but to no avail.

Western and Equatorial Africa

In 1879, the American journalist Henry Morton Stanley, who had explored the Congo Basin, an enormous forested region in the heart of equatorial Africa (see Map 24.1), persuaded Leopold II, king of Belgium, to invest his personal fortune in "opening up" the region. Stanley then established trading posts along the left bank of the Congo River. At the same time an Italian explorer obtained from Makoko, an African ruler living on the opposite bank, a treaty that placed the area under the "protection" of France. These events sparked a flurry of diplomatic activity.


TANGIER
Madeira Is. (Portugal)
Casablanca
Algiers
TUNISIA
Mediterranean Sea
MOROCCO
Tripoli
Cyrene
Canary Is. (Spain)
Ifni (Sp.)
ALGERIA
LIBYA
Cairo
EGYPT
RIO DE ORO
ARABIA
Red Sea
Nile R.
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
Niger
Khartoum
ERITREA
L. Chad
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Adowa
FRENCH SOMALILAND
PORT. GUINEA
BRITISH SOMALILAND
NIGERIA
Fashoda
SIERRA LEONE
IVORY COAST
TOGO
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
ETHIOPIA
LIBERIA
CAMEROUN
GOLD COAST
Ubangi
SPANISH GUINEA
Congo
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
UGANDA
KENYA
L. Victoria Nyanza
BELGIAN CONGO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CABINDA (Port.)
L. Tanganyika
Mombasa
TANGANYIKA
Zanzibar (Gr. Br.)
INDIAN OCEAN
0 500 1000 Km.
0 500 1000 Mi.
ANGOLA
NORTHERN RHODESIA
NYASALAND
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
MOZAMBIQUE
GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
MADAGASCAR
TRANSVAAL
ORANGE FREE STATE
SWAZILAND
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
NATAL
BASUTOLAND
Cape Town
ALGERIA
EGYPT
SAHARA
SENEGAL
Niger
Nile
Congo
SOUTH AFRICA
COLONIAL PRESENCE IN AFRICA IN 1878
British
French
German
Italian
Portuguese
Belgian
Spanish
Independent African States

At the Berlin Conference of 1884 and 1885, the major powers agreed that henceforth "effective occupation" would replace the former trading relations between Africans and Europeans. This meant that every country with colonial ambitions had to send troops into Africa and participate in the division of the spoils. As a reward for triggering the Scramble for Africa, Leopold II acquired a personal domain under the name "Congo Free State" (now Zaire), while France and Portugal took most of the rest of equatorial Africa. In this manner, the European powers and King Leopold managed to divide Africa among themselves, at least on paper.

"Effective occupation" required many years of effort. In the interior of West Africa, Muslim rulers resisted the French invasion for up to thirty years. Germans then staked claims to parts of the region, and the British moved north from their coastal enclaves, until the entire region was occupied by Britain, France, and Germany. The new rulers took advantage of existing trade networks, taxing merchants and farmers, investing the profits in railroads and harbors, and paying dividends to European stockholders.

Compared to West Africa, equatorial Africa had few inhabitants and little trade. Rather than try to govern these vast territories directly, the Congo Free State, the French Congo, and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique farmed out huge pieces of land to private concession companies, offering them a monopoly on the natural resources and trade of their territories and the right to employ soldiers and to tax the inhabitants. The inhabitants, however, had no cash crops that they could sell to raise the money they needed to pay their taxes.

Freed from outside supervision, the companies forced the African inhabitants at gunpoint to produce cash crops and carry them, on their heads or backs, to the nearest railroad or navigable river. The worst abuses took place in the Congo Free State, where a rubber boom lasting from 1895 to 1905 made it profitable for private companies to coerce Africans to collect latex from vines that grew in the forests. After 1906 the British press began publicizing the horrors. The public outcry that followed, coinciding with the end of the rubber boom, convinced the Belgian government to take over Leopold's private empire in 1908.

Map 24.1 Africa in 1878 and 1914 These maps show the expansion of the European colonial empires into Africa at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1878 the European colonial presence was limited to a few coastal enclaves, plus portions of Algeria and South Africa. By 1914, Europeans had taken over all of Africa except Ethiopia and Liberia.

Southern Africa

Southern Africa had long attracted European settlers with its good pastures and farmland and its deposits of diamonds, gold, and copper, as well as coal and iron ore. It was the new El Dorado that imperialists had dreamed of since the heyday of the Spanish Empire in Peru and Mexico (see Chapter 14).

The discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1868 lured numerous European prospectors as well as Africans looking for work. It also attracted the interest of Great Britain, colonial ruler of Cape Colony, which annexed the diamond area in 1871, thereby angering the Afrikaners. Relations between the British and the Afrikaners took a turn for the worse when gold was discovered in the Afrikaner republic of Transvaal in 1886. In the gold rush that ensued, the British soon outnumbered the Afrikaners.

British attempts to annex the two Afrikaner republics, Transvaal and Orange Free State, and the inflow of English-speaking whites into the gold- and diamond-mining areas led to the South African War, which lasted from 1899 to 1902. At first the Afrikaners had the upper hand, for they were highly motivated, possessed modern rifles, and knew the land. In 1901, however, Great Britain brought in 450,000 troops and crushed the Afrikaner armies. Ironically, the Afrikaners' defeat in 1902 led to their ultimate victory. Wary of costly commitments overseas, the British government expected European settlers in Africa to manage their own affairs, as they were doing in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Thus in 1910 European settlers created the Union of South Africa, in which the Afrikaners eventually emerged as the ruling element.

Unlike Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, South Africa had a majority of indigenous inhabitants and substantial numbers of Indians and "Cape Coloureds" (people of mixed ancestry). Yet the Europeans were both numerous enough to demand self-rule and powerful enough to deny the vote and other civil rights to the majority. In 1913 the South African parliament passed the Natives Land Act, assigning Africans to reservations and forbidding them to own land elsewhere. This and other racial policies turned South Africa into a land of segregation, oppression, and bitter antagonism.

Political and Social Consequences

The various societies in Africa at this time responded in very different ways to the European invasion. Some peoples welcomed the invaders as allies against local enemies. Under colonial rule, they sought a Western education and work in government service or in European firms. Others, especially peoples with a pastoral or a warrior tradition, fought tenaciously. For example, in Southwest Africa (now Namibia), the pastoral Herero people rose up against German invaders in 1904; in repressing the uprising, the Germans exterminated two-thirds of them. Some commercial states with a long history of contact with Europeans also fought back. The kingdom of Asante in Gold Coast rose up three times (in 1874, 1896, and 1900) before it was finally overwhelmed.

One resistance movement succeeded, to the astonishment of Europeans and Africans alike. When Menelik became emperor of Ethiopia in 1889, his country was threatened by Sudanese Muslims to the west and by France and Italy, which controlled the Red Sea coast to the east. Italy had agreed in 1889 to sell modern weapons to Ethiopia. Six years later, when Italians attempted to establish a protectorate over Ethiopia, they found the Ethiopians armed with thousands of rifles and even a few machine guns and artillery pieces. Although Italy sent twenty thousand troops to attack Ethiopia, they were defeated in 1896 by a larger and better-trained Ethiopian army.

Most Africans neither joined nor fought the European invaders but tried to continue living as they had been. They found this increasingly difficult, however, for colonial rule disrupted every traditional society. Changes in landholding were especially disruptive, for most Africans were farmers or herders for whom access to land was a necessity of life. In places with a high population density, such as Egypt and West Africa, the colonial rulers left peasants in place but encouraged them to grow cash crops and then collected taxes on the product of their labor. Elsewhere, the new rulers declared any land that was not farmed to be "waste" or "vacant" and gave it to private concession companies or to European planters and ranchers. Thus Africans found themselves squatters, sharecroppers, or ranch hands on land where they had grown crops or raised animals for generations. In the worst cases, as in South Africa, many were forced off their lands and onto "reserves," like the Indians of the United States (see Chapter 20).

Colonial rulers were even more interested in African labor but did not want to pay wages high enough to attract workers voluntarily. Instead, they imposed various taxes, such as the hut tax or the head tax, which Africans had to pay regardless of their income. To find the money, Africans had little choice but to accept whatever work the Europeans offered, no matter how poorly paid. Despite the low wages, Africans came to the cities and mining camps seeking a better life than they had on the land. Many migrated great distances and stayed away for years at a time. Most migrant workers were men who left their wives and children behind in villages and on reserves.

Some African women welcomed colonial rule, for it brought an end to fighting and slave raiding (see Voices and Visions: A Nigerian Woman Remembers Her Childhood). On the whole, however, African women benefited less than

Victorious Ethiopians Among the states of Africa, Ethiopia alone was able to defend itself against European imperialism. In the 1880s, hemmed in by Italian advances to its east and north and by British advances to its south and west, Ethiopia purchased modern weapons and trained its army to use them. Thus prepared, the Ethiopians defeated an Italian invasion at Adowa in 1896. These Ethiopian army officers wore their most elaborate finery to pose for a photograph after their victory. (National Archives)

men from the economic changes that colonialism introduced. In areas where the colonial rulers replaced communal property (traditional in most of Africa) with private property, property rights were assigned to the head of the household—that is, to the man. Almost all the jobs open to Africans, even those considered "women's work" in Europe such as nursing or domestic service, were reserved for men.

Cultural Responses

More Africans probably came into contact with missionaries than with any other Europeans. Missionaries, both men and women, opened schools to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic to village children. Boys were taught crafts such as carpentry and blacksmithing, while girls learned domestic skills such as cooking, laundry, and child care. Education opened the doors to more than jobs. Along with basic skills, the first generation of Africans educated in mission schools also acquired Western ideas of justice and progress.

Christian missionaries from Europe and America were not the only ones to bring religious change to Africa. In southern and Central Africa, indigenous preachers adapted Christianity to African values and customs and founded new denominations known as "Ethiopian" churches.

A Nigerian Woman Remembers Her Childhood

First-person accounts of the period from 1869 to 1914 by African women are extremely rare, for few African women knew how to write and almost none wrote their memoirs. One exception is Baba of Karo, a woman from Zarewa in the Sokoto caliphate (now northern Nigeria), who told her life story to a visiting American anthropologist. This is her recollection of the arrival of the British who conquered Sokoto between 1901 and 1903, when she was a young girl.

When I was a maiden the Europeans first arrived. Ever since we were quite small the *malams* [Koranic scholars] had been saying that the Europeans would come with a thing called a train, they would come with a thing called a motor-car, in them you would go and come back in a trice. They would stop wars, they would repair the world, they would stop oppression and lawlessness, we should live at peace with them. We used to go and sit quietly and listen to the prophecies. They would come, fine handsome people, they would not kill anyone, they would not oppress anyone, they would bring all their strange things. We were young girls when a European came with his attendants—"See, there's a white man, what has brought him?" He was asking the way to some town, we ran away and shut the door and he passed by and went on his way. . . .

I remember when a European came to Karo on a horse, and some of his foot soldiers went into the town. Everyone came out to look at them, but in Zarewa they didn't see the European. Everyone at Karo ran away—"There's a European! There's a European!" He came from Zaria with a few black men, two on horses and four on foot. We were inside the town. Later on we heard that they were there in Zaria in crowds, clearing spaces and building houses. One of my younger "sisters" was at Karo, she was pregnant, and when she saw the European she ran away and shut the door.

At that time Yusufu was the king of Karo. He did not like the Europeans, he did not wish them, he would not sign their treaty. When he saw that perforce he would have to agree, so he did. We Habe [Hausa] wanted them to come, it was the Fulani [ruling class of Sokoto] who did not like it. When the Europeans came the Habe saw that if you worked for them they paid you for it, they didn't say, like the Fulani, "Commoner, give me this! Commoner, bring me that!" Yes, the Habe wanted them; they saw no harm in them. From Zaria they came to Rogo, they were building their big road to Karo City. They called out the people and said they were to come and make the road, if there were trees in the way they cut them down. The Europeans paid them with goods, they collected the villagers together and each man brought his large hoe. Money was not much use to them, so the Europeans paid them with food and other things.

The Europeans said that there were to be no more slaves; if someone said "Slave!" you could complain to the *alkali* [judge] who would punish the master who said it, the judge said "That is what the Europeans have decreed." The first order said that any slave, if he was younger than you, was your younger brother, if he was older than you he was your elder brother—they were all brothers of their master's family. No one used the word "slave" any more. When slavery was stopped, nothing much happened at our *rinji* [slave quarters] except that some slaves whom we had bought in the market ran away. Our own father went to his farm and worked, he and his son took up their large hoes; they loaned out their spare farms. Tsoho our father and Kadiri my brother with whom I live now and Balambo worked, they farmed guineacorn and millet and groundnuts and everything; before this they had supervised the slaves' work—now they did their own. . . .

In the old days if the chief liked the look of your daughter he would take her and put her in his house; you could do nothing about it. Now they don't do that.

This account raises a number of important questions. How did people in this part of Africa anticipate the arrival of the Europeans? Who favored their coming, and who did not? Why? What impact did the Europeans have on slavery and on labor in this area? Overall, did Baba of Karo approve or disapprove of their coming? Why?

Source: From M. F. Smith, ed., *Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Muslim Hausa* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955), 66–68. Reprinted by permission of Philosophical Library, New York.

Christian missionaries won converts among followers of traditional religions but made no inroads among Muslims. European colonialism may have unwittingly helped the diffusion of Islam by building cities and increasing trade, which not only permitted Muslims to travel and settle in new areas but made Islam—a universal religion without the taint of colonialism—increasingly relevant to Africans. The number of Muslims in sub-Saharan Africa probably doubled between 1869 and 1914.

ASIA AND WESTERN DOMINANCE

During the period from 1869 to 1914, the pressure of the industrial powers was felt throughout Asia, the East Indies, and the Pacific islands (see Map 24.2). As trade with these regions grew in the late nineteenth century, so did their attractiveness to imperialists eager for economic benefits and national prestige.

Central Asia

For over seven centuries, Russians had been at the mercy of the nomads of the Eurasian steppe extending from the Black Sea to Manchuria. When the nomadic tribesmen were united, as they were under the Mongol ruler Genghis Khan (r. 1206–1227), they could defeat the Russians; when they were not, the Russians advanced into the steppe. This age-old ebb and flow ended when Russia acquired modern rifles and artillery.

Nomads like the Kazakhs, who lived east of the Caspian Sea, fought bravely but in vain against such weapons. The fertile agricultural land of Kazakhstan attracted 200,000 Russian settlers. Although the governments of Tsar Alexander II (r. 1855–1881) and Tsar Alexander III (r. 1881–1894) claimed not to interfere in indigenous customs, they declared communally owned grazing lands "waste" or "vacant" and turned them over to farmers from Russia. By the end of the nineteenth century, the nomads had been fenced out and reduced to starvation.

Southeast Asia and Indonesia

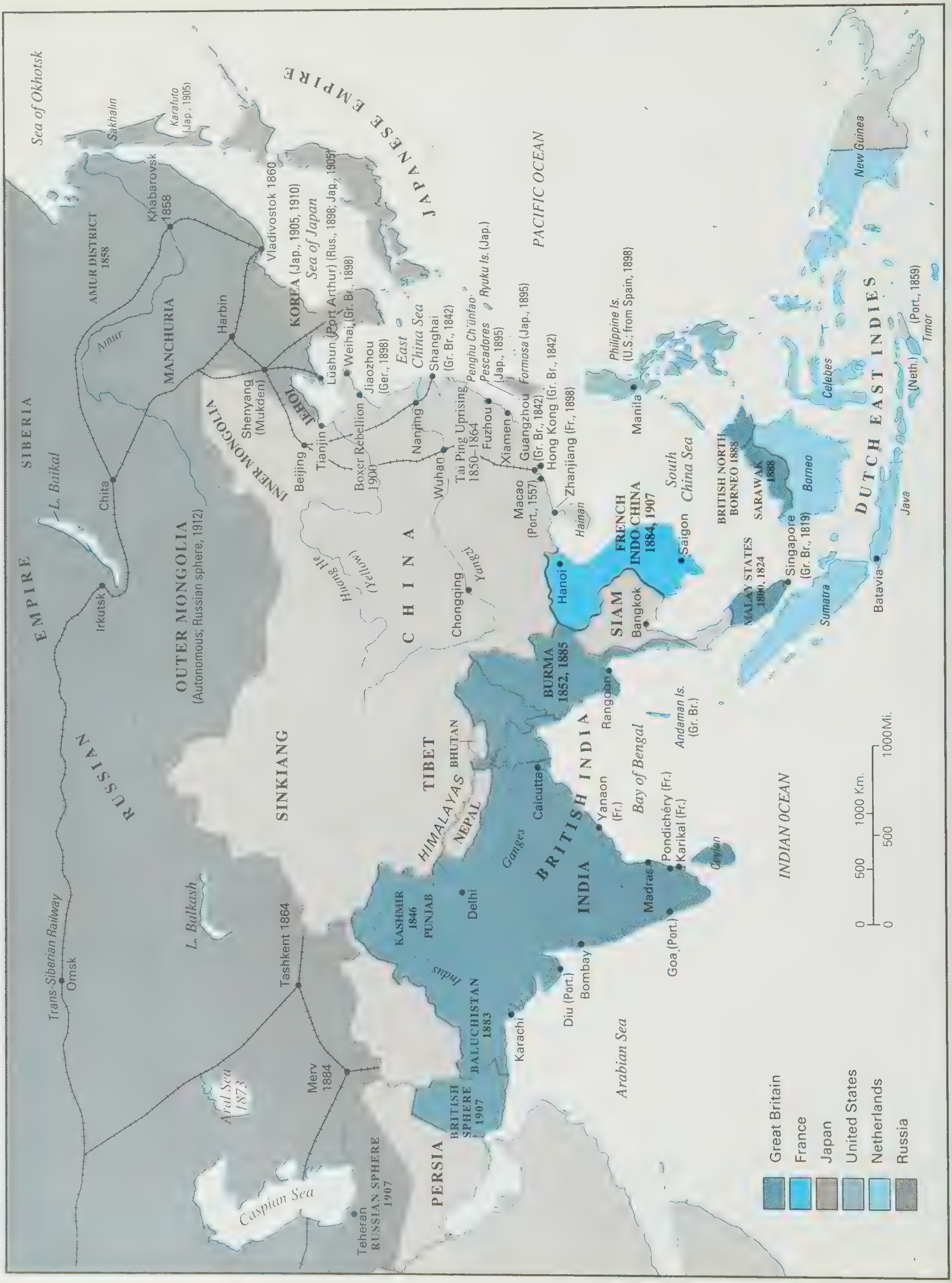
The peoples of the Southeast Asian peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago came under intense imperialist pressure during the nineteenth century. Burma (now Myanmar) and Malaya (now Malaysia) were gradually taken over by the British. Indochina fell piece by piece under French control. By the early 1900s the Dutch had subdued northern Sumatra, the last part of the Dutch East Indies to be conquered. Only Siam (now Thailand) remained independent.

The wealth of the region certainly attracted the European imperialists, even when, as in the case of the French in Indochina, their original motivation was political. Tobacco, cinchona (an antimalarial drug), manioc, maize, and natural rubber from the Americas; sugar from India; tea from China; and coffee and oil palms from Africa had all been transferred to the region. Most of this wealth was exported to Europe and North America. In exchange, the inhabitants received two benefits from colonial rule: peace and a reliable food supply. As a result, their numbers increased at an unprecedented rate.

Colonialism and the growth of population brought many social changes to the region. Agricultural and commercial peoples gradually moved into mountain and forest areas, displacing the earlier inhabitants who practiced hunting and gathering or shifting agriculture. Immigrants from China and India (see Chapter 21) changed the ethnic composition and culture of every country in the region.

As in Africa, European missionaries attempted to spread Christianity under the colonial umbrella. Islam, however, was much more successful in gaining converts, for it had been established in the region for centuries and people did not consider it a religion imposed on them by foreigners.

Education and European ideas had an impact on the political perceptions of the peoples of


Sea of Okhotsk
Sakhalin
Karafuto (Jap. 1905)
JAPANESE EMPIRE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
SIBERIA
AMUR DISTRICT 1858
Khabarovsk 1858
Vladivostok 1860
Amur
L. Baikal
Chita
Irkutsk
Harbin
MANCHURIA
OUTER MONGOLIA (Autonomous; Russian sphere, 1912)
INNER MONGOLIA
Shenyang (Mukden)
JEHOL
KOREA (Jap., 1905, 1910)
Sea of Japan
Lüshun (Port Arthur) (Rus., 1898; Jap., 1905)
Weihai (Gr. Br., 1898)
Jiaozhou (Ger., 1898)
East China Sea
Shanghai (Gr. Br., 1842)
Penghu Ch'ünfao Pescadores (Jap., 1895)
Ryuku Is. (Jap.)
Formosa (Jap., 1895)
PACIFIC OCEAN
Beijing
Tianjin
Boxer Rebellion 1900
Nanjing
Wuhan
Tai Ping Uprising 1850–1864
Fuzhou
Xiamen
Guangzhou (Gr. Br., 1842)
Hong Kong (Gr. Br., 1842)
Zhanjiang (Fr., 1898)
Macao (Port., 1557)
Hainan
Huang He (Yellow)
Yangzi
CHINA
Chongqing
Trans-Siberian Railway
Omsk
L. Balkash
Tashkent 1864
SINKIANG
TIBET
BHUTAN
HIMALAYAS
NEPAL
Aral Sea 1873
Merv 1884
Caspian Sea
Teheran
RUSSIAN SPHERE 1907
PERSIA
BRITISH SPHERE 1907
BALUCHISTAN 1883
Karachi
Indus
KASHMIR 1846
PUNJAB
Delhi
Ganges
BRITISH INDIA
INDIA
Calcutta
Yanaon (Fr.)
Diu (Port.)
Bombay
Goa (Port.)
Madras
Pondichéry (Fr.)
Karikal (Fr.)
Ceylon
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Andaman Is. (Gr. Br.)
INDIAN OCEAN
Rangoon
BURMA 1852, 1885
SIAM
Bangkok
Hanoi
FRENCH INDO-CHINA 1884, 1907
Saigon
South China Sea
Philippine Is. (U.S.; from Spain, 1898)
Manila
BRITISH NORTH BORNEO 1888
SARAWAK 1888
Borneo
Celebes
MALAY STATES 1860, 1824
Singapore (Gr. Br., 1819)
Sumatra
Batavia
Java
DUTCH EAST INDIES
Timor
(Neth.)
(Port., 1859)
New Guinea
0 500 1000 Km.
0 500 1000 Mi.
Great Britain
France
Japan
United States
Netherlands
Russia

Southeast Asia and Indonesia. Just as important, however, was their awareness of events in neighboring Asian countries: India, where a nationalist movement arose in the 1880s (see Chapter 21); China, where modernizers were undermining the authority of the Qing (Chapter 22); and especially Japan, whose rapid industrialization culminated in its victory over Russia in 1905 (Chapter 23).

Hawaii and the Philippines

By the 1890s, the United States had a fast-growing population and industries that produced more manufactured goods than they could sell at home. Merchants and bankers began to look to export markets. The political mood was also expansionist.

Some Americans had been looking outward for quite some time, especially across the Pacific to China and Japan. In 1870 the United States obtained the harbor of Pago Pago in Samoa and in 1884 acquired Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Nine years later, American settlers in Hawaii deposed Queen Liliuokalani (1838–1917) and offered the islands to the United States. At the time, Congress was reluctant to acquire so many dark-skinned subjects all at once, and the settlers had to content themselves with an informal protectorate. By 1898, however, the United States had become openly imperialistic. During a war with Spain, it annexed Hawaii for strategic reasons as a steppingstone to Asia.

While large parts of Asia were falling under colonial domination, the people of the Philippines were chafing under their Spanish rulers. The movement for independence began among young Filipinos studying in Europe but shifted to the Philippines, where Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of a secret society, rose in revolt and proclaimed a republic in 1898. The revolutionaries had a good chance of winning independence, for Spain already had its hands full with a revolution in Cuba (see below).

Unfortunately for Aguinaldo and his followers, the United States went to war against Spain in April 1898 and quickly overcame the Spanish forces in the Philippines and in Cuba. President William McKinley (1897–1901) had not intended to acquire the Philippines. But after the Spanish defeat, he changed his mind and bought them from Spain for $20 million rather than let them fall into the hands of Germany or Japan, which, operating from the Philippines, could have threatened American business interests in China.

In January 1899, Aguinaldo rose up again and proclaimed the independence of his country. In spite of protests by anti-imperialists in the United States, the U.S. government decided that its global interests outweighed the preferences of the Filipino people. The American occupation army tortured prisoners, burned villages and crops, and forced the inhabitants into "reconcentration camps." Many American soldiers tended to look on Filipinos with the same racial contempt with which Europeans viewed their colonial subjects. By the end of the insurrection in 1902, the war had cost the lives of 5,000 Americans and 200,000 Filipinos.

After the end of the insurrection, the United States attempted to soften its rule with public works and economic development projects. New buildings went up in the city of Manila; roads, harbors, and railroads were built; and the Philippine economy was tied ever more closely to that of the United States. In 1907 Filipinos were allowed to elect representatives to a legislative assembly; however, ultimate authority remained in the hands of a governor appointed by the president of the United States. In 1916, the Philippines were the first U.S. colony to be promised independence. The United States kept that promise thirty years later.

Map 24.2 Asia in 1914 By 1914, the colonial powers claimed much of Asia. The southern rim, from the Persian Gulf to the Pacific, was occupied by Great Britain and, to a lesser extent, by France, the Netherlands, and the United States. Siberia, in the north, had been incorporated into the Russian Empire. Japan, now industrialized, had joined the Western imperialist powers in expanding its territory and influence at the expense of China.

IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Nations in the Americas followed two divergent paths (see Chapter 20). Manufacturing industries, powerful corporations, and wealthy financial institutions arose in Canada and the United States. Latin America and the Caribbean exported raw materials and foodstuffs and imported manufactured goods. The poverty of Latin American people, the preferences of their elites, and the pressures of the world economy made them increasingly dependent on the industrialized countries. Their natural resources made them attractive targets for manipulation by the industrial powers, including the United States, in a form of economic dependence called free-trade imperialism.

In the Western Hemisphere, therefore, the New Imperialism manifested itself not by a "scramble" for territories but in two other ways. In the larger republics of South America, the pressure was mostly financial and economic. In Central America and the Caribbean, it also included military intervention by the United States.

Railroads and the Imperialism of Free Trade

As both inhabitants and outsiders realized, Latin America's potential for economic growth was huge, for the region could produce many agricultural and mineral products in demand in the industrial countries. What was most urgently needed was a means of opening up the interior to development. For this, railroads seemed the perfect answer.

Starting in the 1870s, almost every country in Latin America acquired railroads, usually connecting mines or agricultural regions with the nearest port rather than linking up the different parts of the interior. Since Latin America did not have any steel or mechanical industries, all the equipment and building material came from Britain or the United States. So did the money to build the networks, the engineers who designed and maintained them, and the managers who ran them.

Argentina, a land of rich soil that produced wheat, beef, and hides, obtained the longest and best-developed rail network south of the United States. By 1914, 86 percent of the railroads in Argentina were owned by British firms, 40 percent of the employees were British, and the official language of the railroads was not Spanish but English. The same was true of mining and industrial enterprises and public utilities throughout Latin America.

In many ways, the situation resembled that of India or Ireland, which also obtained a rail network in exchange for raw materials and agricultural products. The difference was that Indians and Irish had little say in the matter, since they were under British rule. But in Latin America the political elites, most of whom considered themselves culturally European, encouraged foreign companies with generous concessions as the most rapid way to modernize their countries and enrich their property owners.

American Expansionism and the Spanish-American War

After 1865, the European powers used their financial power to penetrate Latin America. But they avoided territorial acquisitions, for four reasons: (1) they were overextended in Africa and Asia; (2) there was no need, because the Latin American governments provided the political backing for the economic arrangements; (3) the Latin Americans had shown themselves capable of resisting invasions; and (4) the United States, itself a former colony, claimed to defend the entire Western Hemisphere against all outside intervention. This claim, made in the Monroe Doctrine (1823), did not prevent the United States itself from intervening in Latin American affairs.

Railroads penetrate South America The late nineteenth century saw the construction of several railroad networks in South America, often through rugged and dangerous terrain. This photograph shows the inauguration of a bridge on the Transandine Railroad in Peru. Flags were raised in honor of American construction and British ownership of the railroad. (Tony Morrison/South American Pictures)

The United States had long had interests in Cuba, the closest and richest of the Caribbean islands and a Spanish colony. American businesses had large investments in Cuba's sugar and tobacco industries, and thousands of Cubans had migrated to the United States. In 1895, when Cuban nationalists started a revolution against Spanish rule, American newspapers thrilled readers with lurid stories of Spanish atrocities, businessmen worried about their investments, and politicians demanded that the U.S. government help liberate Cuba.

On February 15, 1898, the U.S. battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana harbor, killing 266 American sailors. The U.S. government immediately blamed Spain and issued an ultimatum intended to persuade Spain to grant Cuba its independence. Spain made some concessions, but the American press and Congress were so eager for war that President McKinley drafted a war message.

The Spanish-American War was over quickly. On May 1, 1898, U.S. warships destroyed the Spanish fleet at Manila in the Philippines. Two months later, the United States Navy sank the Spanish Atlantic fleet off Santiago, Cuba. By mid-August, Spain was suing for peace. Cuba became an independent republic, subject, however, to intense interference by the United States. As war booty, the United States purchased the Philippines from Spain and took over Puerto Rico and Guam, the last two of which remain American possessions to this day.

American Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean

The nations of Central America and the Caribbean were small and poor, and their governments were corrupt, unstable, and often bankrupt. They seemed to offer an open invitation to foreign interference. The excuse often was the same one that led to the British takeover of Egypt. A government would borrow money to pay for railroads, harbors, electric power, and other symbols of modernity. When it could not repay the loan, banks in Europe and the United States would ask for assistance from their home governments, which sometimes threatened to intervene.

To ward off European intervention, the United States sent in the marines on more than one occasion. American troops occupied the Dominican Republic from 1904 to 1907 and again in 1916, Nicaragua and Honduras in 1912, and Haiti in 1915. They brought sanitation and material progress but no political improvements.

The United States was especially forceful in Panama, which was a province of Colombia. The issue was not corruption or debts but the construction of a canal across the isthmus of Panama to speed shipping between the east and west coasts of the United States and allow warships to move quickly between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The main obstacle was Colombia, whose senate refused to give the United States a piece of Panama. In 1903, the U.S. government supported a Panamanian rebellion against Colombia and quickly recognized the independence of Panama. In exchange, it obtained the right to build a canal and to occupy a zone 5 miles (8 kilometers) wide on either side of it. Work began in 1904, and the Panama Canal opened on August 15, 1914.

THE WORLD ECONOMY AND TROPICAL ENVIRONMENTS

The New Imperialists were not traditional conquerors or empire builders like the Spanish conquistadores. Their aim was not only to extend their power but to control new territories and indigenous peoples and make them function more efficiently than they ever had done before. They expressed their belief in progress and their good intentions in the clichés of the time: "the conquest of nature," "the taming of the wilderness," and "our civilizing mission."

Expansion of the World Economy

For centuries, exotic and tropical products such as spices, sugar, and silk had found a ready market in Europe. The Industrial Revolution vastly expanded this demand. The trade in industrial raw materials grew even faster. Some were the products of agriculture, such as cotton, jute for bags, and palm oil for soap and lubricants. Others were minerals like diamonds, gold, and copper. The growing needs of the industrial world, however, could not be met by the nonindustrial world's methods of production and transportation. So the imperialists spared no effort to bring their newly conquered territories into the technological mainstream of the world market.

The first great change was in transportation. The Suez and Panama Canals cut travel time and lowered freight costs. Steamships became more numerous; and as their size increased, new, deeper harbors were needed. The Europeans built railroads throughout the world. India alone had 37,000 miles (nearly 60,000 kilometers) of track by 1915, almost as much as Germany or Russia. Railroads reached into the interior of Latin America, Canada, China, and Australia. In 1903 the Russians completed the Trans-Siberian Railway from Moscow to Vladivostok on the Pacific. Visionaries even made plans for railroads from Europe to India and from Egypt to South Africa.

Transformation of Tropical Environments

The economic changes altered tropical environments around the world. To satisfy the British craving for tea, thousands of square miles of tropical rain forests were felled in Ceylon, India, and Java to make way for tea plantations. Economic botany and agricultural science were applied to every promising plant species. For two decades the latex from which rubber was made came only from *Hevea* trees growing wild in Brazil. Then in the 1870s British agents smuggled seedlings from Brazil to Malaya; the eventual result was an enormous plantation economy. Cinchona, tobacco, sugar, and other crops also were introduced, improved, and vastly expanded in the colonies of Southeast Asia and Indonesia. Cocoa and coffee growing spread over large areas of Brazil and Africa; oil-palm plantations were established in Nigeria and the Congo Basin. Throughout the tropics, lands once covered with forests or devoted to shifting slash-and-burn agriculture were transformed into permanent farms and plantations.

Even in areas not devoted to export crops, growing populations put pressure on the land. In Java and India, farmers felled trees to obtain arable land and firewood. They terraced hillsides, drained swamps, and dug wells. Irrigation and water control transformed the dry parts of the tropics as well. European experts spread the newest techniques of irrigation engineering around the world. By the turn of the century, irrigation projects were under way wherever rivers flowed through dry lands.

Railroads were voracious. They cut into mountains, spanned rivers and canyons with trestles, and covered as much land with their freight yards as whole cities had needed in previous centuries. They consumed vast quantities of iron, timber for ties, and coal or wood for fuel. Most important of all, railroads brought people and their cities, farms, and industries to areas previously occupied small, scattered populations.

Prospectors looking for valuable minerals opened the earth to reveal its riches: gold, tin, copper, iron ore. Where mines were dug deep inside the earth, the dirt and rocks brought up with the ore formed huge mounds near the mine opening. Open mines dug to obtain ores lying close to the surface created a landscape of lunar craters, and runoff from the minerals poisoned the water for miles around. Refineries that processed the ores fouled the environment with slag heaps and toxic effluents.

The transformation of the land by human beings, a constant throughout history, accelerated sharply. Only the changes occurring since 1914 can compare with the transformation of the global environment that took place between 1869 and 1914.

CONCLUSION

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was symbolic the beginning of the New Imperialism. It demonstrated the power of modern industry over the natural environment. It stimulated trade between the industrial countries and the tropics. It deepened the involvement of Europeans in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. From that year until 1914, not only the great powers but smaller countries too—even, in some cases, individual Europeans or Americans—had the power to decide the fate of whole countries. The motivation to conquer or control other lands surely helps explain the New Imperialism. But the means at the disposal of the imperialists—that is, the gap that opened between their technologies and forms of organization and those available to Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans—is equally important.

The opening of the Panama Canal in August 1914 confirmed the new powers of the industrializing nations—but with a twist, for it was the United States, a latecomer to the game of imperialism, that created the canal. In that same month, the other imperialist nations turned their weapons against one another and began a life-or-death struggle for supremacy in Europe. That conflict is the subject of the next chapter.

SUGGESTED READING

D. K. Fieldhouse, *Colonialism, 1870–1945* (1981), is a good introduction to imperialism. The British Empire is the subject of Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850–1970* (1976).

On Africa in this period see Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa Since 1800,* new ed. (1994). The classic novel about the impact of colonial rule on African society is Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958).

Imperial rivalries in Asia are the subject of David Gillard, *The Struggle for Asia, 1828–1914: A Study in British and Russian Imperialism* (1977). On other aspects of imperialism in Asia see Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (1963), especially chapters 4 and 5.

On Latin America see David Bushnell and Neill Macauley, *The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century* (1994). Free-trade imperialism is the subject of D. C. M. Platt, *Latin America and British Trade, 1806–1914* (1973). On American expansionism see David Healy, *Drive to Hegemony: The United States in the Caribbean, 1898–1917* (1989).

On race relations in the colonial world see Noel Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (1992). Gender relations are the subject of Caroline Oliver, *Western Women in Colonial Africa* (1982), and Cheryl Walker, ed., *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (1990).

David Northrup's *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922* (1995), discusses migrations and labor. Frantz Fanon, in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1966), examines the point of view of the colonized. The impact of technology on the New Imperialism is the subject of Daniel R. Headrick's *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (1981) and *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850–1940* (1988).

NOTES

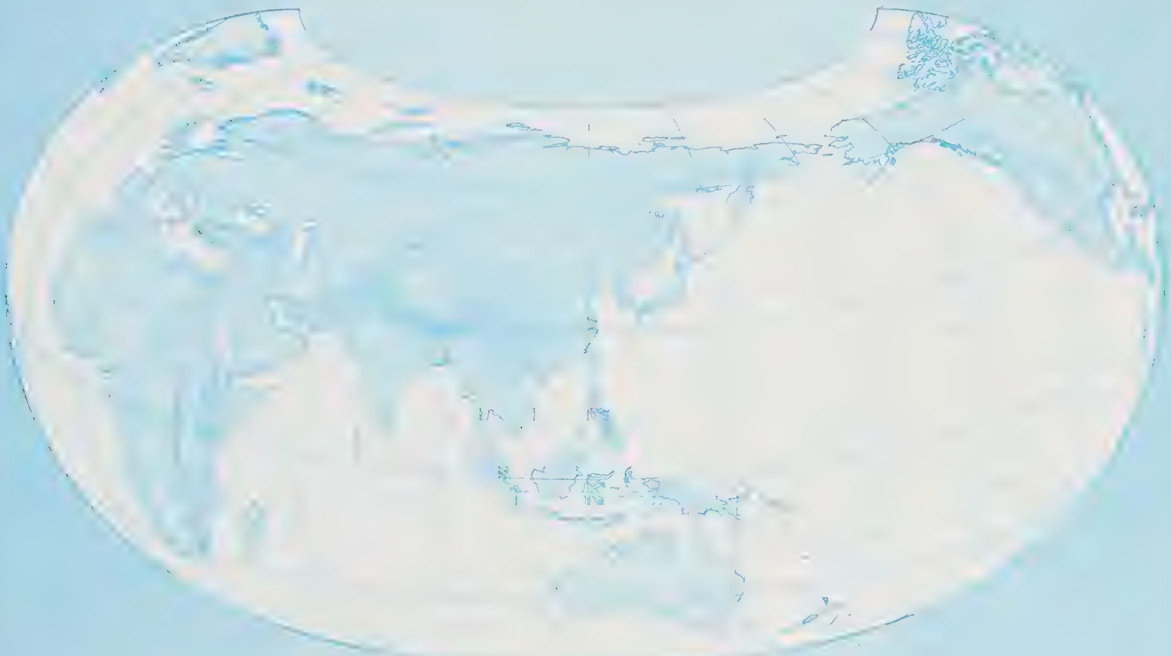
1. *Journal officiel* (November 29, 1869), quoted in Georges Douin, *Histoire du règne du khédive Ismaïl* (Rome: Reale Societá di geografia d'Egitto, 1933), 453.

2. E. Desplaces in *Journal de l'Union des Deux Mers* (December 15, 1869), quoted ibid., 453.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

The First and Second World Wars, 1914–1945

The "Great War" · War and Revolution in Russia · War in the Middle East
Europe and America in the Twenties · Aftermath of War in the Middle East
The Depression · The Stalin Revolution · Japan Goes to War · Fascism in Europe
The Second World War · The Character of Warfare



On June 28, 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, was riding in an open carriage through Sarajevo, capital of the province of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which Austria had annexed six years before. When the carriage stopped momentarily, Gavrilo Princip, member of a pro-Serbian conspiracy, fired his pistol twice, killing the archduke and his wife.

Those shots ignited a war that spread throughout Europe. It soon turned into a global war, for the Ottoman Empire fought against Britain in the Middle East and Japan attacked German positions in China. France and Britain involved their empires in the war and brought Africans, Indians, Australians, and Canadians to Europe to fight and labor on the front lines. Finally, in 1917, the United States entered the fray.

The war utilized weapons and tactics never seen before, and it demanded unprecedented efforts from civilian populations. It caused greater environmental changes than any previous war, destroying towns, farms, and forests and provoking an unprecedented industrial expansion. When it ended four years later, over 8 million people had died, and the map of Europe and the Middle East was transformed.

The war replaced three great empires—the Austro-Hungarian, the Ottoman, and the Russian—with over a dozen new states. It triggered a revolution in Russia that sent tremors throughout the world. And it provoked social and cultural changes that undermined Europe's two-century-old hegemony over the rest of the world.

The war that started in July 1914 was known as the "great war" until the 1940s, when a far greater one overshadowed it. Although the assassination of the archduke ignited it, its underlying causes—nationalism, the European alliance system, and German leaders' desire to dominate Europe—had been simmering for years.

THE "GREAT WAR"

Nationalism united the citizens of France, Britain, and Germany behind their governments and gave them tremendous cohesion and strength of purpose. Only the most powerful feelings could inspire millions of men to march obediently into battle and sustain civilian populations through years of hardship. Because of the spread of nationalism, most people viewed war as a crusade for liberty and victory or for long-overdue revenge for past injustices. Throughout Europe, the outbreak of war was greeted with parades and flags and hopes for a quick victory. German troops marched to the front shouting "To Paris!" In France, spectators encouraged marching troops with shouts of "Send me the Kaiser's moustache!" When the war began, few imagined that their side might not win. And no one foresaw that in the war to come, everyone would lose.

Alliances and Military Plans

In 1914 Europe was divided into two alliance blocs of roughly equal power. On one side were Germany and Austria-Hungary—the Central Powers. On the other side were France, Russia, and Britain—the Entente ("understanding").

European armies had grown to include millions of soldiers and more millions of reservists. To mobilize these forces and transport them to battle would be an enormous project requiring thousands of trains running on precise schedules. Once under way, no country's mobilization could be canceled or delayed easily. In the years before World War I, military planners in France and Germany had worked out elaborate railroad timetables to mobilize their respective armies in a few days. Russia, a large country with an underdeveloped rail system, would need several weeks to mobilize its forces. Britain had only a tiny volunteer army and no mobilization plans, which had led German planners to believe that the British would stay out of a war on the European continent. To avoid having to fight both France and Russia at the same time, German war plans called for the defeat of the small French army in a few days, then transporting the entire German army by train east across Germany to the Russian border before Russia could fully mobilize, and quickly defeating Russia. If war came, political and military leaders in Germany expected to win victory in a hurry.

On July 23, the Austro-Hungarian government demanded that Serbia prosecute its nationalists. Serbia quickly agreed to do so. Nevertheless, Austria-Hungary, eager to crush Serbian nationalism once and for all and backed by its ally Germany, declared war on Serbia on July 28. Diplomats and statesmen, even the monarchs of Europe, sent one another frantic telegrams but were unable to control events, for the Austro-Hungarian declaration of war triggered the general mobilization plans of Russia, France, and Germany.

On July 29, the Russian government, feeling duty-bound to protect Serbia, ordered a general mobilization to force Austria to back down. On August 1, France honored its treaty obligation to Russia and ordered general mobilization. Minutes later Germany did likewise. Three hours after issuing its mobilization order, Germany declared war on Russia. Once the general mobilization orders got the troop trains moving, war not only was inevitable but was automatic.

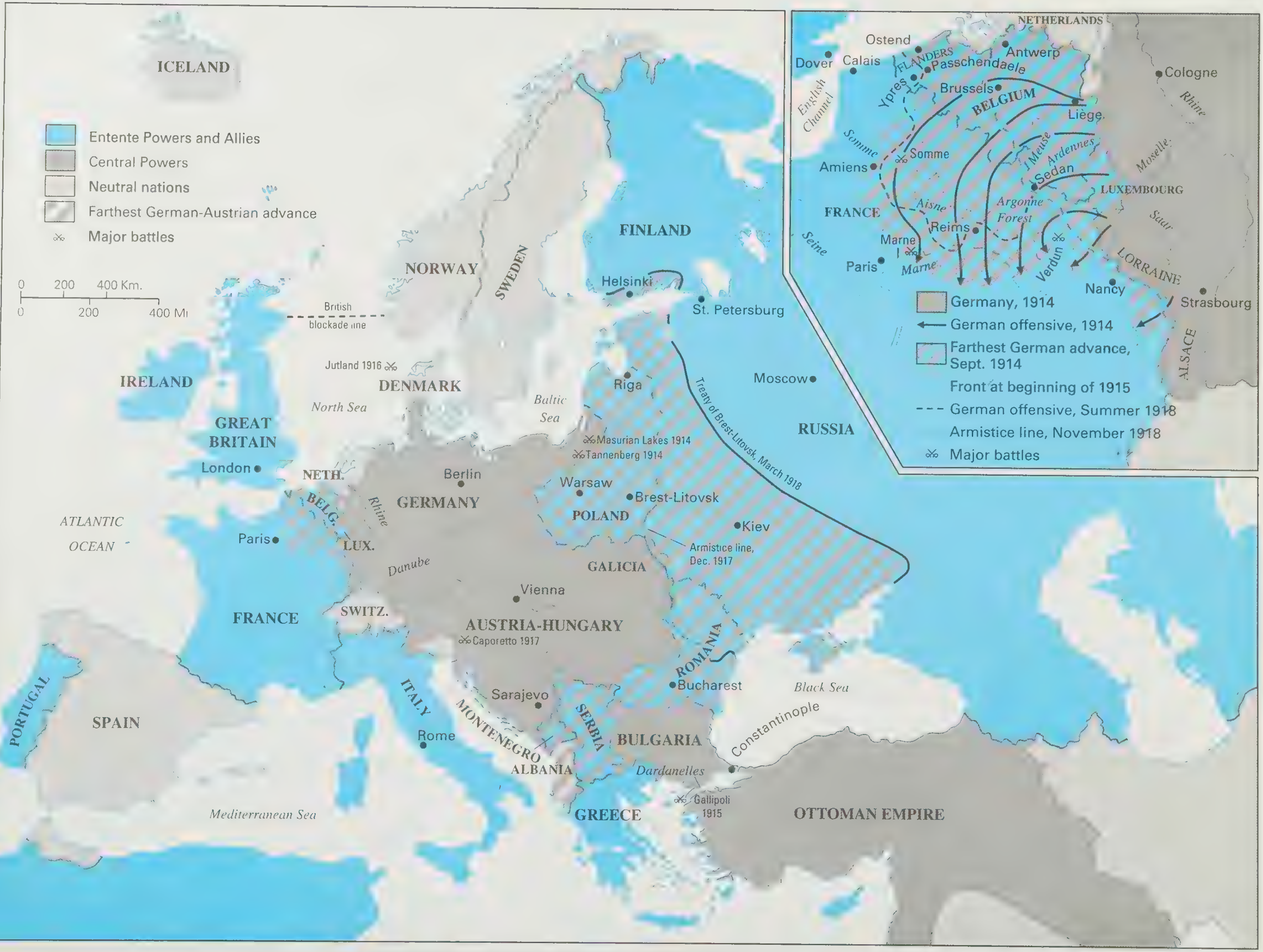
What would Britain do? The German plan was to move through neutral Belgium and enter France from the northwest. German planners did not believe Britain would to go to war over Belgium, and in any case, the Germans expected France to capitulate before the British could get involved. They miscalculated. On August 3, German troops entered Belgium, Britain demanded their withdrawal, Germany refused, and at midnight Britain declared war on Germany.

Stalemate, 1914–1918

All the belligerents, from the generals on down, assumed that victory would depend on speed, courage, and firepower. Instead, the evolution of military technology produced a stalemate that lasted four years.

At first, large German armies defeated the French and the British in battle after battle. By early September they held Belgium and northern France and were fast approaching Paris (see Map 25.1). Then Russia attacked eastern Germany, and German troops needed for the final push into France were shifted east to the Russian front. When a gap opened between two German armies along the Marne River, the army of Paris, France's last reserves, moved into the gap. The Germans were thrown back several miles, then came to a stop, their plans for a quick victory over France in the west in tatters.

During the next month, both sides spread out until they formed an unbroken line over 300 miles (483 kilometers) long extending from the North Sea to the border of Switzerland. For the next four years of the bloodiest fighting the world had yet seen, the western front never moved more than a few miles one way or the other. The most potent weapon was the machine gun, offering an almost impenetrable defense against advancing infantry but useless for attacks because it was too heavy for one man to carry and took too long to set up. To escape the deadly streams of machine-gun fire, soldiers dug foxholes in the ground and connected the holes to form shallow trenches. Within weeks, the battlefields were scarred with lines of trenches several feet deep, their tops protected by sandbags and their floors covered with planks.


ICELAND
Entente Powers and Allies
Central Powers
Neutral nations
Farthest German-Austrian advance
Major battles
0 200 400 Km.
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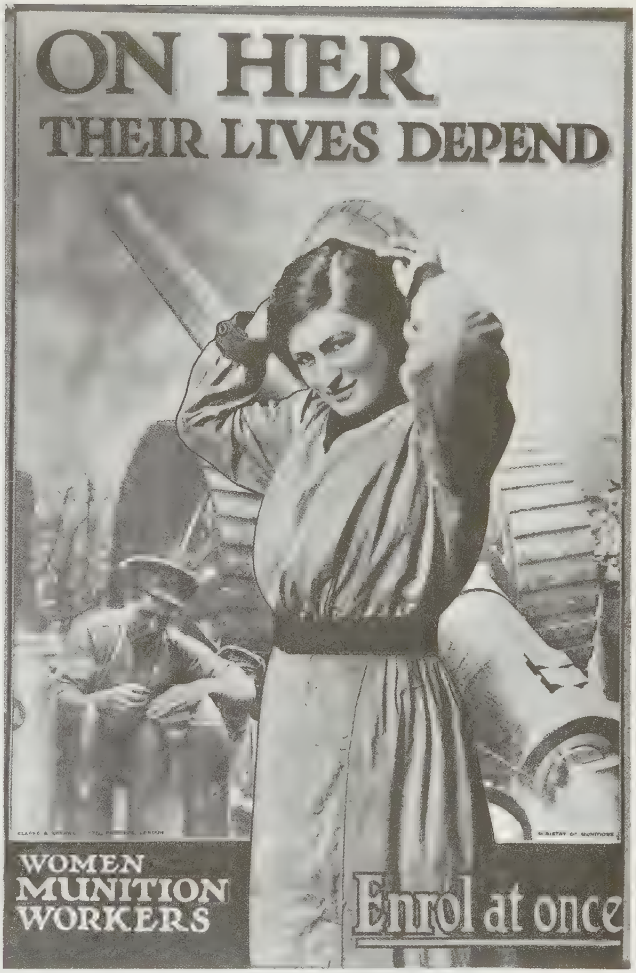
British blockade line
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Helsinki
St. Petersburg
Jutland 1916
IRELAND
DENMARK
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Riga
Moscow
RUSSIA
Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 1918
GREAT BRITAIN
London
Masurian Lakes 1914
Tannenberg 1914
NETH.
BELG.
Berlin
GERMANY
Rhine
Warsaw
Brest-Litovsk
POLAND
Kiev
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Paris
LUX.
Danube
GALICIA
Armistice line, Dec. 1917
Vienna
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Caporetto 1917
ROMANIA
Bucharest
Black Sea
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
Rome
Sarajevo
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Constantinople
Dardanelles
Gallipoli 1915
GREECE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Mediterranean Sea
NETHERLANDS
Ostend
Dover
Calais
FLANDERS
Passchendaele
Antwerp
Cologne
Rhine
English Channel
Ypres
Brussels
BELGIUM
Liège
Somme
Somme
Amiens
Meuse
Ardennes
Moselle
Sedan
LUXEMBOURG
FRANCE
Aisne
Argonne Forest
Saar
Reims
Marne
Seine
Paris
Marne
Verdun
LORRAINE
Nancy
Strasbourg
ALSACE
Germany, 1914
German offensive, 1914
Farthest German advance, Sept. 1914
Front at beginning of 1915
German offensive, Summer 1918
Armistice line, November 1918
Major battles

In May 1915, Italy joined the war on the side of the Entente, from this point known as the "Allied Powers." In one battle after another, thousands of men climbed out of the trenches, raced across open fields, and were mowed down by enemy fire. Attacking troops sometimes released poison gas to kill or blind the defenders, only to find that the gas immobilized the attackers as well. In the end, poison gas gave no military advantage but only added to the horror of battle and suffering of the soldiers.

This was not warfare as it had ever been waged before; it was mass slaughter in a moonscape of mud, steel, and flesh where no human could long survive. Both sides attacked and defended, but neither side could win, for the armies were stalemated by trenches and machine guns.

Generals on both sides refused to admit that a few men with machine guns were more powerful than hundreds of soldiers rushing toward them with bayonets, for that admission would have meant that they could never win. Obstinately, they promised victory, prepared ever bigger offensives, and ordered a whole generation of young men to their deaths. They knew the casualties were enormous, but each side expected the enemy to run out of young men first and was willing to wage a war of attrition.



Women in World War I Women played a more important role in World War I than in previous wars. As the armies drafted millions of men, employers hired women for essential war work. This poster extolling the importance of women workers in supplying munitions was probably designed to recruit women for factory jobs. (Trustees of the Imperial War Museum)

The Home Front and the War Economy

Optimistic expectations for a quick war did not last long. Within a few months, shortages appeared, and civilians had to work harder, eat less, and pay higher taxes. The war economy transformed civilian life. Because food rations were allocated according to need, not wealth, nutrition actually improved among the poor in France and Britain. Unemployment vanished in all countries at war. Thousands of Africans, Indians, and Chinese were recruited for heavy labor in Europe. To fill positions vacated by soldiers in

Map 25.1 The First World War in Europe During World War I, most of the fighting took place on two fronts. After an initial surge through Belgium into northern France, the German offensive bogged down for four years along the western front. To the east, the German armies conquered a large part of Russia during 1917 and early 1918. Despite Germany's spectacular victories in the east, it lost the war because its armies collapsed along the strategically important western front.

steel mills, mines, and munitions plants, employers hired women. Women became streetcar drivers, mail carriers, and police. Some found work in the suddenly burgeoning government bureaucracies. Many women joined the auxiliary military services as doctors, nurses, mechanics, and ambulance drivers.

German civilians paid an especially high price for the war, for a British naval blockade severed the Central Powers' overseas trade. The German chemical industry was able to develop synthetic explosives and fuel, but synthetic food was harder to swallow. Wheat flour disappeared, replaced first by rye, then by potatoes and turnips, then by acorns and chestnuts, and finally by sawdust.

By 1916, the Russians also were facing shortages and hunger. Russian railroads broke down for lack of fuel and parts. Rationing never worked efficiently. Crops rotted in the fields. During the bitterly cold winter of 1916–1917, Russian factory workers and housewives had to line up long before dawn in front of grocery stores in order to get food.

One country grew rich during the war: the United States. For two and a half years, the United States stayed technically neutral—that is, it did not fight but did a roaring business supplying France and Britain. When it entered the war on the side of the Allied Powers in 1917, the government set up boards to coordinate business and government activities. As a result, businesses engaging in war production made spectacular profits.

The End of the War

When 1917 began, the two sides were still so evenly matched that it seemed the war would not end until one side or the other ran out of young men. However, the United States finally entered the war in April 1917, and American troops tipped the balance. In August 1918, the Germans began a retreat that could not be halted. Kaiser Wilhelm II, having lost all support, fled to Holland. A new German govenmnent signed an armistice, On November 11 at 11 A.M., the guns went silent and the war was over.

The war left more dead and wounded and more physical destruction than any previous conflict. It is estimated that between 8 million and 10 million died, almost all of them young men. Among them were about 2 million Germans, 1.75 million Russians, 1.5 million Frenchmen; the Austro-Hungarian Empire lost over 1 million, Britain 750,000, Italy nearly 500,000, and the United States approximately 100,000. Perhaps twice that many men returned home wounded, gassed, or shell-shocked, many of them injured for life.

Peace Treaties

Delegates of the victorious Allies met in Paris in early 1919. Russia, in the throes of civil war (see below), was not invited, and the defeated powers were kept out until the treaties were ready for their signatures.

On June 28, 1919, the Allied Powers made Germany sign the Treaty of Versailles. The treaty was the result of a series of compromises and satisfied no one. The European powers formed a League of Nations, a world organization intended to condemn aggression, safeguard the peace, and foster international cooperation, but the U.S. Congress, reflecting the isolationist feelings of the American people, refused to let the United States join it. France recovered Alsace and Lorraine but was unable to weaken Germany by detaching the Rhineland and had to content itself with vague promises of British and American protection in the event Germany rebuilt its army. Although Britain gained land in Africa from Germany and in the Middle East from Turkey, it was greatly weakened by human losses and the disruption of its trade. Germany was forbidden to have an air force or more than a token army and navy. It lost little land in the west but had to give up large parts of its eastern territory to a newly reconstituted Poland. The Allies made Germany promise to pay vast sums as "reparations," without setting either a figure or a period of time for payment. In the infamous "guilt clause," which rankled the Germans for years to come, the Allies made Germany accept "responsibility for causing all the loss and damage" of the war. The Treaty of Versailles left Germany humiliated but essentially intact and potentially the most powerful nation in Europe. A peace neither of punishment nor of reconciliation, Versailles was one of the great failures in history.

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

Although the war caused great suffering in western Europe, its effect on Russia was far more devastating. It destroyed the old tsarist society, opened the door to revolution and civil war, and introduced a radically new political system. By clearing away the old, however, the years of upheaval prepared Russia to industrialize at breakneck speed under the leadership of professional revolutionaries.

Russia at War

By 1914, Russia had made impressive strides toward modernity but in many ways remained an eighteenth-century society, with peasants in the majority, a small middle class, a wealthy aristocracy, and an autocratic government. Peasants hated their landlords, and industrial workers lived in wretched conditions. Russian intellectuals loved their country but blamed the government for its backwardness compared to western Europe.

At the beginning of World War I, Russia had the largest army in the world, but its generals were incompetent, supplies were lacking, and soldiers were poorly trained and equipped. In 1916, after a string of defeats, the Russian army scored several victories against the Austrians, only to be pushed back by the Germans with a loss of a million soldiers killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. The Russians ran out of ammunition and other essential supplies, and Russian soldiers who were ordered into battle unarmed were told to pick up the rifles of fallen comrades. Disorganization spread from the eastern front to the interior, as railroad equipment wore out, industries deprived of labor and raw materials slowed down, and agricultural production declined. The court of Tsar Nicholas II, meanwhile, remained wasteful and corrupt.

Double Revolution

Food and fuel became scarce in Russia's cities. In early March 1917 (February by the old Russian calendar), food ran out in Petrograd, the capital. Mass demonstrations were quickly followed by widespread strikes and a mutiny of the garrison. Male workers and soldiers formed *soviets* (councils) to take over factories and barracks. A few days later, the tsar abdicated, and leaders of the parliamentary parties formed a Provisional Government. Thus began what Russians called the "February Revolution."

Revolutionary groups came out of hiding. Most numerous were the Social Revolutionaries, who advocated the redistribution of property among the peasants. The Social Democrats, a Marxist party, were divided into two factions. The Mensheviks had a large following among intellectuals and factory workers. Their rivals, the Bolsheviks, were a small but tightly disciplined group of radicals under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924).

The son of a government official, Lenin became a revolutionary in his teens when his older brother was executed for plotting to kill the tsar. He spent years in exile, first in Siberia and later in Switzerland, where he devoted his full attention to organizing his followers. Although he professed Marx's ideas concerning class conflict (see Chapter 23), he never visited a factory or a farm. His goal was to create a party that would lead the revolution rather than wait for it. As he explained: "Classes are led by parties and parties are led by individuals. . . . The will of a class is sometimes fulfilled by a dictator."

A tug-of-war ensued between the Provisional Government and the various revolutionary factions in Petrograd, until a second revolution took place on November 6, 1917 (October 24 in the Russian calendar). The Bolshevik Party rose up and took over the city, calling this action the "October Revolution." Lenin overthrew the Provisional Government and arrested his rivals.

Seizing Petrograd was only the beginning, for the rest of the country was in chaos. The Bolsheviks nationalized all private land and ordered the peasants to hand over their crops without compensation. The peasants, having already seized their landlords' estates, resisted. In the cities, the Bolsheviks took over the factories and drafted the workers into compulsory labor brigades. To enforce his rule, Lenin created the Cheka, a secret police with powers to arrest and execute all enemies of the Bolsheviks.

Meanwhile, the Germans were advancing, and the Bolsheviks had no choice but to sue for peace with Germany. By the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed on March 3, 1918, Russia lost Poland, Finland, the Baltic states, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus, along with a third of its population and wealth.

Civil War and Communist Victory

In December 1918, a civil war began that damaged Russia more than the world war. Although the Communists—as the Bolsheviks were called after March 1918—held central Russia, all the surrounding provinces rose up against them. For three years the Communists and their enemies burned farms and confiscated crops, causing a famine that claimed 3 million victims, more than had died in Russia in seven years of fighting. By 1921, the Communists had defeated most of their enemies one after another, for the anti-Bolshevik forces were never united and the peasants were afraid of a tsarist victory and the return of their landlords. Finland, the Baltic states, and Poland remained independent, but the other parts of the tsar's empire were reconquered one by one. In December 1920 the Communists formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

Lenin and the New Economic Policy

By 1921 the economic production of the USSR had declined to one-sixth of Russia's prewar level. Factories and railroads had shut down for lack of fuel, raw materials, and parts. Farms were devastated and livestock killed, leaving the urban population hungry. Lenin and his followers found themselves masters of a country in ruins and were not sure how to organize a productive economy.

The New Economic Policy (NEP) that Lenin announced in March 1921 allowed peasants to own land and sell their crops, private merchants to trade, and private workshops to produce goods and sell them on the free market. Only the biggest businesses, such as banks, railroads, and large enterprises, remained under government ownership.

The relaxation of controls had an immediate effect. Production began to climb, and food and other goods became available. Yet the NEP reflected no change in the ultimate goals of the Communist Party. It merely offered breathing room, what Lenin called "two steps back to advance one step forward," for the Communists had every intention of creating a modern industrial economy without private property, under party guidance.

When Lenin died in January 1924 without naming a successor, his associates jockeyed for power. Eventually Party Secretary Joseph Stalin outmaneuvered his rivals and became absolute master of the party in 1929. Stalin prepared to industrialize the Soviet Union at breakneck speed.

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Within days of its outbreak in Europe in 1914, the First World War spread to other continents. Overseas extensions of European wars were nothing new: between 1650 and

1815 ships and soldiers from England, France, and Spain had frequently fought far from Europe. What was new was the involvement of two non-European powers, the Ottoman Empire and Japan, which transformed a quarrel between Europeans into a true world war.

The Middle East in 1914

At the turn of the century, most of the Middle East was still nominally under Ottoman Turkish rule. The Ottoman Empire was slowly declining, though it had not collapsed completely (see Chapter 22). It survived partly because many Muslims regarded the sultan as the true leader of Islam, partly because the Ottomans left provincial matters to local notables, and partly because Great Britain rescued it several times to keep Russia from gaining access to the Mediterranean Sea.

As in China and Japan, European influence in the Ottoman Empire caused a tug-of-war between reformers and conservatives. Modernization of the army and administration promised to bring economic development, military power, and eventual freedom from foreign interference. But any serious reform required foreign technicians and advisers, loans from European banks, and concessions to foreign governments and businesses—more foreign interference, at least for a while. Halfhearted attempts to reform the administration made little difference.

In 1909 a conspiracy of professionals and army officers calling themselves the Committee of Union and Progress, or "Young Turks," deposed Sultan Abd el-Hamid and in 1913 installed a dictatorship. They were eager to reform the army and the administration but were suspicious of Britain and Russia. To achieve their aims, they relied increasingly on German advice and assistance.

The Ottoman Empire at War

In November 1914, the Turks joined the fighting on the side of the Central Powers, hoping to gain land at Russia's expense, but the fighting in the Caucasus proved disastrous for both armies and for the civilian populations as well. The Turks also closed the Dardanelles, the straits between the Mediterranean and Black Seas (see Map 25.1). When an attempt by the British to force open the Dardanelles in 1915 failed, the British promised the emir (prince) of Mecca, Hussein ibn Ali, a kingdom of his own if he would lead an Arab revolt against the Turks. In 1916, Hussein rose up and was proclaimed king of Hejaz (western Arabia). Thereafter his son Faisal led an Arab army in support of the British advance from Egypt into Palestine and Syria.

British intrigues in the Middle East involved Jews as well as Arabs. In the early twentieth century a movement called Zionism arose among Jews who wanted to return to their ancestral homeland in Palestine. By 1917, Chaim Weizmann, leader of the British Zionists, had persuaded several British politicians that a Jewish homeland in Palestine, placed under British protection, would strengthen the Allied cause. In November, as British armies were advancing on Jerusalem, Britain's Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour wrote to Weizmann that "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." At the time, the British did not foresee that this statement, known as the Balfour Declaration, would lead to conflicts between Palestinians and Jewish settlers.

EUROPE AND AMERICA IN THE TWENTIES

The 1920s was a decade of apparent progress hiding irreconcilable tensions. On the one side were the victors, especially British and French conservatives who longed for a return to the stable order of the prewar era. On the other side were people all over the world whose hopes had been raised by the rhetoric of the war and then dashed by its outcome. The war that had sparked hopes for change produced unresolved conflicts and faith in violent action. Thus the peace established in 1919 proved to be short-lived.

An Ephemeral Peace, 1919–1929

The decade after the end of the war can be divided into two distinct periods: five years of painful recovery and readjustment (1919–1923), followed by six years of growing peace and prosperity (1924–1929).

To force the Germans to pay the unspecified reparations promised in the Versailles treaty, the French army took over the Ruhr, Germany's primary industrial district, in 1923. In retaliation, the German government began printing money recklessly, causing the most severe inflation the world has ever seen. In November the German government issued a new currency at a rate of 1 trillion old marks to 1 new one. Germany promised to resume reparations, and the French agreed to end the occupation of the Ruhr.

Beginning in 1924, the world enjoyed a few years of calm and prosperity. The western European nations became less confrontational, and Germany joined the League of Nations. The vexed issue of reparations also seemed to vanish, as Germany borrowed money from New York banks to meet its payments—money that France and Britain then used to pay back their wartime loans from the United States. This triangular flow of money, based on credit, stimulated a rapid recovery of the European economies. France began rebuilding its war-torn northern zone. Germany recovered from its hyperinflation. In the United States a boom began that was to last over five years.

Yet problems remained. Germany and the Soviet Union were dissatisfied with their borders with the small nations that had come into existence between them after the war. In 1922, they signed a secret pact allowing the German army to conduct secret maneuvers in Russia, in violation of the Versailles treaty, in exchange for German help in building up Russian industry and military potential.

The League of Nations proved adept at resolving numerous international issues of a technical nature such as health, postal and telegraph communications, and labor relations. But in carrying out its main function—preserving the peace—it was successful only when the great powers were in agreement. Without American participation, sanctions against transgressors had little meaning.

Social Changes

Besides costing over 8 million lives, the war dislocated whole populations, creating millions of refugees. Many found shelter in France, which welcomed 1.5 million to bolster its declining population. The preferred destination, however, was the United States, the most prosperous country in the world.

In Western countries, class distinctions were becoming less sharply defined. In both North America and Europe, the twenties saw engineers, businessmen, lawyers, and other professionals rising to prominence, increasing the relative importance of the middle class. The activities of governments, which had expanded during the war, continued to grow as municipal, provincial, and national administrations increasingly provided housing, highways, schools, public health facilities, broadcasting, and other services. Department stores, banks, insurance companies, and other businesses also increased their white-collar work force. The middle class expanded during the twenties, but the working class did not. In industry, the introduction of new machines and methods such as Henry Ford's auto assembly line raised the productivity of workers so that a greater output did not require an expanded labor force.

Women's lives changed more rapidly in the twenties than in any previous decade. Some women remained in the work force after the war. The young and wealthy enjoyed more personal freedom than their mothers had before the war. They drove cars, played sports, traveled alone, and smoked in public. However, millions of women had lost their fathers, brothers, sons, husbands, and fiancés in the war. After the war, the shortage of young men caused many single women to lead lives of loneliness and destitution.

Women first obtained the right to vote under the Russian Provisional Government of 1917. Germany followed in 1919, the United States in 1920. Britain gave women over age thirty the suffrage in 1918 and later extended it to younger women. In Turkey (which replaced the Ottoman Empire in 1921), women began voting in 1934. Most other countries did not allow women to vote until after 1945.

Technology and Mass Consumption

People had long been aware that scientific discoveries could lead to remarkable new products and services, such as electricity, the telephone, and aircraft. Only in the 1920s, however, did such innovations change the lives of millions of people.

Aviation became a sport and a form of entertainment. Daredevil pilots achieved fame by pushing their planes to the limit and often beyond. Henry Ford's assembly line and Frederick Taylor's scientific management techniques made it possible to mass-produce vehicles and appliances in ever-greater volume and at falling prices. Now, even office and factory workers could afford the products of industry.

Buses and trucks connected remote villages to cities and railroad lines, ending generations of rural isolation. By 1929, the United States had one car for every five people, five-sixths of the world's automobiles. With the introduction of electricity into urban homes (see Chapter 23), middle-class homemakers bought electric lights, irons, and washing machines. More than that, electricity was the basis for whole new systems, such as electric railways and the aluminum industry.

The Environment Transformed

No place on earth had ever been so completely devastated as the western front, the 300-mile-long (483-kilometer-long) scar across France and Belgium. After the war, it took a decade to clear away the debris, rebuild the towns, and create dozens of military cemeteries with neat rows of crosses stretching for miles. To this day, farmers plow up fragments of old weapons and ammunition; every so often, a long-buried shell suddenly explodes. Elsewhere, the war hastened the buildup of industry, with its mines, factories, and railroad tracks.

The return of peace accelerated environmental change. In India, Australia, and the western United States, where little virgin rain-watered land was left to be plowed under, engineers built many dams and canals to irrigate dry lands. More than any other technology, however, the automobile transformed the landscape of North America and western Europe. Roads were paved and highways built at an unprecedented pace. By the late 1920s, networks of paved roads rivaled rail networks both in length and in the surface they occupied, especially near cities. Far from being blamed for their exhaust emissions, automobiles were praised as the solution to urban pollution. As they replaced carts and carriages, horses disappeared from city streets, as did tons of manure.

The most important environmental effect of automobiles was suburban sprawl. Middle-class families who owned cars could live in single-family homes beyond the reach of public transportation. Los Angeles, the first true automobile city, consisted of suburbs spread over hundreds of square miles and linked together by broad avenues. In sections of the city where streetcar lines went out of business, the automobile, once a plaything for the wealthy, became a necessity for commuters. Many Americans saw Los Angeles as the portent of a glorious future when everyone would own a car. Only a few foresaw the congestion and pollution that would ensue.

The archetypal automobile city As Los Angeles grew from a modest town into a sprawling metropolis, it built broad avenues, parking lots, and garages to accommodate automobiles. By 1929, most families had a car, and streetcar lines closed for lack of passengers. This photograph shows a street in the downtown business district. (Ralph Morris Archives/Los Angeles Public Library)

AFTERMATH OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The peoples of the Middle East were directly involved in the fighting and thus hoped to have a say at the peace conference. But the victorious French and British expected to treat the Middle East like a non-Western territory open to colonial rule. The result was a legacy of instability that has persisted to this day.

Recasting Colonialism: The Mandate System

The victors at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 clashed on how to divide the former German colonies and the territories of the Ottoman Empire as spoils of war. Their compromise solution was the mandate system, a form of colonialism tempered by the novel idea that the colonial rulers were accountable for what the peace treaties called "the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants."

Class C Mandates—the colonies with the smallest populations—were simply annexed by their conquerors. Thus South Africa acquired Southwest Africa (now Namibia), while Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan took the German islands in the Pacific. Class B Mandates were larger than Class C but still underdeveloped. In theory they were to be ruled for the benefit of their inhabitants under League of Nations supervision, with a view to eventual autonomy at some unspecified time in the future. Most of Germany's African colonies fit into this category.

Class A Mandates included the Arab-speaking territories of the old Ottoman Empire. The League of Nations declared that they had "reached a state of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory, until such time as they are able to stand alone." Arabs interpreted this ambiguous wording as a promise of independence. Britain and France, however, sent troops into the region "for the benefit of its inhabitants." Palestine (now Israel), Transjordan (now Jordan), and Iraq (formerly Mesopotamia) became British mandates; France claimed Syria and Lebanon (see Map 25.2).

Rise of Modern Turkey

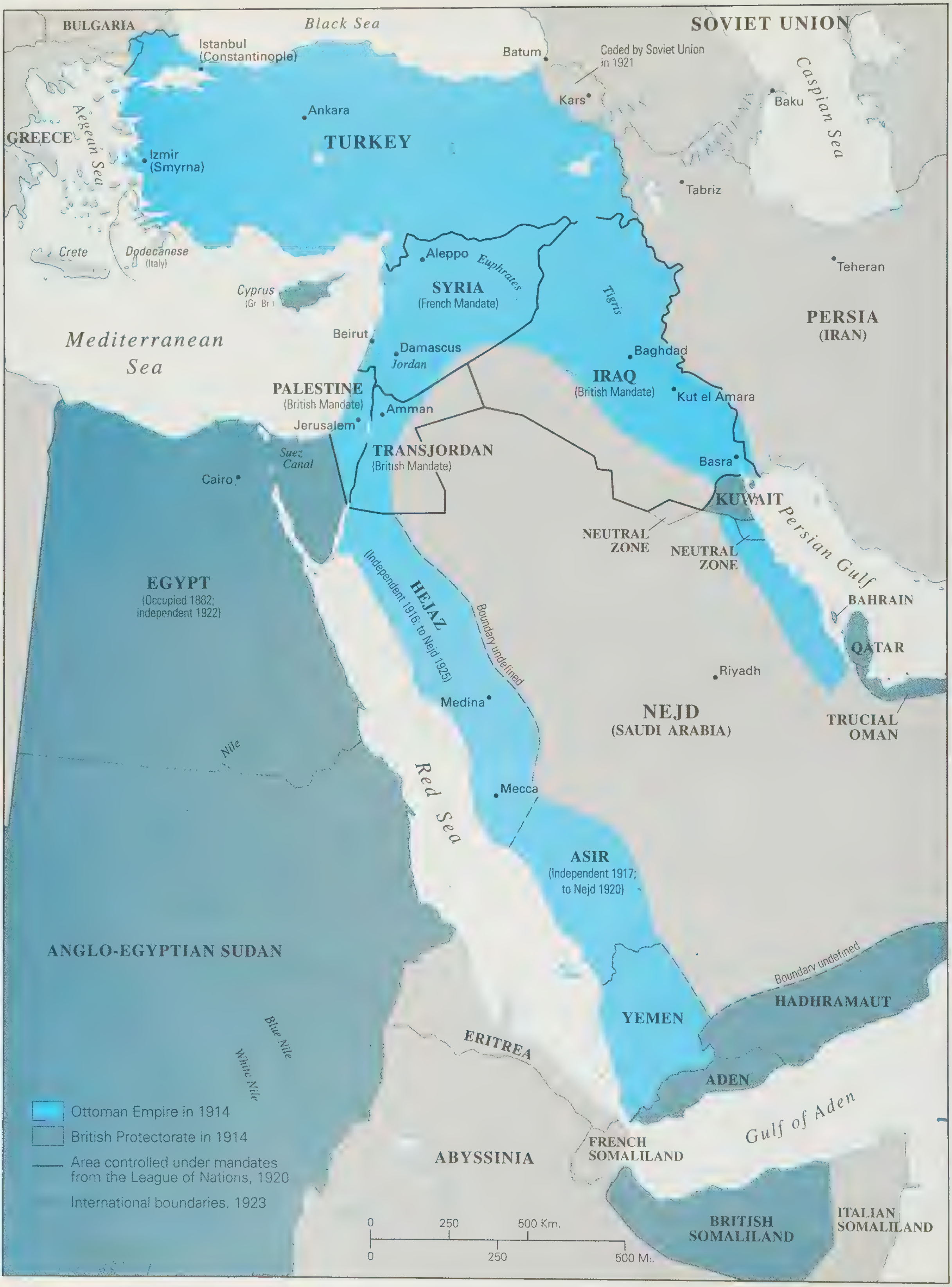
As the Ottoman Empire teetered on the brink of collapse, in 1919 French, British, Italian, and Greek forces occupied Istanbul and parts of Anatolia. The Allies made the sultan give up most of his lands, but they were foiled by the sudden reemergence of Turkish nationalism.

In 1919, when the sultan's government gave in to Allied pressures, Mustafa Kemal, a hero of the Gallipoli campaign during the war, rose in revolt. Backed by fellow army officers, he formed a national government in central Anatolia. After a short but fierce war against the invading Greeks, his armies reconquered Anatolia and the area around Istanbul in 1922. Turks and Greeks agreed to an exchange of populations. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Greeks had to leave their ancestral homes in Anatolia, and all Muslims were expelled from Greece. This practically ended the ethnic diversity that had prevailed in the region for centuries.

Kemal was an outspoken modernizer eager to bring Turkey closer to Europe as quickly as possible. In the 1920s he abolished the sultanate, declared Turkey a secular republic, and introduced European laws. In a radical break with Islamic tradition, he suppressed Muslim courts, schools, and religious orders and replaced the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet. Kemal also attempted to bring the traditional Turkish family closer to the European model. Women received civil equality, including the right to vote and be elected to the national assembly. Kemal forbade polygamy and instituted civil marriage and divorce. He even changed people's clothing, strongly discouraging women from veiling their faces and replacing the fez, the traditional Turkish men's hat, with the European brimmed hat. He ordered everyone to take a family name, choosing the name Atatürk ("father of the Turks") for himself. His reforms spread quickly in the cities but were long resisted in rural areas, where traditional Islamic customs remained strong.

Arab Lands and the Question of Palestine

Among the Arab people, the thinly disguised colonialism of the mandate system set off protests and rebellions, not only in the mandated territories but even as far away as Morocco. The British attempted to control the Middle East with a mixture of bribery and intimidation. They helped Faisal, leader of the Arab Revolt, to become king of Syria; then, when the French ousted


BULGARIA
Black Sea
SOVIET UNION
Istanbul (Constantinople)
Batum
Ceded by Soviet Union in 1921
Kars
Baku
Caspian Sea
Ankara
GREECE
Aegean Sea
TURKEY
Izmir (Smyrna)
Tabriz
Crete
Dodecanese (Italy)
Aleppo
Euphrates
Teheran
Cyprus (Gr. Br.)
SYRIA (French Mandate)
Tigris
PERSIA (IRAN)
Mediterranean Sea
Beirut
Damascus
Jordan
Baghdad
IRAQ (British Mandate)
PALESTINE (British Mandate)
Amman
Kut el Amara
Jerusalem
TRANSJORDAN (British Mandate)
Suez Canal
Cairo
Basra
KUWAIT
NEUTRAL ZONE
NEUTRAL ZONE
Persian Gulf
EGYPT (Occupied 1882; independent 1922)
HEJAZ (Independent 1916; to Nejd 1925)
Boundary undefined
BAHRAIN
QATAR
Riyadh
Medina
NEJD (SAUDI ARABIA)
TRUCIAL OMAN
Nile
Red Sea
Mecca
ASIR (Independent 1917; to Nejd 1920)
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Boundary undefined
HADHRAMAUT
YEMEN
Blue Nile
White Nile
ERITREA
ADEN
Ottoman Empire in 1914
British Protectorate in 1914
Area controlled under mandates from the League of Nations, 1920
International boundaries, 1923
Gulf of Aden
FRENCH SOMALILAND
ABYSSINIA
0
250
500 Km.
0
250
500 Mi.
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ITALIAN SOMALILAND

him, they made him king of Iraq. They used bombers to quell rural insurrections. In 1931 they agreed to Iraq's official independence in exchange for the right to keep two air bases, a military alliance, and an assured flow of petroleum. France, meanwhile, sent thousands of troops to Syria and Lebanon to crush nationalist uprisings.

In Egypt as in Iraq, the British substituted phony independence for official colonialism. They declared Egypt independent in 1922 but reserved the right to station troops along the Suez Canal to secure their communications with India in the event of war. Most galling to the Egyptian Wafd (Nationalist) Party was the British attempt to remove Egyptian troops from Sudan, a land many Egyptians considered a colony of Egypt.

As soon as Palestine became a British mandate in 1920, Jewish immigrants arrived, encouraged by the Balfour Declaration of 1917. Most settled in the cities, but some purchased land to establish *kibbutzim* (communal farms). The purchases of land by Jewish agencies angered the indigenous Palestinians, especially tenant farmers evicted from their lands to make room for the settlers. In 1920 and 1921 riots erupted between Jews and Arabs. The British then tried to limit immigration, thereby alienating the Jews without mollifying the Arabs. Increasingly, Jews were smuggled in without papers. In the 1930s, the country was torn by strikes and guerrilla warfare that the British could not control. Britain earned the hatred of both sides and of much of the Arab world as well.

Social Change in the Middle East

After World War I, Middle Eastern society underwent dramatic changes. Nomads disappeared from the deserts as trucks replaced the camel caravans. The rural population grew fast, and many landless peasants migrated to the swelling cities. All together, the population of the region is estimated to have increased by 50 percent between 1914 and 1939, while that of the largest cities—such as Istanbul, Baghdad, and Cairo—doubled.

Map 25.2 Territorial Changes in the Middle East After World War I World War I transformed the Middle East. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire encouraged Arab nationalists to strive for independence; one Arab state, Saudi Arabia, did constitute itself in the 1920s. Elsewhere, Arab nationalism was thwarted by the intervention of France and Britain, which took over the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire as mandates of the League of Nations.

Encouraged by the transformation of Turkey, the urban and mercantile middle class adopted Western ideas, customs, and styles of housing and clothing. Some families sent their sons to European secular or mission schools, then to Western colleges in Cairo and Beirut or to universities abroad, to prepare for jobs in government and business. Among the educated elite were a few women who became schoolteachers or nurses. There were great variations, ranging at one extreme from Lebanon, with its strong French influence, to Arabia or Iran, which retained a great diversity of cultural traditions.

The region in closest contact with Europe was the Maghrib—that is, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco—which the French army considered its private domain. France had occupied Algeria since 1830 and had encouraged European immigration. The settlers owned the best lands and monopolized government jobs and businesses; Arabs and Berbers remained poor and suffered intense discrimination.

THE DEPRESSION

For six years, from 1924 to 1929, the world seemed to return to what U.S. president Warren G. Harding called "normalcy": prosperity in the West, no major wars, European domination of Asia and Africa, and U.S. domination of Latin America. Conservative politicians and wealthy investors looked to the future with optimism. In June 1929 the American financier Bernard Baruch declared: "The economic condition of the world is on the verge of a great forward movement."

Four months later, the American economy imploded. What began as a stock market crash soon turned into the deepest and most widespread economic depression in history. Because the United States had the largest economy in the world, its collapse was felt around the world, especially in nations and colonies that relied on trade and exports. The collapse of the global economy in turn had profound and dangerous political consequences.

Economic Crisis

The first reaction of traditional politicians to the stock market crash was to issue cheerful exhortations and to express the hope that business would recover on its own. However, fear and pessimism quickly spread from finance to industry. As American consumers reduced their purchases, businesses cut production and laid off workers. As farm prices fell, small farmers went bankrupt and lost their land.

By mid-1932, the American gross national product had fallen by half, and unemployment had risen to an unprecedented 25 percent of the work force. As unemployment rose, many jobless men deserted their families. Government spending on welfare and public works projects alleviated misery but was insufficient to restore prosperity. Many observers thought the free-enterprise system was collapsing, to be replaced by bread lines, soup kitchens, men selling apples on street corners, and hoboes riding freight trains.

Frightened by the stock market collapse, the New York banks called in their loans to Germany and Austria. In May 1931 the Austrian bank Creditanstalt suspended payments, triggering panic throughout Central Europe. Without American money, Germany and Austria stopped paying reparations to France and Britain, which then could no longer repay their war loans to the United States. Governments canceled both reparations and war loans but did so too late to save the world economy. High tariffs imposed by the United States and other governments crippled export industries and shrank world trade. While global industrial production declined by 36 percent between 1929 and 1932, world trade dropped by a breathtaking 62 percent.

Depression in Industrial Nations

Every capitalist nation saw its economy shrivel. France and Britain escaped the worst of it by making their colonial empires purchase French or British products rather than those of other countries. Nations that relied on exports to pay for imported food and fuel—in particular Japan and Germany—suffered much more. In Germany, unemployment reached 6 million by 1932, affecting twice as many people as in Britain. Half of the German population was plunged into poverty. In Japan, the burden of the Depression fell on farmers and fishermen, who saw their incomes drop sharply; some, in desperation, revived the ancient practice of selling their daughters.

This massive economic upheaval had profound political repercussions. In Germany and Japan, economic grievances worsened long-festering political resentments, and radical politicians took over the economy and turned those nations into machines to make war. Nationalists everywhere yearned for *autarchy,* independence from the world economy. Only two industrial nations—the United States and the Soviet Union—came even close to self-sufficiency. Britain and France could survive by trading with their colonial empires. For Germany, Italy, and Japan, however, achieving autarchy would mean acquiring, by war if necessary, an empire large enough to support a self-sufficient economy.

Depression in Nonindustrial Regions

The Depression soon spread to Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but very unevenly. India, a large and mainly agricultural country, by 1930 had erected a wall of import duties to protect its infant industries from foreign competition. China, except in its coastal regions, was little affected by trade with other countries; its problems were political, not economic (see Chapter 26).

Countries that depended on the export of a few products were hard hit by the Depression. Malaya and the Dutch East Indies produced most of the world's natural rubber. When U.S. and European automobile production dropped by half, so did imports of rubber, devastating the Malayan and East Indian economies. Cuba had become a tourist haven during the 1920s, a playground for rich Americans who basked in the sun and quaffed liquor forbidden at home by Prohibition. When the Depression hit, the tourists vanished and with them went Cuba's prosperity.

Sugar from the Caribbean, coffee from Brazil and Colombia, wheat and beef from Argentina, tea from Ceylon and Java, tin from Malaya and Bolivia, and many other products felt the heavy hand of the Depression. Argentina and Brazil, which had started on the road to industrialization, were set back a decade or more. Throughout Latin America, unemployment and homelessness increased markedly.

Outside the Soviet Union, only southern Africa boomed during the 1930s. As most prices dropped, gold became relatively more valuable, enriching the white South African mine owners. Copper deposits, found in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and the Belgian Congo (now Zaire), proved to be cheaper to mine than Chilean copper.

THE STALIN REVOLUTION

The Soviet Union was as conspicuously absent from the Depression as it had been from the "normalcy" of the 1920s. Ostracized by most other countries, it underwent two revolutions in quick succession: first the Bolshevik Revolution, then, from 1928 to 1940, an economic and social transformation that turned it into a great industrial and military power and intensified both admiration for and fear of communism throughout the world.

Five-Year Plans

Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) was determined to turn the Soviet Union into an industrial nation. The purpose of Soviet industrialization, however, was not to produce consumer goods for a mass market or to enrich individuals. Instead, the purpose was to increase the power of the Communist Party and the power of the Soviet Union in relation to other countries.

Stalin stressed heavy industry, especially steel. His goal was to quintuple the output of electricity and double that of iron, steel, coal, and machinery in five years. To do so, he devised the first of a series of Five-Year Plans, a system of centralized control copied from the German experience of World War I. In every way except actual fighting, Stalin's Russia resembled a nation at war.

Beginning in October 1928, the Communist Party and government created whole industries and cities from scratch, recruiting millions of peasants and training them to work in the new factories, mines, and offices. Rapid industrialization hastened environmental changes. Hydroelectric dams turned rivers into strings of reservoirs. Roads, canals, and railroad tracks cut the landscape. Forests and grasslands were turned into farmland. From an environmental perspective, the outcome of the Five-Year Plans resembled the outcome of economic expansion and new technologies in the United States and Canada a few decades earlier (see Chapter 20).

Since the Soviet Union was still a predominantly agrarian country, the only way to pay for these massive investments, provide the labor, and feed the millions of new industrial workers was to squeeze the peasantry. Stalin therefore proceeded with a radical social experiment: the collectivization of agriculture.

The collectivization of agriculture During the 1930s, agricultural land in Russia was organized into huge collective farms. Machine tractor stations leased agricultural machinery to several farms and collected the portion of the crop owed to the government. In this way, the Communist Party could keep the peasants under tight control. This picture shows tractors at the Lenin collective farm in 1933. (Endeavor Group UK. Photo: G. Petrusov)

Collectivization of Agriculture

Collectivization meant consolidating small private farms into vast collective farms and making farmers work together in commonly owned fields. Collective farmers were to become outdoor "factories" where food was manufactured through the techniques of mass production and the application of machinery.

At first collectivization seemed to go well, but soon the *kulaks* ("fists"), the better-off peasants, began to resist giving up all their property. When soldiers tried to force them into collectives at gunpoint, the kulaks burned their crops, smashed their equipment, and slaughtered their livestock. Within a few months, they destroyed half of the country's horses and cattle and two-thirds of its sheep and goats. In retaliation, Stalin ordered the "liquidation of kulaks as a class" and incited the poorest peasants to attack their wealthy neighbors. Over 8 million kulaks were arrested. Many were executed, and the rest were sent to slave labor camps in Siberia or northern Russia, where most starved to death.

The peasants who were left had been the least successful before collectivization and proved to be least competent after. With half of their draft animals gone, they could not plant or harvest enough to meet the swelling demands of the cities. The government took what it could find, leaving little or nothing for the farmers. After bad harvests in 1933 and 1934, famine swept through the countryside, killing some 5 million people, about one in every twenty farmers.

Stalin intended the Second Five-Year Plan, designed to run from 1933 to 1937, to increase the output of consumer goods. But when the Nazis took over Germany in 1933 (see below), he changed the plan to emphasize the production of armaments. Between 1927 and 1937 the Soviet output of metals and machines increased fourteen-fold while consumer goods became scarce and food was rationed. After a decade of Stalinism, the Soviet people were more poorly clothed, fed, and housed than they had been under Lenin's New Economic Policy.

Terror and Opportunities

The forced pace of industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, and the uprooting of millions of people could be accomplished only under duress. To prevent resistance or rebellion, Stalin and the NKVD, the Soviet secret police, fostered a climate of suspicion and fear. From 1934 to 1938 in a series of spectacular trials, Stalin accused most of Lenin's former associates of "anti-party activities," the worst form of treason in the USSR. While Old Bolsheviks and high officials whom Stalin suspected of disloyalty were being put on trial, terror spread steadily downward. The government regularly made demands on people that they could not meet, making everyone guilty of breaking some regulation or other. At the height of the terror, some 8 million were sent to *gulags* (labor camps), where perhaps a million died each year of exposure or malnutrition.

But, despite the fear and hardship, many, if not most, Soviet citizens supported Stalin's regime. With so many people gone and new industries and cities being built everywhere, there were new opportunities for those who remained. Women entered careers and jobs previously closed to them, becoming steelworkers, physicians, and office managers; but they retained their household and child-rearing duties, receiving little help from men. People willing to move to the cities, work enthusiastically, and ask no questions could hope to rise into the upper ranks of the Communist Party, the military, the government, or the professions—where privileges and rewards were many. In doing so they helped the Soviet Union industrialize faster than any other country. By the late 1930s, the USSR was the world's third largest industrial power, after the United States and Germany. To millions of Soviet citizens who took pride in the new strength of their country, and to many foreigners who contrasted its accomplishments with the unemployment and despair in the West, Stalin's achievement seemed worth any price.

JAPAN GOES TO WAR

By the 1920s Japan was a respected member of the international community, the only non-European nation among the major powers. The pride of its armed forces and the collapse of its foreign trade in the Depression, however, led Japan to wager its very existence on the creation of a great empire.

Japan from 1914 to 1931

The Japanese were quick to involve themselves in World War I, which they saw as a golden opportunity to advance their national interests while the Europeans were occupied elsewhere. In short order, they conquered the German colonies in the northern Pacific and on the coast of China, then turned their attention to the rest of China.

At the time, China was in the grip of a revolution and seemed about to break apart (see Chapter 26). In January 1915, Japan presented China with a list of Twenty-One Demands designed to turn China into a Japanese protectorate. Britain and the United States persuaded Japan to soften its demands, but the relationship between Japan and China became one of aggressor and victim—the beginning of a bitter struggle that was to last thirty years.

Japan had limited farmland and few natural resources. Yet its population, which reached 60 million in 1925, was increasing by a million a year. To break out of underdevelopment, as we saw in Chapter 23, Japan had industrialized at breathtaking speed, and the rapid pace continued during the First World War. Its economy grew by over 4 percent a year, four times as fast as western Europe's, eight times faster than China's.

Economic growth worsened social tensions. The main beneficiaries of prosperity were the *zaibatsu*—giant corporations such as Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, and Mitsui—which controlled most of Japan's industry and commerce. Farmers, who constituted half of the population, remained poor; some, in desperation, sold their daughters to textile mills, where young women formed the bulk of the labor force. Labor unions were weak, and only a few workers enjoyed lifetime employment with big companies.

Japanese prosperity depended to a large extent on foreign trade and imperialism in Asia. The country imported almost all its fuel, raw materials, and machine tools and exported silk and light manufactures. As long as business was good, Japan cooperated with the League of Nations. But Japan was vulnerable to swings in the world economy and to great-power politics in East Asia. The collapse of demand for silk and rice during the Depression ruined thousands of Japanese farmers. Once again, Japanese nationalists turned to imperialism, believing that if Japan had a colonial empire it would not be beholden to the rest of the world.

The Manchurian Incident of 1931

Junior army officers, most of them from peasant backgrounds, determined to take action. Their first move took place in Manchuria, a Chinese province rich in coal and iron ore and dominated by the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway. In September 1931, an explosion on a railroad track gave officers of the Japanese force guarding the railway an excuse to conquer the entire province. Civilian ministers in the Japanese government, informed about the incident after the fact, and already feeling intimidated by the military, acquiesced to the attack in order to save face. The Western powers and the League of Nations protested but no action. Believing that the Western powers would not fight over the seizure of Manchuria, Japan resigned from the League of Nations.

During the next few years, the Japanese built railways and heavy industries in Manchuria and northeastern China and quickened their rearmament. At home, life became harsher and more repressive as more and more production was diverted to the military, especially to building warships. The government grew more authoritarian, jailing thousands of dissidents.

War with China

In 1937 Japanese troops mounted a new war against China. As in 1931, junior officers ordered the attack, and as before they quickly obtained the support of their commanders and then, reluctantly, of the government.

Within weeks, Japanese troops seized Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and other coastal cities. Within a year, Japan controlled great stretches of the country. The Chinese government, led by General Chiang Kai-shek, escaped to mountainous Sichuan province in the center of the country.

Once again, the United States and the League of Nations denounced Japanese actions. But the Western powers were too preoccupied with events in Europe and with their own economic problems to risk a military confrontation in Asia. Even after the Japanese sank an American gunboat and shelled a British ship on the Yangzi River, the only responses from the West were pious resolutions and righteous indignation.

Japanese leaders continued to keep a watchful eye on the international situation. With the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, they thought they saw a chance to seize French and Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia without a fight. In July 1941, when the French government allowed Japanese forces to occupy Indochina, the United States and Britain, instead of merely complaining, stopped supplying steel, scrap iron, oil, and other products that Japan desperately needed. This action left Japan with a hard choice: whether to abandon China and Manchuria, as the Americans insisted, or to fight the United States and Britain. The Japanese government chose war.

FASCISM IN EUROPE

Although governments everywhere repressed Communist movements, their response to the threat of social revolution varied. In the Western democracies, there was little fear of Communist uprisings or electoral victories, and middle- and upper-income voters took refuge in traditional conservative politics and in police action to prevent subversion. The societies of southern and Central Europe, in contrast, lacked stable political systems.

The political institutions of states in southern and Central Europe were frail imitations of those in the West and lacked popular legitimacy. World War I had turned their inflated hopes of victory to bitter disappointment. Many people felt bewildered by modernity—with its cities, factories, and department stores—and by the economic problems caused by the Depression, which they blamed on ethnic minorities, especially Jews. In their yearning for a mythical past of prosperity, family farms, and small shops, increasing numbers lost faith in representative political parties and sought more dramatic solutions.

Radical politicians quickly learned to use wartime propaganda techniques to appeal to a confused citizenry, especially young men and the unemployed. They promised to use any means necessary to restore prosperity, prevent the spread of communism, and achieve the territorial conquests that the First World War had denied them.

Hitler's Germany

Although fascism arose first in Italy in 1922, under Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), it was Adolf Hitler, in Germany, who made this movement a force in world history.

Germany had lost the First World War after coming very close to winning, and postwar Germany suffered deep trauma. The inflation of 1923 wiped out the savings of middle-class families. Less than ten years later, the Depression brought more unemployment and misery to Germany than to any other country. Millions of Germans lost faith in democracy and blamed Socialists, Jews, and foreigners for their troubles. What few realized—even those who hoped for a radical change—was that they were about to get not just an authoritarian dictatorship but one dedicated to war and mass murder.

Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) was born in Austria, the son of a minor government official. After the war, using his gifts as an orator, he quickly rose in a political splinter group, the National Socialist German Workers' Party—Nazis for short. In 1924, while Germany was in political chaos and reeling from hyperinflation, Hitler led a small and unsuccessful uprising in Munich. While serving a brief jail sentence, he wrote *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*), a book in which he outlined his goals and beliefs.

Hitler went far beyond ordinary nationalism. He believed that Germany should incorporate all German-speaking people, even those who lived in neighboring countries. He took the racist ideas commonly held by whites toward people of color and applied them to Europeans. He distinguished among a "master race" of Aryans (he meant Germans, Scandinavians, and Britons), a degenerate "Alpine" race of French and Italians, and an inferior race of Russian and eastern European Slavs, who he believed were fit only to be slaves of the "master race." His most intense hatred was reserved for Jews, whom he blamed for every disaster that had befallen Germany, especially the defeat of 1918. He glorified violence, interpreting the Darwinian idea of "survival of the fittest" (see Chapter 23) to mean that in a future war the "master race" would defeat and subjugate all others.

For a few years, Hitler's followers remained a tiny minority, for most people found his ideas too extreme. But when the Depression hit, the Nazis gained supporters among the unemployed and among property owners frightened by the growing popularity of Communists. In March 1933, as leader of the largest party in Germany, Hitler became chancellor.

Once in office, he quickly assumed dictatorial power. All other political parties were abolished and their leaders thrown into concentration camps. The Nazis deprived Jews of their citizenship and civil rights, prohibited them from marrying "Aryans," ousted them from the professions, and confiscated their property. In August 1934, when the president of Germany died, Hitler proclaimed himself *Führer*, or leader, and called Germany the "Third Reich" (empire)—the third after the Holy Roman Empire of medieval times and the German Empire of 1871 to 1918.

The Nazis' economic and social policies were spectacularly effective. They replaced labor unions with a National Labor Front that controlled both labor and employers. The government undertook massive public works projects. Businesses hired workers to manufacture weapons for the armed forces. Women, who had entered the work force during and after World War I, were urged to return to *Kinder, Kirche, Küche* (children, church, kitchen), releasing jobs for men. By 1936 business was booming, unemployment had dropped to its lowest level since the 1920s, and living standards were rising. Hitler's popularity soared, because most Germans believed their economic well-being outweighed the loss of liberty.

The Road to War, 1933–1939

To Hitler, being a dictator was only the means to an end, for his goal was not prosperity or popularity but conquest. As soon as he came to office, he began to build up the armed forces and test the reactions of the other powers.

In 1933 he withdrew Germany from the League of Nations and in 1935 announced rearmament plans in violation of the Versailles treaty. When the European powers responded weakly, Hitler sent troops into the Rhineland on the borders of France and Belgium.

In July 1936, both Germany and Italy aided the rebels in the Spanish civil war. Seeing that the democracies refused to help the Spanish government, Hitler and Mussolini concluded that aggression paid off and formed an alliance called the Axis, aimed at furthering their territorial ambitions.

In 1938 Hitler decided his rearmament plans were far enough advanced that he could escalate his demands. In March, Germany invaded Austria. Most of its citizens were German-speakers and accepted the annexation of their country to Hitler's Reich without protest. Then came the turn of Czechoslovakia, where a German-speaking minority lived in an area along the German border. Hitler first demanded their autonomy from Czech rule, then the ceding of their territory to Germany. Throughout the summer he threatened to go to war. Finally in September 1938 at the Munich Conference he met with the leaders of France, Britain, and Italy, who gave him everything he wanted without consulting Czechoslovakia. Once again, the fascist powers saw that aggression paid and that the democracies would give in.

After Munich it was too late to stop Hitler, short of war. In March 1939, Germany invaded what was left of Czechoslovakia. Belatedly realizing that Hitler was not to be trusted, France and Britain sought Soviet help. But Hitler beat the French and British at their own game. He offered to divide Poland and the rest of eastern Europe between Germany and the Soviet Union. On August 23, Stalin accepted. The Nazi-Soviet Pact freed Hitler from the fear of a two-front war and gave Stalin two more years of peace to build up his armies. One week later, on September 1, 1939, German forces swept into Poland. The war was on.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Many people feared the Second World War would be a repetition of the First. Instead, it was much bigger in every way. It was fought around the world—from Norway to New Guinea, from Hawaii to Egypt—and on every ocean. It killed far more people than World War I. It was a total war involving all productive forces and all civilians, and it showed how effectively industry, science, and nationalism could be channeled into mass destruction.

War in Europe and North Africa

The Wehrmacht (German armed forces) needed less than a month to conquer Poland. By June 1940, Hitler held Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France—he was master of all of continental Europe between Russia and Spain (see Map 25.3). Still unconquered was Great Britain, separated from the rest of Europe by the English Channel. Knowing they could invade Britain only after gaining control of the airspace over the Channel, the Germans launched a massive air attack from June through September. It failed, however, because the Royal Air Force had better fighters and used radar and code breaking to detect approaching German flights.

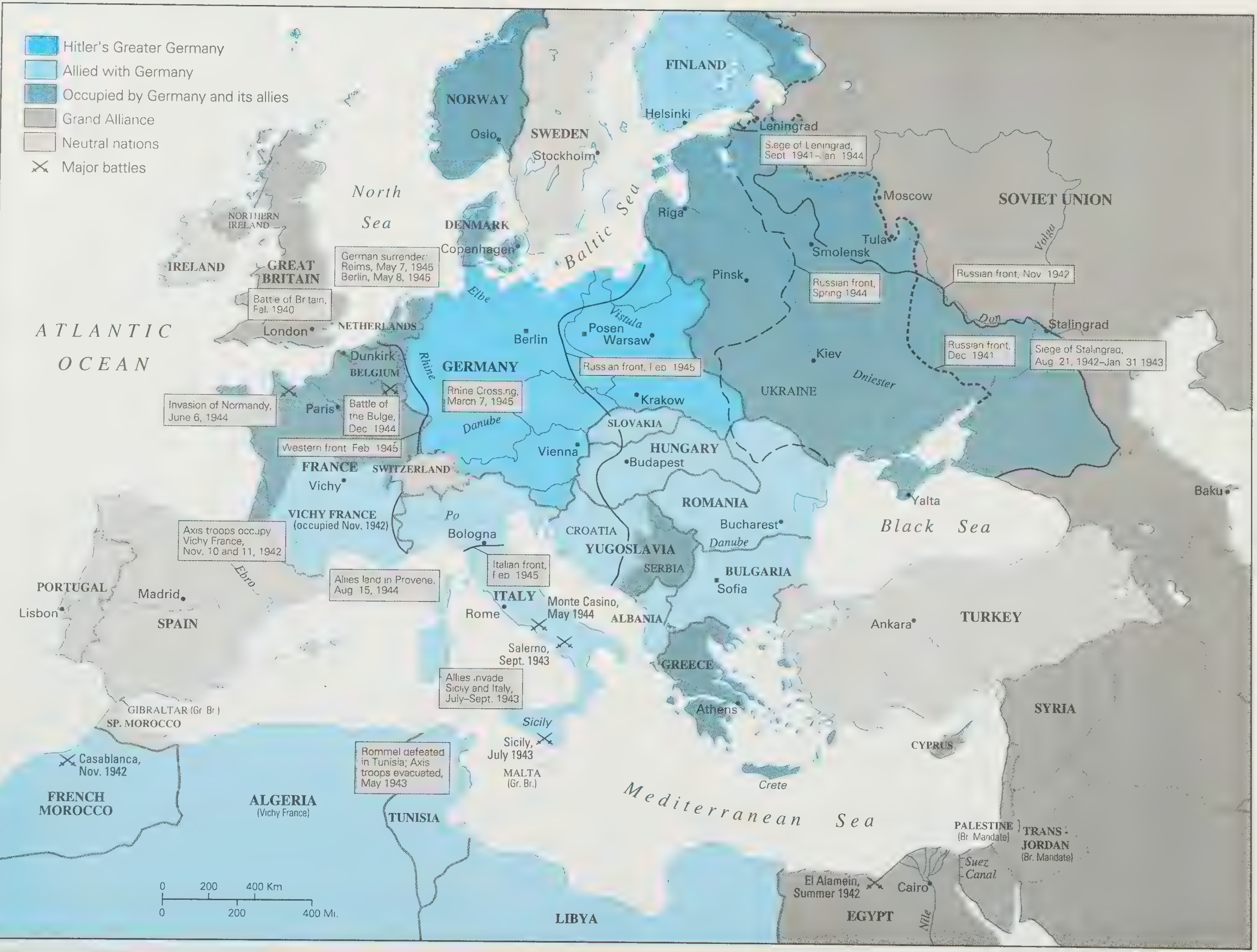
Frustrated in the west, Hitler turned his attention eastward against his early ally, the Soviet Union. But an invasion of the USSR in 1941 was halted when the weather turned cold: like Napoleon, Hitler had ignored the environment of Russia to his peril.

The next spring the Wehrmacht renewed its offensive. In August 1942 the Germans attacked Stalingrad (now Volgagrad), the key to the Volga River and Soviet supplies of oil. For months, German and Soviet soldiers fought from street to street and house to house. When winter came, the Soviet army counterattacked and encircled the city. In February 1943 the remnants of the German army in Stalingrad surrendered, and Hitler lost his greatest gamble.

From Europe, the war spread to Africa (see Map 25.3). When France fell in 1940, Mussolini decided the time had come to realize his own imperial ambitions. Italian forces quickly overran British Somaliland, then invaded Egypt. Their victories were short-lived, however, for when the British counterattacked, Italian resistance crumbled. The Italian rout in North Africa brought the Germans to their rescue. During 1942 the German and British Commonwealth armies seesawed back and forth across the deserts of Libya and Egypt. The Germans were finally expelled from Africa in May 1943. The Mediterranean was in Allied hands, and the way to an invasion of Italy lay open.

War in Asia and the Pacific

The fall of France and the involvement of Britain and the USSR against Germany presented Japan with the opportunity it had been looking for. Suddenly the European colonies in Southeast Asia, with their abundant oil, rubber, and other strategic materials, seemed ripe for the taking. The only obstacle was the United States, which controlled the Philippines and proclaimed a paternalistic concern for China.


Hitler's Greater Germany
Allied with Germany
Occupied by Germany and its allies
Grand Alliance
Neutral nations
Major battles
NORWAY
Oslo
SWEDEN
Stockholm
FINLAND
Helsinki
Leningrad
Siege of Leningrad, Sept 1941–Jan 1944
Moscow
SOVIET UNION
Volga
Tula
Smolensk
Riga
Baltic Sea
North Sea
DENMARK
Copenhagen
NORTHERN IRELAND
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
German surrender: Reims, May 7, 1945 Berlin, May 8, 1945
Battle of Britain, Fall 1940
London
NETHERLANDS
Elbe
Berlin
Posen
Warsaw
Vistula
Pinsk
Russian front, Spring 1944
Russian front, Nov 1942
Don
Stalingrad
Russian front, Dec 1941
Siege of Stalingrad, Aug 21, 1942–Jan 31 1943
Kiev
Dniester
UKRAINE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Dunkirk
BELGIUM
Rhine
GERMANY
Russian front, Feb 1945
Rhine Crossing, March 7, 1945
Krakow
Invasion of Normandy, June 6, 1944
Paris
Battle of the Bulge, Dec 1944
Danube
SLOVAKIA
Western front Feb 1945
Vienna
HUNGARY
Budapest
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Vichy
ROMANIA
Yalta
Baku
VICHY FRANCE (occupied Nov. 1942)
Po
Bologna
CROATIA
Bucharest
Black Sea
Axis troops occupy Vichy France, Nov. 10 and 11, 1942
Ebro
YUGOSLAVIA
Danube
Italian front, Feb 1945
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Allies land in Provence, Aug 15, 1944
Sofia
PORTUGAL
Madrid
ITALY
Monte Casino, May 1944
Lisbon
Rome
ALBANIA
Ankara
TURKEY
SPAIN
Salerno, Sept. 1943
GREECE
Allies invade Sicily and Italy, July–Sept. 1943
Athens
SYRIA
GIBRALTAR (Gr Br)
SP. MOROCCO
Sicily
Sicily, July 1943
CYPRUS
Casablanca, Nov. 1942
Rommel defeated in Tunisia; Axis troops evacuated, May 1943
MALTA (Gr. Br.)
Crete
FRENCH MOROCCO
ALGERIA (Vichy France)
TUNISIA
Mediterranean Sea
PALESTINE (Br Mandate)
TRANS-JORDAN (Br. Mandate)
Suez Canal
El Alamein, Summer 1942
Cairo
0
200
400 Km
0
200
400 Mi.
LIBYA
EGYPT
Nile

The Japanese generals agreed on a plan for a surprise attack on the United States Navy, to be followed by an invasion of Southeast Asia. They knew they could not hope to defeat the United States, but they calculated that the shock of the attack would be so great that isolationist Americans would accept the Japanese conquest of Southeast Asia as readily as they had acquiesced to Hitler's conquests in Europe.

On December 7, 1941, Japanese planes bombed the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu in the Hawaiian Islands, sinking or damaging scores of warships but missing the aircraft carriers, which were at sea. Soon thereafter, the Japanese bombed Hong Kong and Singapore and invaded Thailand, the Philippines, and Malaya. Within a few months they occupied all of Southeast Asia and the Dutch East Indies. Japan's dream of an East Asian empire seemed within reach, for its victories surpassed even Hitler's in Europe. However, while Japanese forces were overrunning land and sea, the United States, far from being cowed into submission, entered the war. In April 1942, American planes bombed Tokyo. In May the United States Navy defeated a Japanese fleet in the Coral Sea, ending Japanese plans to conquer Australia. A month later, at the Battle of Midway, Japan lost four of its six largest aircraft carriers. Japan did not have enough industry to replace them, for its war production was only one-tenth that of the United States. In the vastness of the Pacific Ocean, aircraft carriers held the key to victory, and without them Japan faced a long and hopeless war.

Map 25.3 The Second World War in Europe and North Africa German conquests in World War II were much more extensive than in World War I. By late 1942, Germany and its allies had conquered most of western and Central Europe, much of North Africa, and half of European Russia. These conquests were not enough to ensure victory, however, for the Soviet Union was rebuilding its armies, Great Britain remained undefeated, and the United States was becoming more powerful with every passing week.

The End of the War and Its Human Cost

By 1943 the Soviet army was receiving a growing stream of supplies from factories in Russia and the United States. Slowly at first and then with increasing vigor, it pushed the Wehrmacht back toward Germany. Meanwhile, the Western powers invaded Italy in 1943. Mussolini resigned and Italy signed an armistice, but German troops held off the Allied advance for two years. A massive invasion into France in 1944 finally overwhelmed the Germans. On May 7, 1945, a week after Hitler committed suicide, the German military leaders surrendered.

Japan fought on a while longer, in large part because the United States had been aiming most of its war effort at Germany. But after May 1945, with the Japanese air force grounded for lack of fuel, U.S. planes began destroying Japanese shipping, industries, and cities practically at will. Then on August 6, 1945, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Over eighty thousand people were killed in a flash, and thousands more died an agonizing death from burns and radiation. Three days later, another atomic bomb destroyed another Japanese city: Nagasaki. On August 14, Japan offered to surrender, and Emperor Hirohito himself gave the order to lay down arms.

The war left an enormous death toll. Recent estimates place the figure at close to 60 million deaths, six to eight times more than in World War I. Over half of the dead were civilian victims of massacres, famines, or bombs. The Soviet Union lost between 20 million and 25 million people, more than any other country. China suffered 15 million deaths, Poland some 6 million, of whom half were Jewish; in addition, the Jewish people lost 3 million outside Poland. Over 4 million Germans and over 2 million Japanese died. In much of the world, almost every family mourned one or more of its members. In contrast, Great Britain lost 400,000 people, the United States 300,000.

THE CHARACTER OF WARFARE

One reason for the terrible toll in human life and suffering was the willingness of the belligerents to target not only soldiers but entire civilian populations. Some belligerents even considered their own ethnic minorities to be enemies. Another reason for the devastation was the use of new technologies that carried destruction deep into enemy territory, far beyond the traditional battlefields.

The War of Science

As fighting spread around the world, the impact of science on the technology of warfare increased (see Environment and Technology: Birth of the Computer). Chemists found ways to make synthetic rubber from coal or oil. Physicists perfected radar, which warned of approaching enemy aircraft and submarines. Cryptanalysts broke enemy codes and gained access to formerly secret military communications.

German, British, and Japanese aircraft manufacturers developed fast, maneuverable fighter planes. U.S. industry produced heavy bombers designed to fly in formation and drop tons of bombs on enemy cities. Germany built the first jet fighters, low-flying buzz bombs, and, toward the end of the war, V-2 missiles, against which there was no warning or defense.

Leaders of the military no longer dismissed the creations of civilian inventors, as they had before World War I. Instead, they expected scientists to furnish secret weapons that could doom the enemy. By 1945, physicists and engineers, both Americans and refugees from Europe, had built two atomic bombs, each one powerful enough to annihilate an entire city.

The Holocaust

In World War II, for the first time, more civilians than soldiers were deliberately put to death. The champions in the killing of defenseless civilians were the Nazis. Their murders were not the accidental byproducts of some military goal but a calculated policy of exterminating whole races of people.

Their first targets were Jews. Soon after Hitler came to power, he deprived German Jews of their citizenship and legal rights. When eastern Europe fell under Nazi rule, the Nazis herded Jews into ghettos in the major cities, where many died of starvation and disease. Then, in early 1942, the Nazis decided to carry out what Hitler called his "final solution to the Jewish problem." German companies built huge extermination camps in eastern Europe. Every day trainloads of cattle cars arrived at the camps and disgorged thousands of captives and the bodies of those who had died of starvation or asphyxiation along the way. The strongest survivors were put to work and fed almost nothing until they died. Women, children, the elderly, and the sick were shoved into gas chambers and asphyxiated with poison gas. The biggest camp, Auschwitz, in southern Poland, was designed to kill up to twelve thousand people a day. Equally horrifying were the tortures inflicted on prisoners selected by Nazi doctors for "medical experiments." This mass extermination, now called the Holocaust ("burning"), claimed some 6 million Jewish lives.

Besides the Jews, the Nazis killed 3 million Polish Catholics, especially professionals, army officers, and the educated, in an effort to reduce the Polish people to slavery. They also exterminated homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Gypsies, the disabled, and the mentally ill—all in the interests of "racial purity." Whenever a German was killed in an occupied country, the Nazis retaliated by burning a village and all its inhabitants. After the invasion of Russia, the

Birth of the Computer

Nowadays, computers are found in almost every office and home. One day they may be on every wrist and in every pocket. When the first computers were built, however, people thought of them only as big, fast calculators and could not imagine any use beyond mathematical computation.

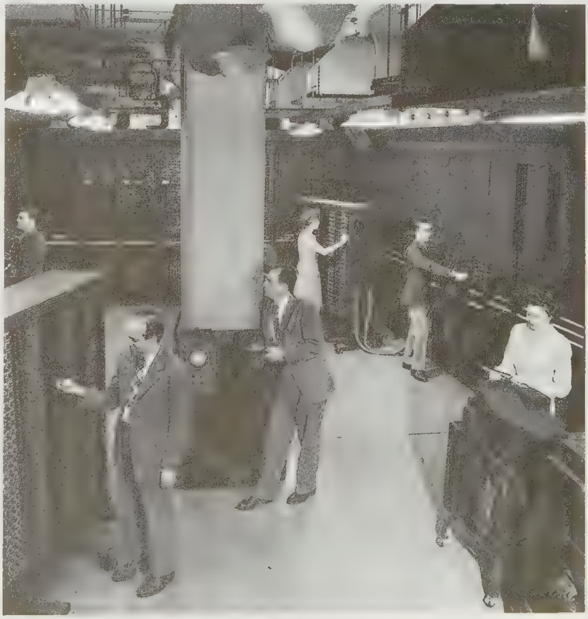
World War II stimulated the invention of computers, for the many complex weapons systems that the war brought forth required enormous numbers of mathematical calculations. In the early 1940s, the German engineer Konrad Zuse built a large calculator to solve aircraft design problems. At the same time, the Harvard mathematician Howard Aiken built a similar machine, the Mark I, to perform quickly the tedious calculations needed in physics experiments. Aiken's device could multiply two 10-digit numbers in three seconds. These machines, which used electromagnetic relays of the kind then used in central telephone offices, were reliable but large, noisy, and slow.

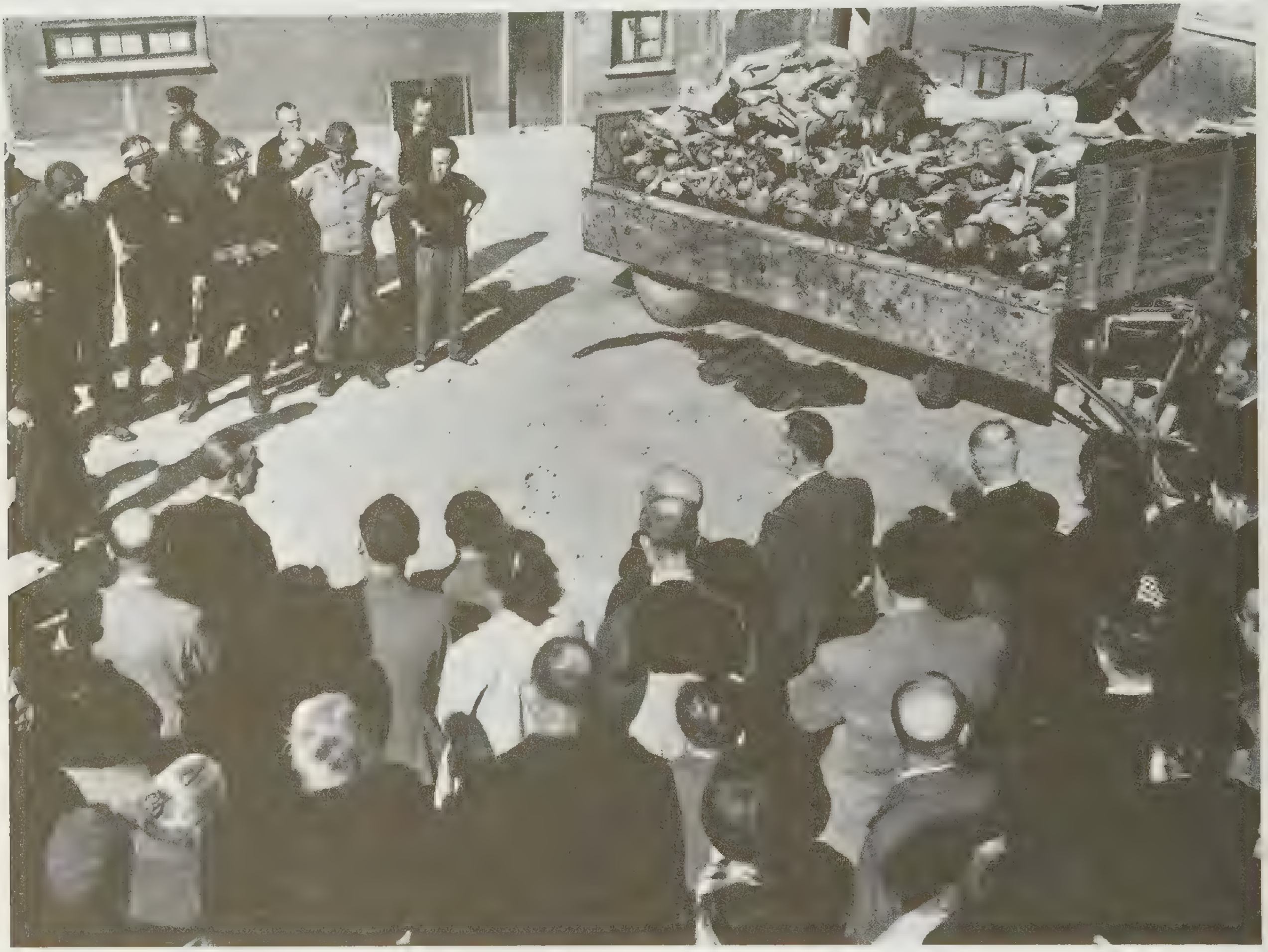
The most important advance in computing was the replacement of mechanical control switches with vacuum tubes of the kind then used in radios (vacuum tubes had no moving parts). The first purely electronic computer, the Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer, or ENIAC, was built by J. Presper Eckert and John Mauchley of the University of Pennsylvania. When completed in 1946, ENIAC filled a room 40 feet (12 meters) long by 20 feet (6 meters) wide and weighed 30 tons; its 18,000 vacuum tubes used as much electricity as a small town. For each problem, it had to be set up (or "programmed") by plugging wires into sockets, as on an old telephone switchboard. Once set up, however, ENIAC could solve mathematical problems—for example, calculating the trajectories of artillery shells—a thousand times faster than Aiken's Mark I. To do the same number of calculations in the same amount of time would have required seventy-five thousand skilled mathmeticians!

These early machines revolutionized computation in the same way that the telegraph had "annihilated" time in long-distance communications a hundred years before (see Chapter 19). The physicists, mathematicians, and engineers who worked with the first computers figured that three or four—ten at the very most—would suffice for all conceivable computing needs in the United States for years to come.

As it turned out, that was only the beginning. Soon after World War II ended, the mathematician John von Neumann devised a way to integrate the program and the data. Meanwhile, engineers developed magnetic memory devices to store data, programs, and output quickly and economically. These and other improvements made it possible for computers to perform any number of tasks, such as word processing, filing and sorting data, handling images, and communicating. Whether they will ever be able to "think" is another question.

The first computer ENIAC was unveiled in February 1946. It occupied a large room, and its 18,000 vacuum tubes used as much electricity as a small town. Its purpose was to calculate the trajectories of artillery shells, a tedious series of calculations previously done by several hundred women mathematics majors, called "computers." (Corbis)





Germans confront the Holocaust When the Allies entered Germany in 1945, they found Nazi extermination camps filled with corpses and with emaciated prisoners condemned to death. American soldiers brought German townspeople to one camp to see a cartload of bodies and to personally witness the horrors of the Holocaust. (UPI-Bettmann Newsphotos)

Wehrmacht was given orders to execute all captured communists, government employees, and officers. The German military also worked millions of prisoners of war to death or let them die of starvation.

The Home Front

During the First World War, there had been a clear distinction between the "front" and the "home front." Not so in World War II. Rapid military movements and air power carried the war into people's homes. Armies swept through the land, confiscating food, fuel, and anything else of value. Bombers and heavy artillery pounded cities into rubble; survivors hid in cellars. Millions fled their homes in terror, losing friends and families. Even in Britain, which was never invaded, children and the elderly were taken from their families and sent for safety to live in the countryside.

The war demanded an enormous and sustained effort from all civilians and provided new opportunities for women. Women replaced men in the fields, factories, and offices. The Soviet army eventually mobilized 22 million men, and Soviet women took over half of all industrial and three-quarters of all agricultural jobs in the USSR. Six million American women entered the labor force during the war, 2.5 million of them in manufacturing jobs previously considered "man's work." The expansion of job opportunities in the United States did not take place without friction. At first, many men were not happy to see women, especially mothers with young children, taking jobs that kept them away from their families. The Nazis, in contrast, believed that German women should stay home and bear children. The Nazis therefore imported 7 million "guest workers," a euphemism for war prisoners and captured foreigners.

Unlike the other belligerents, the United States flourished during the war. Safe behind their oceans, American civilians felt no bombs, saw no enemy soldiers, and suffered few military casualties and almost no civilian ones. The U.S. economy, still depressed in 1939, experienced a prolonged boom after 1940. By 1944 the United States alone was producing twice as much as all the Axis powers combined. Thanks to huge military orders, jobs were plentiful and opportunities beckoned. Bread lines disappeared, and nutrition and health improved. While consumer goods ranging from automobiles to nylon stockings were in short supply, most Americans saved part of their paychecks. Many Americans later recalled the Second World War as the "good war."

The war affected racial relations in the United States, bringing hardships for some and benefits for others. Seeking jobs in war industries, 1.2 million African-Americans migrated to the north and west. In the southwest, Mexican immigrants took jobs in agriculture and war industries. But no new housing was built to accommodate the inflow of migrants to the industrial cities, and as a result many experienced overcrowding and discrimination. Much worse was the fate of 112,000 Japanese-Americans living on the west coast of the United States when Japan bombed Pearl Harbor: they were rounded up and forced to live in internment camps in the desert until the war was over, ostensibly to prevent spying and sabotage but actually because of their race (German-Americans experienced no similar humiliation).

War and the Environment

During the Depression, construction and industry had slowed to a crawl. The war reversed this trend, sharply accelerating pressure on the environment. Battles scarred the landscape, leaving spent ammunition and damaged equipment. Retreating armies flooded large parts of China and the Netherlands. The bombing of cities left ruins that survived for a generation or more. The rusted hulls of ships still lie beneth the lagoons of once-pristine coral islands in the Pacific.

The main cause of environmental stress, however, was not the fighting but the economic development that sustained it. The war's half-million aircraft required the construction of thousands of air bases. Barracks, shipyards, docks, warehouses, and other military installations also sprouted up on every continent. As war industries boomed, so did the demand for raw materials. Mining companies opened new mines and towns in Central Africa to supply strategic minerals. Large Latin American countries, especially Argentina and Brazil, deprived of manufactured imports, began building their own steel mills, factories, and shipyards. In India, China, and Europe, timber felling accelerated far beyond the reproduction rate of trees. In a few instances, the war brought some environmental benefits. Submarine warfare, for example, made fishing and whaling very dangerous and allowed fish and whale populations to increase.

We must keep the environmental effects of the war in perspective. Except for the destruction of cities, much of the impact was simply the result of industrial development, which the Depression had temporarily slowed. During the war, the damage caused by military demand was tempered by restraints placed on civilian consumption. The environmental impact of the war seems quite modest when compared with the damage inflicted on the earth by the long consumer boom that followed it.

CONCLUSION

In the first half of the twentieth century, two world wars overturned the global relations inherited from the nineteenth century. World War I brought revolution to Russia, undermined the global economy, and led to the rise of totalitarian regimes. Then came World War II, which weakened the old colonial powers of Europe.

Briefly in the late 1920s it seemed as though the victors of World War I would reestablish prewar prosperity and European dominance of the globe. But the spirit of the twenties was an illusion—not real peace but the eye of a hurricane. World War I left many problems unresolved and worsened others. Far from emerging stronger from the war, the European victors found themselves challenged on many fronts: from within by revolutionary movements and throughout the world by nationalist movements and the growing power of nations overseas.

Despite its name, World War II was the *first* truly global conflict, covering oceans and continents and involving over half of the world's people. Not surprisingly, it left a powerful legacy. Into the power vacuum left by the collapse of the Axis powers stepped the two "superpowers," the United States and the USSR. When the war ended, American soldiers were stationed in Australia, Japan, and western Europe, and the Soviet army occupied all of eastern Europe and parts of northern China. Within months of their victory, these one-time allies become first rivals and then ideological enemies hovering on the brink of war.

The Second World War was so widespread and destructive because a rapidly advancing technology could readily be converted from civilian to military production—machines that made cars could also manufacture bombers or tanks. The accelerating technology of missiles and nuclear bombs made the entire planet vulnerable, for the first time in history, to destruction by human beings.

But the reverse was also true. Nuclear power, jet aircraft, chemicals, electronics, and other wartime technologies could be used to improve living standards. After the war western Europe, Japan, and the United States became more prosperous than ever. The organization and technology that had allowed them to fight produced amazing results when applied to peaceful pursuits.

While the great powers were engaged in their struggles for world domination, the ideas of nationalism and social justice awakened mass political movements around the world. We have already seen the impact of such revolutionary and nationalist movements in Russia and the Middle East. In the next chapter, we will study three other influential upheavals that took place during the age of world wars. They are the Mexican revolution, the Chinese wars and revolutions, and the Indian independence movement.

SUGGESTED READING

Bernadotte Schmitt and Harold C. Bedeler, *The World in the Crucible, 1914–1918* (1984), is an engaging overview of the First World War. Barbara Tuchman's *The Guns of August* (1962) and Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *August 1914* (1972) recount the first month of the war in minute detail. The role of women and the home front is the subject of essays in Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz, eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (1987), and sections of Lynn Weiner, *From Working Girl to Working Mother* (1985). Two famous novels about the war are Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1928) and Robert Graves's *Goodbye to All That* (1929).

The classic eyewitness account of the Russian Revolution is John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*

(1919), but see also Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990).

On World War I and its aftermath in the Middle East see David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace* (1989), and M. E. Yapp, *The Near East Since the First World War* (1991).

The cultural transformation after the First World War is captured in H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890–1930* (1958). The towering intellectuals of that era are the subject of Peter Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our Time* (1988), and Abraham Pais, *Subtle Is the Lord: The Science and Life of Albert Einstein* (1982).

See A. J. H. Latham, *The Depression and the Developing World, 1914–1939* (1981), for a global perspective on the Depression.

The best recent book on Japan in the twentieth century is Daikichi Irokawa, *The Age of Hirohito: In Search of Modern Japan* (1995).

The classic biography of Stalin is Isaac Deutscher's *Stalin*, 2d ed. (1966). Alexander Solzhenitsyn, a veteran of Stalin's prisons, explores them in a detailed history, *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918–1956*, 3 vols. (1974–1978), and in a short but brilliant novel, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1978).

The dictators are the subject of two fine biographies: Denis Mack Smith's *Mussolini* (1982) and Alan Bullock's *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (1965).

Two recent and detailed books on World War II are John Keegan, *The Second World War* (1990), and Gerhard Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (1994). The most readable account of the war in Asia and the Pacific is Ronald Spector's *Eagle Against the Sun* (1988).

The terror of life under Nazi rule is the subject of two powerful memoirs: Anne Frank's *The Diary of a Young Girl* (1952) and Eli Wiesel's *Night* (1960). On the Holocaust see Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933–1945*, 2d ed. (1986).

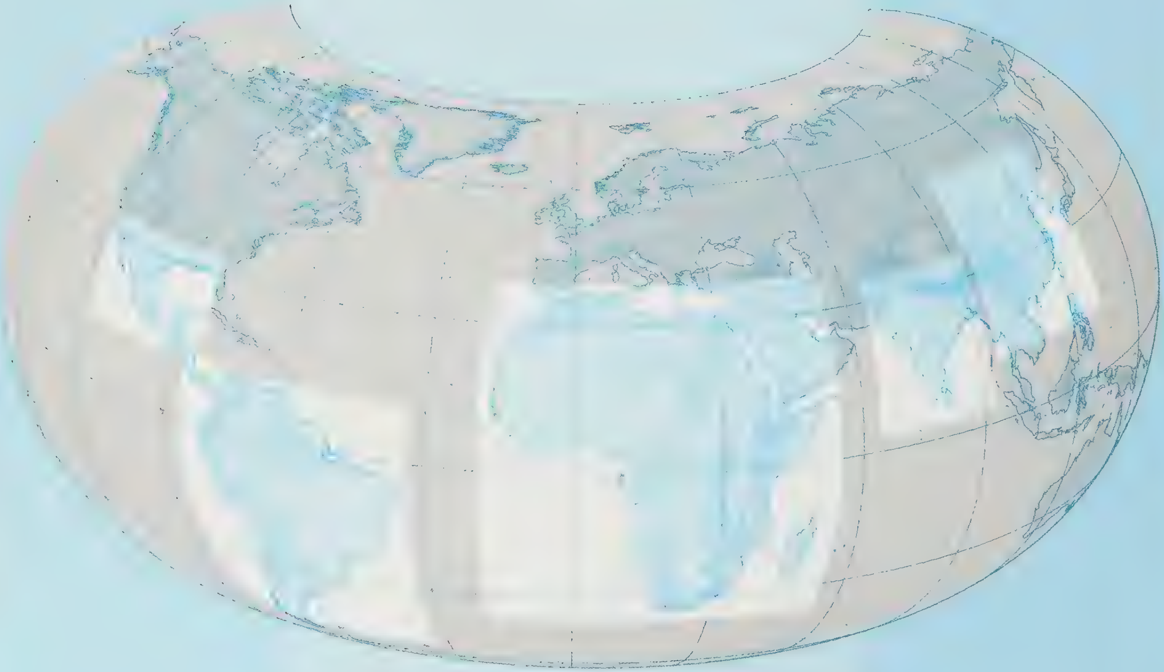
Among the many books on the World War II home front in the United States, the most vivid is Studs Terkel, *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War Two* (1984). Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz, eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (1987), discusses the role of women in the war.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

Revolutions and National Independence, 1900–1950

The Chinese Revolution • The Indian Independence Movement

The Mexican Revolution



In April 1947, as Chinese Communist forces surrounded Nanjing, the British frigate *Amethyst* sailed up the Yangzi River to evacuate British civilians. Dozens of times since the Opium War of 1839 to 1842, foreign powers had dispatched warships up the rivers of China to rescue their citizens, enforce their treaty rights, or intimidate the Chinese. Foreign warships deep in the heart of China were the very symbols of its weakness. This time, however, the Chinese Communist artillery damaged the *Amethyst* and beat back other British warships sent to its rescue. No nation has invaded China since that year.

As we saw in Chapter 25, between 1914 and 1945 the industrialized powers fought one another in two world wars, and Russia underwent a revolution. Yet the nonindustrial regions of the world were by no means passive spectators during this period. Momentous revolutions and nationalist movements were taking place in Asia and Latin America and soon thereafter in Africa. The age of gunboat imperialism came to an end after World War II.

What sparked these revolutions and nationalist movements? The causes varied from one place to another, but overall we can identify three. One was increasing poverty among the peasants and a widening of the gap between their incomes and those of the rich. In poor countries such as China, India, and Mexico, most people were peasants who had little land and kept little of their harvest. Population growth in these places occurred more rapidly than both the opening of new land for crops and improvements in productivity, thus worsening the plight of the poor.

The second cause was the appearance of a new generation of city people, many of them educated in Western ideas of equality and national independence, who were inspired by the rise of Japan and the Russian Revolution. This new generation channeled the despair of their followers into movements against both foreign domination and the older traditional elites.

The third cause of revolution was a growing alliance between this new urban generation and the dissatisfied peasantry. Together they created the politics of mass participation by calling for social justice, national unity, and independence.

Modern mass politics came to different societies at different times, depending on local circumstances. In this chapter we look at the three most crucial non-Western revolutionary and nationalist movements of the first half of the twentieth century: the Chinese and Mexican Revolutions and the independence of India. They are important because they involved almost half of the world's population and because they were the forerunners of many other movements.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

At the beginning of the twentieth century, China stood poised at the brink of two upheavals: (1) a revolt by the peasants against their landlords and against the Qing government, which did little to protect them from natural disasters; and (2) a revolt of intellectuals and city dwellers against national humiliation and the government that tolerated it. When these two movements joined together, they sparked one of the most profound social upheavals in modern history.

The People and the Land

China's population was the largest of any country in the world and growing: from about 350 million in 1850 to a half-billion by 1950 and over a billion by 1980. China had little new land to put under the plow and few industries to absorb these people. Farming methods, though ingenious, had not changed in centuries. As the land available per farmer diminished with each generation, more people became landless farm laborers. Rents and taxes took over half of the harvest. Most Chinese worked incessantly, survived on a diet of grain and vegetables, and spent their lives in fear of floods, bandits, and tax collectors.

The most populated parts of China were the rich alluvial plains of the Yangzi and Yellow Rivers. Silt carried by the Yellow River (Huang He) as it flowed eastward gradually raised the riverbed. Thus constant dredging and maintenance of dikes were needed to prevent the river from overflowing its dikes and flooding the low-lying fields and villages on either side. If these precautions were not taken, disaster ensued. Between 1913 and 1938 the Yellow River burst its dikes seventeen times; the flood of 1933 killed 18,000 people and forced 3.4 million to flee. In 1931 the Yangzi flooded an area the size of New York State, causing 14 million people to flee their homes. Throughout their history, the Chinese emphasized the connections between politics and the environment. Floods were judged to be the result of official neglect and corruption and thus were seen as a sign that the ruling dynasty was losing the Mandate of Heaven.

Above the masses of peasants, Chinese society was divided into many groups. Landowners and local officials formed the gentry. High officials, chosen through an elaborate examination system, enriched themselves through their control of the courts, the taxation system, and government monopolies on salt, iron, and other products. In the treaty ports, wealthy merchants handled China's growing import-export trade in collaboration with foreign companies.

Contact with the outside world, limited as it was, had a tremendous impact on Chinese politics. In the treaty ports of the turn of the century, a generation arose that saw no hope for advancement in the old system of examinations and official positions. Some learned foreign ideas in Christian mission schools or in Japan and the United States. These westernized intellectuals grew up smarting from the humiliations of foreign imperialism yet also eager to emulate the foreign thinking that they saw as the key to national power and self-respect.

The Fall of the Qing Dynasty

The Qing Empress Dowager Cixi died in 1908, leaving the country without leadership. Two groups, however, had been preparing to take over. One was the Revolutionary Alliance led by Sun Yat-sen (1867–1925). Educated in Hawaii and Hong Kong, Sun had spent much of his life in exile in Japan, England, and the United States plotting the overthrow of the Qing dynasty. His ideas were a mixture of nationalism, socialism, and Confucian philosophy. The other group consisted of army officers, especially generals commanding the regional armies. In October 1911, when a regional army mutinied against the central government, the most powerful of the generals, Yuan Shikai, refused to uphold the authority of the Qing. A revolutionary assembly elected Sun president of China in December 1911. But Sun, with no military forces at his command, had to resign a few weeks later to avoid a clash with the army. A new national assembly then elected Yuan president. The first round of the struggle to create a new China had gone to the military.

Yuan Shikai was an able military man but had no political program. While Sun reorganized his followers into a political party called Guomindang (National People's Party), Yuan quashed all attempts to create a Western-style government and harassed Sun's followers. In 1915, when Yuan announced his intention of becoming emperor, he lost all his supporters and died soon after. From then until well into the 1920s, China was ruled by regional generals known as "warlords."

Warlords and the Guomindang

The warlords supported their armies through plunder and arbitrary taxation and fought one another or formed fleeting alliances. They protected the opium trade and the gangsters who ran it. They neglected the dikes and canals on which the livelihood of Chinese farmers depended. They frightened off trade and investments in railroads, industries, and agricultural improvement. Although the treaty ports prospered, the rest of China grew poorer during the warlord era. China had never seemed so weak and vulnerable.

At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 the great powers awarded Germany's enclaves on the Chinese coast to Japan instead of returning them to China. On May 4, 1919, students demonstrated in front of the Forbidden City of Beijing, the seat of government. Despite a government crackdown, this May Fourth Movement spread to other parts of China. A new generation was growing up to challenge the old officials, the warlords, and the foreigners.

When Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, the leadership of his party passed to Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975). In 1927 Chiang determined to crush the regional warlords. He briefly formed an alliance with the Communists, but after his troops occupied Shanghai, he allied himself with local gangsters to crush the labor unions and kill the Communists, whom he considered a threat to his regime. Then he defeated or co-opted most of the other warlords and established a dictatorship.

As peace returned, China seemed poised to become independent and perhaps even prosperous. In the conciliatory mood of the 1920s (see Chapter 25), Japan, the United States, and Great Britain expected to do business without resorting to military threats; they even gave up most of the privileges they had exacted from China in the heyday of imperialism. Many foreign observers hailed Chiang's success as a "Nationalist Revolution."

Chiang's government issued ambitious plans to build railroads, develop agriculture and industries, and modernize China from the top down. However, his followers were neither competent administrators like the Japanese officials of the Meiji Restoration nor ruthless modernizers like the Russian Bolsheviks (see Chapters 23 and 25). Instead, they attracted thousands of opportunists whose goal was to "become an official and get rich" by taxing and plundering businesses. In the countryside, tax collectors and landowners squeezed the peasants ever harder, even at times of natural disaster. What little money reached the government's coffers went to the military.

Mao Zedong, the Chinese Communists, and the Long March

The main challenge to Chiang's government came from the Communists. The Chinese Communist Party had been founded in 1921 by a handful of intellectuals. For several years it lived in the shadow of the Guomindang, kept there by orders of Joseph Stalin, who expected it to subvert the Chinese government from within. Then in 1927 Chiang Kai-shek arrested and executed all the Communists and labor leaders he could catch.

The few Communists who escaped the mass arrests in Shanghai tried to establish bases in the remote mountainous parts of Jiangxi, in southeastern China. Among them was Mao Zedong (1893–1976), a farmer's son who had left home to study philosophy. He was not a contemplative thinker but a man of action whose first impulse was to call for violent effort.

In Jiangxi, Mao began studying conditions among the peasants. He planned to redistribute the properties of landowners to the poorest peasants, thus gaining adherents for the coming struggle with the Guomindang army. His goal was not just a nationalist revolution against the traditional government and foreign intervention but a complete social revolution from the bottom up. Mao's reliance on the peasantry was a radical departure from Marxist-Leninist ideology, which stressed the backwardness of the peasants and pinned its hopes on the industrial workers. He therefore had to be careful to cloak his pragmatic tactics in Communist rhetoric, to allay the suspicions of Stalin and his agents.

Mao also was a radical advocate of women's equality. Before 1927 the Communists had organized the women who worked in Shanghai's textile mills, the most exploited of all Chinese workers. Later in their mountain stronghold in Jiangxi, they allowed divorce, banned arranged marriages, and organized women farmers. They worked to end footbinding, which survived in remote rural areas. However, they did not admit women to leadership positions, for the party was still run by men whose primary task was warfare.

Mao on the Long March In 1934–1935, Mao Zedong led his rag-tag army of guerrillas on a year-long march across the rugged mountains of southern and western China. In this romanticized painting, young Mao is speaking to a group of soldiers in spotless uniforms who look up at him with worshipful expressions. Notice the images of Lenin and Karl Marx on the wall. (Library of Congress)

The government pursued the Communists into the mountains, and Mao responded with guerrilla warfare. He harassed the army at its weak points with hit-and-run tactics, relying on the terrain and the support of the peasants. Government troops often mistreated civilians, but Mao insisted that his soldiers help the peasants, pay a fair price for food and supplies, and treat women with respect. Nevertheless, the Communists gradually found themselves encircled by government forces. In 1934, Mao and his followers decided to break out of the southern mountains and trek to Shaanxi, an even more remote province in northwestern China. This "Long March" took them 6,000 miles (9,660 kilometers) in one year, 17 miles (27 kilometers) a day over desolate mountains and through swamps and deserts, pursued by the army and bombed by Chiang's aircraft. Of the 100,000 Communists who left Jiangxi in October 1934, only 4,000 reached Shaanxi a year later. The government thought it was finally rid of the Communists.

War with Japan

Meanwhile, Chiang Kai-shek had a much more urgent problem on his hands: the revival of Japanese imperialism (see Chapter 25). In late 1931 Japanese forces seized Manchuria and a few months later briefly occupied Shanghai. The Chinese government, deprived of some of its richest provinces, faced the prospect of further Japanese advances. From 1937 to 1941, the Guomindang and the Communists formed a united front against the Japanese. This did not mean real cooperation but only a lessening of the conflicts between the two sides.

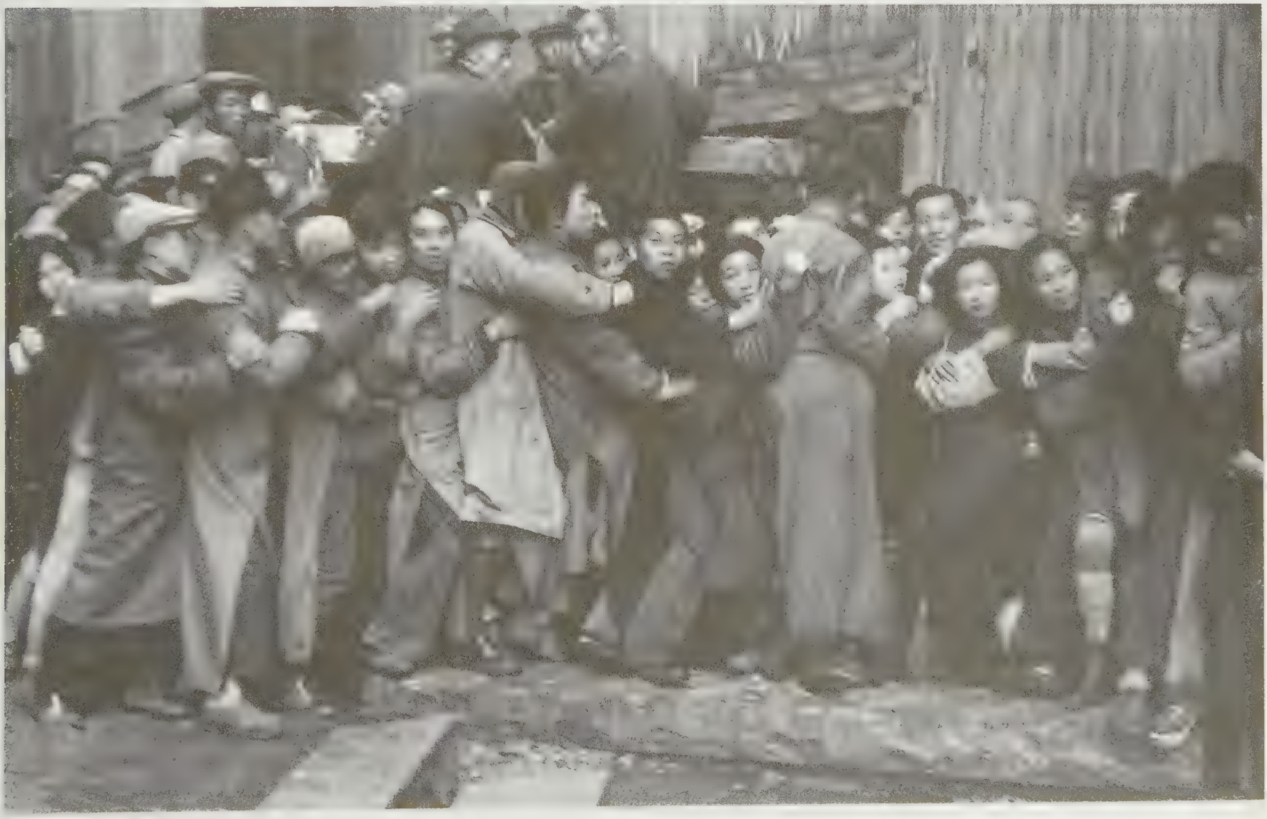
Beginning in July 1937, Japanese forces quickly seized China's richest agricultural lands and industrial cities. Warfare between Chinese and Japanese was often incredibly violent. In the winter of 1937–1938, Japanese troops took Nanjing, raped 20,000 women, killed 200,000 prisoners and civilians, and looted and burned the city. To slow them down, Chiang ordered the Yellow River dikes blasted open, causing a flood that destroyed 4,000 villages, killed 890,000 people, and made 12.5 million people homeless. Two years later, when the Communists ordered a massive offensive against the Japanese, the latter retaliated with a "kill all, burn all, loot all" campaign, destroying hundreds of villages down to the last person, building, and farm animal.

The Guomindang fled to the interior province of Sichuan. There Chiang built up a huge army, not so much to fight Japan as to prepare for a future confrontation with the Communists.

From Yan'an, his capital in Shaanxi province, Mao gradually rebuilt his army and formed a government. Until early 1941, he received a little aid from the Soviet Union. But after Stalin signed the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact (1941), that aid ended.

Unlike the Guomindang, the Communists listened to the grievances of the peasants, espe-

China in revolution In 1948, with the Guomindang government of China on the verge of defeat, people became desperate. This photograph by French photojournalist Henri Cartier-Bresson shows citizens of Shanghai lined up before a bank to exchange their near-worthless currency for gold and silver. In the ensuing panic, several were crushed to death. (Cartier-Bresson/Magnum Photos, Inc.)



cially the poor, to whom they distributed land confiscated from landowners. They tolerated no dissent or criticism from the intellectuals who had fled the Japanese and lost faith in the Guomindang. Although they had few weapons, the Communists obtained support and intelligence from farmers in Japanese-occupied territory. They turned military reversals into propaganda victories, presenting themselves as the only group in China that was serious about fighting the Japanese.

Civil War and Communist Victory

The Japanese surrender in September 1945 came as a surprise to the Chinese government. The United States gave millions of dollars of aid and weapons to the Guomindang, all the while urging "national unity" and a "coalition government" with the Communists. Chiang, however, used American aid and all other means available to prepare for a civil war. By late 1945 he had an army of 2.7 million, more than twice the size of Mao's army.

From 1945 to 1949 the contest between the Guomindang and the Communists intensified. Guomindang forces started with many advantages: more troops and weapons, U.S. backing, and control of the cities. But their behavior eroded whatever popular support they had. They taxed the people they "liberated" more heavily than the Japanese had. They looted businesses and enriched themselves at the expense of the population. To pay its bills, the government printed money so fast that it soon lost all its value. In the countryside, the Guomindang's brutality alienated the peasants.

Meanwhile, the Communists pushed through a radical land reform program, distributing the properties of landowners among the poorest peasants. In battles against government forces, the higher morale and popular support that the Communists enjoyed proved to be more valuable than the heavy equipment of the Guomindang, whose soldiers began deserting by the thousands. By 1949 Guomindang armies were collapsing everywhere, defeated more by their own greed and ineptness than by the Communists. High-ranking members of the Guomindang fled to Taiwan, an island protected from the mainland by the United States Navy. On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China.

THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

India and China are similar in size and population, yet their modern histories differ significantly. China retained its formal independence, but India was a colony of Great Britain until 1947. China experienced a series of violent upheavals that lasted for two generations, but the violent conflict that struck the Indian people came only after they had achieved independence.

The Land and the People

Much of India is fertile land, but it is vulnerable to the vagaries of nature, especially the droughts caused by the periodic failure of the monsoons. When the rains failed from 1896 to 1900, 2 million people died of starvation. Unlike the Chinese, who expected their government to maintain the dikes that protected the lowlands from floods, the Indian people did not blame natural disasters on government policies, for no government in India had ever claimed the Mandate of Heaven.

Despite periodic famines, the Indian population grew from 250 million in 1900 to 319 million in 1921 and 389 million in 1941. This growth created pressure in many areas. Landless young men converged on the cities, far exceeding the number of jobs available. To produce timber for construction and railroad ties and to clear land for tea and rubber plantations, government foresters cut down most of the tropical hardwood forests that had covered the subcontinent in the nineteenth century. In spite of deforestation and extensive irrigation, the amount of land available to peasant families shrank with each successive generation. Economic development—what the British called the "moral and material progress of India"—hardly benefited the average Indian.

Indians were divided into many classes. Peasants—always the great majority—paid rents to the landowner, interest to the village moneylender, and taxes to the government, and had little money left to improve their land or raise their standard of living. The government protected property owners, from the village moneylender all the way up to the princes and maharajahs who owned huge tracts of land. The cities were crowded with craftsmen, traders, and workers of all sorts, mostly very poor.

So many different languages were spoken in the subcontinent that English became—like Latin in medieval Europe—the common medium of communication among the educated. This helped create a new class of English-speaking, Western-educated government officials, professionals, and merchants, who would play a prominent role in the independence movement.

The majority of Indians practiced Hinduism and were subdivided into hundreds of castes, each affiliated with a particular occupation. Their religion discouraged intermarriage and other social interactions among castes and with people who were not Hindus. Muslims constituted one-quarter of the people of India but formed a majority in the northwest and in eastern Bengal. More reluctant than Hindus to learn English, Muslims felt discriminated against by both British and Hindus.

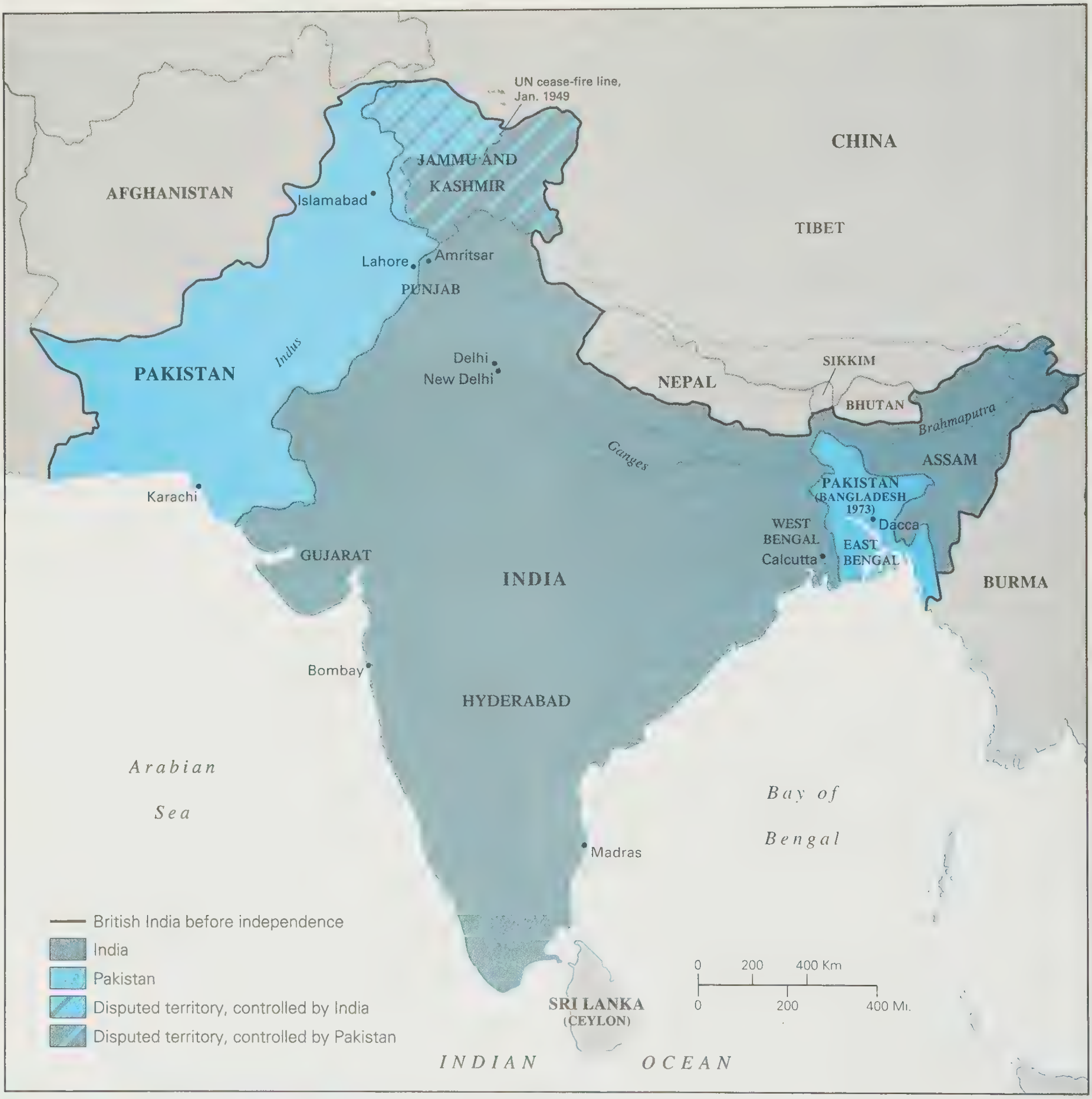
British Rule and Indian Nationalism

Colonial India was ruled by a viceroy appointed by the British government; the country was administered by a few thousand members of the Indian Civil Service (see Chapter 21). At the turn of the century, the majority of Indians—especially the peasants, landowners, and princes—accepted British rule. But the Europeans' condescending attitude toward dark-skinned peoples increasingly offended Indians who had learned English and absorbed English ideas of freedom and representative government and then discovered that thinly disguised racial quotas excluded them from the Indian Civil Service, the officer corps, and the most prestigious country clubs.

In 1885 a small group of English-speaking Indian professionals founded a political organization called the Indian National Congress. For twenty years, members respectfully petitioned the government for access to higher administrative positions and a voice in official decisions but had little influence outside intellectual circles. Then, in 1905, Viceroy Lord Curzon divided the province of Bengal in two, to improve the efficiency of its administration (see Map 26.1). This decision, made without consulting anyone, angered not only educated Indians, who saw it as a step taken to lessen their influence, but also millions of uneducated Hindu Bengalis, who suddenly found themselves outnumbered by Muslims in both East and West Bengal. Soon Bengal was the scene of demonstrations, boycotts of British goods, and even incidents of violence against the British.

In 1906, while the Hindus of Bengal were protesting the partition of their province, Muslims, fearful of Hindu dominance, founded the All-India Muslim League. Caught in an awkward situation, the government responded by granting Indians a limited franchise based on wealth. Muslims, however, were on average poorer than Hindus, so the British instituted separate representation and different qualifications for Hindus and Muslims. In 1911 the British transferred the national capital from Calcutta to Delhi, the old capital of the Mughal emperors. These changes disturbed Indians of all classes and religions and raised their political consciousness. Politics, once the concern of westernized intellectuals, turned into two mass movements: one by Hindus and one by Muslims.

During World War I, Indians supported Britain enthusiastically; 1.2 million men volun-



Map 26.1 The Partition of India, 1947 Before the British, India was divided among many states, ethnic groups, and religions. When the British left in 1947, the subcontinent split along religious lines. The predominantly Muslim regions of Sind and Punjab in the northwest and East Bengal in the east formed the new nation of Pakistan; the predominantly Hindu center became the Republic of India. Disputed territories of Jammu and Kashmir remained, however, to poison relations between the two new countries in the years to come.

teered for the army, and millions more Indians gave money to the government. Many expected that the British would reward such loyalty with political concessions; others organized to demand such concessions. In 1917, in response to the agitation, the British government announced "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." This announcement sounded like a promise of self-government, but the timetable was left so vague that nationalists denounced it as a devious maneuver to postpone India's independence.

Soon after the end of World War I, a violent epidemic of influenza spread to every country on earth. India was especially hard hit; of the 20 million people who died worldwide, one out of four was Indian. This dreadful toll increased the mounting political tensions. Congress leaders declared that the British reform proposals were too little too late. Muslims were angry at the Allies' harsh treatment of Turkey (a Muslim country) after World War I (see Chapter 25). On April 13, 1919, in the city of Amritsar in Punjab, General Reginald Dyer ordered his troops to fire into a peaceful crowd of some 10,000 demonstrators, killing at least 379 and wounding 1,200. As waves of angry demonstrations swept over India, the time of gradual accommodation came to a close.

Mahatma Gandhi and Militant Nonviolence

For the next twenty years, India teetered on the edge of violent uprisings and harsh repression, possibly even war. The fact that it did not succumb was due to Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948), a man known to his followers as Mahatma, "the great soul."

Gandhi began life with every advantage. His family was wealthy enough to send him to England for his education. After his studies, he lived in South Africa, where he practiced law for the small Indian community living there. During World War I he returned to India and was one of many Western-educated intellectuals who joined the Indian National Congress.

Gandhi had some unusual political ideas. Unlike Mao Zedong and other radical political thinkers of his time, he denounced the popular ideals of power and struggle and combat. Instead, inspired by both Hindu and Christian concepts, he preached the saintly virtues of *ahimsa* (nonviolence) and *satyagraha* (the search for truth). He refused to countenance violence among his followers, and several times he called off demonstrations when they turned violent.

Gandhi had an affinity for the poor that was unusual even among socialist politicians. In 1921 he gave up the Western-style suits worn by lawyers and the fine raiment of wealthy Indians and henceforth wore simple peasant garb: a length of homespun cloth below his waist and a shawl to cover his torso. Though married, he practiced total chastity. He spoke for the farmers and the outcasts, whom he called *harijan*, "the children of God." He attracted ever-larger numbers of followers among the poor and the illiterate, who soon began worshiping him as a saint, and he transformed the cause of Indian independence from an elite movement of the educated into a mass movement with a quasi-religious aura.

Gandhi was a brilliant political tactician and a master of public relations gestures. In 1929, for instance, he led a few followers on an 80-mile (129-kilometer) walk, camped on a beach, and gathered salt from the sea in a blatant and well-publicized act of civil disobedience to the government's salt monopoly. But he discovered that unleashing the power of popular participation was one thing and controlling its direction was quite another. Within days of his "Walk to the Sea," popular demonstrations of support broke out all over India, in which the police killed 100 demonstrators and arrested over 60,000.

Many times, Gandhi threatened to fast "unto death," and several times he did come close to death, to protest the violence of both the police and his followers. He was repeatedly arrested and spent a total of six years in jail, yet every arrest made him more popular. He became a cult figure, not only in his own country but also in the West. He never won a battle or an election; instead, in the words of historian Percival Spear, he made the British "uncomfortable in their cherished field of moral rectitude," and he gave Indians the feeling that theirs was the ethically superior cause.

India Moves Toward Independence

In the 1920s, slowly and reluctantly, the British began to give in to the pressure of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, handing control over "national" areas like education, the economy, and public works to Indians. They also gradually admitted more Indians into the Civil Service and the officer corps.

In the years between the First and Second World Wars India took its first steps toward industrialization. Protected by high tariff barriers against imports—even from Britain—Indian entrepreneurs built plants to manufacture iron and steel, cement, paper, cotton and jute textiles, sugar, and other products. This early industrialization provided jobs, but not enough to improve the lives of the Indian peasants or urban poor. These manufactures, however, helped create a class of wealthy Indian businessmen. Far from being satisfied with the government's policies, they supported the Indian National Congress and its demands for independence. Though paying homage to Gandhi, they preferred his designated heir, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964). A highly educated nationalist and subtle thinker, Nehru, in contrast to Gandhi, looked forward to creating a modern industrial India.

Congress politicians won regional elections but continued to be excluded from the viceroy's cabinet, the true center of power. When World War II began in September 1939, Viceroy Lord Linlithgow declared war without consulting a single Indian. The Congress-dominated provincial governments resigned in protest and found that boycotting government office increased their popular support. When the British offered to give India its independence once the war ended, Gandhi called the offer a "postdated cheque on a failing bank" and demanded full independence immediately. His "Quit India" campaign aroused popular demonstrations against the British and provoked a wave of arrests, including his own.

As in World War I, Indians contributed heavily to the Allied war effort, supplying 2 million soldiers and enormous amounts of material. Indian soldiers felt they were fighting to defend their country rather than to support the British Empire. A small number of Indians, however, were so anti-British that they joined the Japanese side.

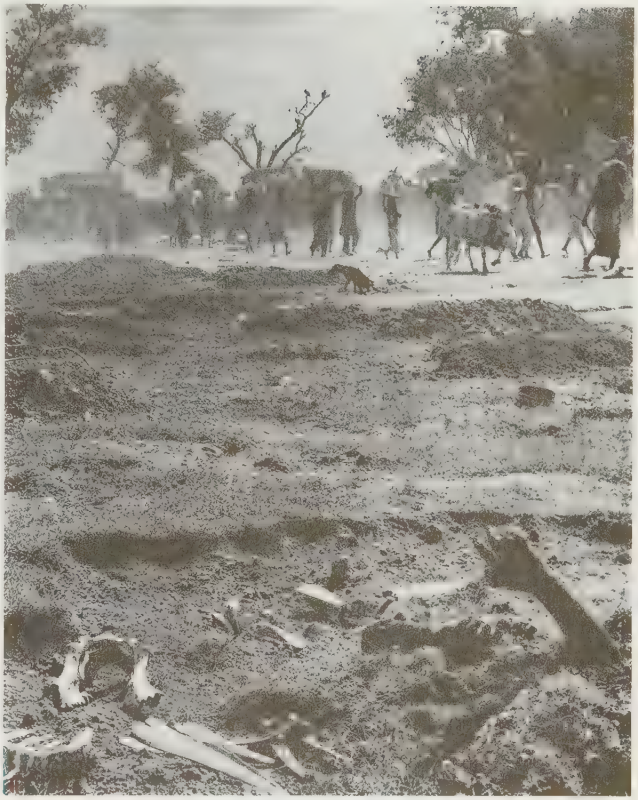
Partition and Independence

When the war ended, Britain's new Labour government prepared for Indian independence, but deep suspicions between Hindus and Muslims complicated the process. The break between the two communities had started in 1937, when the Indian National Congress won the provincial elections and refused to share power with the Muslim League. In 1940, the leader of the League, Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948), demanded what many Muslims had been dreaming of for years: a country of their own, to be called Pakistan.

As independence approached, talks between Jinnah and Nehru broke down and battle lines were drawn. Violent rioting broke out in Bengal and Bihar, states with mixed populations. Gandhi's appeals for tolerance and cooperation fell on deaf ears. The British made frantic proposals to keep India united, but their authority was waning fast.

By early 1947 the Congress had accepted the idea of a partition of India into two states, one secular, the other Muslim. In June, Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy, decided that independence must come immediately. On August 15, amid jubilation and a genuine outpouring of friendliness toward the departing British, British India gave way to a new India and Pakistan.

The rejoicing over independence, however, was marred by violent outbreaks of ethnic strife. In protest over the mounting chaos, Gandhi refused to attend the independence-day celebration. Throughout the land, Muslim and Hindu neighbors turned against each other, and armed gangs of people of one religion hunted down people of the other faith. For centuries Hindus and Muslims had intermingled throughout most of India. Leaving all their possessions behind, Hindus now fled from predominantly Muslim areas, and Muslims fled from Hindu areas. Trainloads of desperate refugees of one faith were attacked and massacred or left stranded in the middle of deserts by members of the other. Within a few months, some 12 million people had abandoned their ancestral homes, and half a million lay dead. In January 1948, Gandhi died too, gunned down by an angry Hindu refugee.

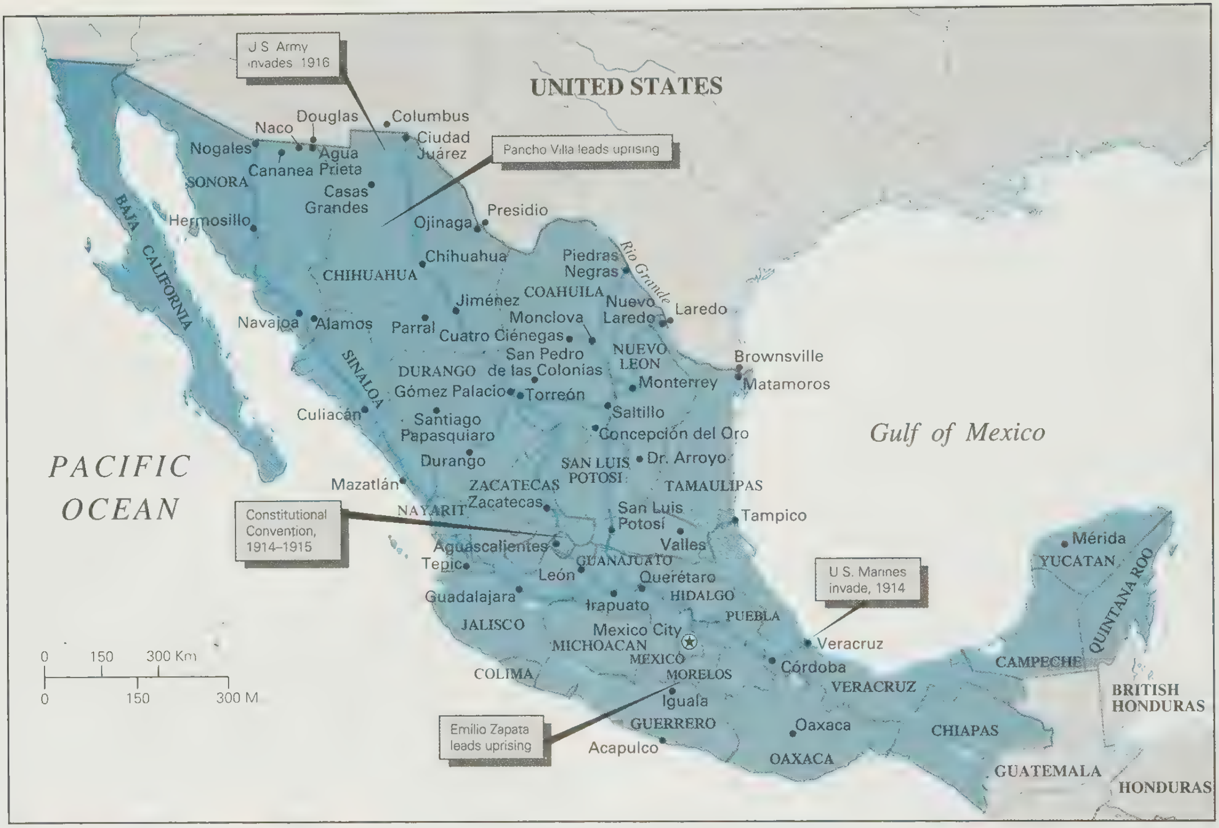


The partition of India As India approached independence from British colonial rule, the country erupted into a bloody civil war between Muslims and Hindus, forcing millions to flee their homes. This photograph by *Life* magazine photographer Margaret Bourke-White shows Muslims heading for safety in Pakistan, the predominantly Muslim part of the subcontinent. Along the way they pass the remains of victims of earlier attacks on refugees. (Margaret Bourke-White, *LIFE Magazine* © Time Inc.)

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

In the nineteenth century, Latin America successfully achieved independence from Spain and Portugal but did not industrialize. Throughout much of the century most Latin American republics suffered from ideological divisions, unstable governments, and violent upheavals (see Chapter 20). By trading their raw materials and agricultural products for foreign manufactures, they became economically dependent on the wealthier countries to the north, especially the United States and Great Britain. Their societies, far from fulfilling the promises of their independence, remained deeply split between wealthy landowners and desperately poor peasants.

Nowhere was this more true than in Mexico, a country of ancient civilization and, in all Latin America, the country most influenced by the Spanish during three centuries of colonial rule. Few countries in Latin America suffered as many foreign invasions and interventions. A Mexican saying observed wryly: "Poor Mexico: so far from God, so close to the United States" (see Map 26.2). In Mexico the chasm between rich and poor was so deep and the hold of tradition so strong that only a revolution could move the country toward prosperity and democracy.



Map 26.2 The Mexican Revolution The Revolution originated in two distinct regions of Mexico. One was the mountainous and densely populated area south of Mexico City, particularly Morelos, homeland of Emiliano Zapata. The other was the dry and thinly populated ranch country of the north, such as Chihuahua, home of Pancho Villa. The fighting that ensued crisscrossed the country along the main railroad lines marked on the map.

Mexico in 1910

At the beginning of the twentieth century a few very wealthy families of Spanish origin, less than 1 percent of the population, owned 85 percent of Mexico's land, mostly in huge *haciendas* (estates). Closely tied to this elite were the American and British companies that controlled most of Mexico's railroads, silver mines, plantations, and other productive enterprises. At the other end of the social scale were Indians and *mestizos* (people of mixed Indian and European ancestry). Most of them were peasants who worked on the haciendas or farmed small communal plots near their ancestral villages.

The urban middle class was small and had little political influence. There were few professional and government positions for them to fill, and foreigners owned most of the businesses. Industrial workers also were few in number; the only significant groups were textile workers in the port of Veracruz on the Gulf of Mexico and railroad workers spread throughout the country.

During the colonial period (see Chapter 16), the Spanish government had made halfhearted efforts to defend the Indians from the land-grabbing tactics of the haciendas. After independence, wealthy Mexican families and American companies used bribery and force to acquire millions of acres of good agricultural land from the villages. The peasants lost not only their fields but also their access to firewood and pasture for their animals. As sugar, cotton, and other commercial crops replaced the cultivation of corn and beans, the peasants had little choice but to work on haciendas. To survive, they had to buy food and other necessities on credit from the landowner's store; eventually they fell permanently into debt.

Sometimes whole communities were forced to relocate. In the 1880s, American investors purchased from the government dubious claims to more than 2.5 million acres (1 million hectares) traditionally held by the Yaqui people of Sonora. When the Yaqui resisted the expropriation of their lands, they were brutally repressed by the Mexican army.

Northern Mexicans had no peasant tradition of communal ownership, for the northern half of the country was too dry for farming, unlike the tropical and densely populated south. The north was a region of silver mines and cattle ranches, some of them enormous. It was sparsely populated by cowboys, miners, and bandits. The brutality of their lives and the vast inequities of income made northern Mexicans as resentful as the people of the south.

In 1910 the government seemed all-powerful, and no one expected a revolution to break out. For thirty years, General Porfirio Díaz (1830–1915) had ruled Mexico under the motto "Liberty, order, progress." To Díaz, "liberty" meant freedom for rich hacienda owners and foreign investors to acquire more land. The government imposed "order" through rigged elections and a policy of *pan o palo* (bread or the stick)—that is, bribes for Díaz's supporters and summary justice for those who opposed him. And "progress" meant mainly the importing of foreign capital, machinery, and technicians to take advantage of Mexico's labor, soil, and natural resources.

During the Díaz years, Mexico City—with its paved streets, streetcar lines, electric street lighting, and public parks—became a showplace, and throughout Mexico new telegraph and railroad lines connected cities and towns. However, material progress of this sort benefited only a handful of well-connected businessmen. The boom in railroads, agriculture, and mining at the turn of the century actually caused a decline in the average Mexican's standard of living.

Though a mestizo himself, Díaz favored whites over the nonwhite majority of Mexicans. He and his supporters tried to eradicate what they saw as Mexico's embarrassingly rustic traditions. On many middle- and upper-class tables, French cuisine replaced traditional Mexican dishes. The wealthy replaced sombreros and ponchos with European garments, and they preferred horse racing and soccer to the traditional bullfighting and cockfighting. To the educated middle class—the only group with a strong sense of nationhood—this devaluation of Mexican culture became a symbol of the Díaz regime's failure to defend national interests.

Mexican Society in Upheaval, 1911–1920

Unlike the Chinese Revolution or the Indian independence movement, the Mexican Revolution was not the work of one man or one party with a well-defined ideology. Instead, it developed haphazardly, led by a series of ambitious but limited leaders, each representing a different segment of Mexican society.

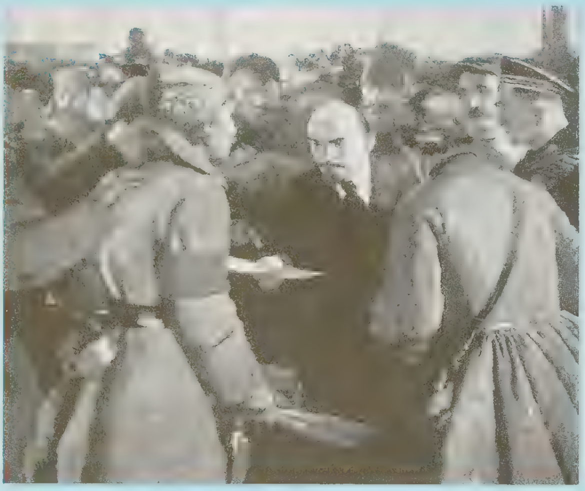
The first was Francisco Madero (1873–1913), the son of a wealthy landowning and mining family, educated in the United States. When minor uprisings broke out in 1911, the government collapsed and Díaz fled into exile. After two years as president, Madero was overthrown and murdered by one of his supporters, General Victoriano Huerta. Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States, showed his displeasure with Huerta by sending the United States Marines to occupy Veracruz.

Revolutionary Art

Art often is somewhat political so that it will appeal to the members of the elite who commission or purchase it. But in revolutionary times, political leaders see art as a means of serving the cause of revolution.

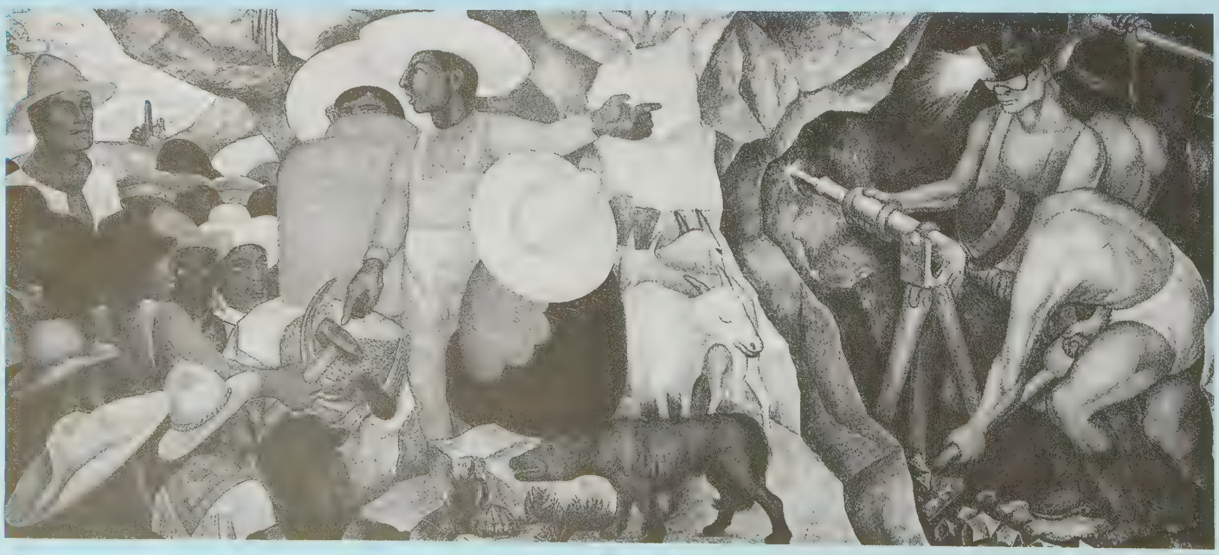
When the heavy hand of politics stifles creativity, the result is clumsy propaganda pieces such as the works of socialist realism produced during the regimes of Stalin and Mao. When a revolution inspires artists, the result is works of great power and beauty that appeal to people who have no particular interest in the revolution itself.

Diego Rivera's mural The Agitator *(1926) arouses the admiration of critics and art lovers outside Mexico, long after the events that inspired it. Compare Rivera's mural with the painting of Lenin by the Soviet socialist realist painter Sergei Gerasimov. What interest does each painting have other than as a historical document? Which of these two works is aesthetically more appealing? Which one conveys a more powerful political message?*



Socialist realism This painting by Sergei Gerasimov shows Lenin addressing a group of soldiers, sailors, and peasants at the Second Congress of Soviets. (Russian Museum, Lenigrad/Sovfoto)

***The Agitator*, a mural by Diego Rivera** Diego Rivera (1886–1957) was politically committed to the Mexican Revolution and widely admired as an artist. This mural, painted at the National Agricultural School at Chapingo near Mexico City, shows a political agitator addressing peasants and workers. With one hand, the speaker points to miners laboring in a silver mine; with the other, to a hammer and sickle. (Universidad Autonoma de Chapingo/CENDIAP-INBA)



The inequities of Mexican society and foreign intervention in Mexico's affairs angered Mexico's urban middle class and industrial workers. They found leaders in Venustiano Carranza, a landowner, and in Alvaro Obregón, a former schoolteacher. Calling themselves Constitutionalists, Carranza and Obregón organized private armies and in 1914 succeeded in overthrowing Huerta. By then the revolution had spread to the countryside.

As early as 1911, the Indian farmer Emiliano Zapata (1879–1919) had led a revolt against the haciendas in the mountains of Morelos, south of Mexico City (see Map 26.2). His soldiers were peasants, some of them women, mounted on horseback and armed with pistols and rifles. For several years, they periodically came down from the mountains, burned hacienda buildings, and returned land to the Indian villages to which it had once belonged.

Another leader appeared in Chihuahua, a northern state where seventeen persons owned two-fifths of the land and 95 percent of the people had no land at all. Starting in 1913, Pancho Villa (1877–1923), a former ranch hand, mule driver, and bandit, organized an army of three thousand men, most of them cowboys. They too seized land from the large haciendas, not to rebuild traditional communities as in southern Mexico, but to create family ranches.

Zapata and Villa were part agrarian rebels, part social revolutionaries. They enjoyed tremendous popular support but could never transcend their regional and peasant origins and lead a national revolution. Although the Constitutionalists had fewer soldiers than Zapata and Villa, they held the major cities and controlled the country's exports of oil, and they used the proceeds to buy modern weapons. Fighting continued for years, but gradually the Constitutionalists took over most of Mexico. In 1919 they defeated and killed Zapata; Villa was assassinated four years later. An estimated 2 million people lost their lives in the civil war, and much of Mexico lay in ruin.

During their struggle to win support against Zapata and Villa, the Constitutionalists had adopted many of their agrarian reforms, such as the restitution of communal lands to the Indians of Morelos. The Constitutionalists also proposed a number of social programs designed to appeal to workers and to the middle class. The Constitution of 1917 promised universal suffrage and a one-term presidency; state-run education to free the poor from the hold of the Catholic Church; the end of debt peonage; restrictions on foreign ownership of property; and laws specifying minimum wages and maximum hours, to protect laborers. Although these reforms were too costly to be implemented right away, they had important symbolic significance, for they enshrined the dignity of Mexicans and the equality of Indians, mestizos, and whites, as well as of peasants and city people.

The Revolution Institutionalized, 1920–1940

In the early 1920s, after a decade of violence that exhausted all classes, the Mexican Revolution lost momentum. Only in Morelos did peasants receive land, and all important decisions were made by President Obregón and his closest associates. Nevertheless, the Revolution had changed the social makeup of the governing class in important ways. For the first time in Mexico, representatives of rural communities, unionized workers, and public employees were admitted to the inner circle.

In the arts, the Mexican Revolution produced a surge of creativity (see Voices and Visions: Revolutionary Art). The political murals of José Clemente Orozco and Diego Rivera and the paintings of Frida Kahlo focused on social themes, showing peasants, workers, and soldiers in scenes from the Revolution.

In 1928, after Obregón was assassinated, his successor, Plutarco Elías Calles, founded the National Revolutionary Party, or PNR (the abbreviation of its name in Spanish). The PNR was a forum where all the pressure groups and vested interests—labor, peasants, businessmen, landowners, military, and others—worked out compromises. The establishment of the PNR gave the Mexican Revolution a second wind.

Lázaro Cárdenas, chosen by Calles to be president in 1933, brought peasants' and workers' organizations into the party, renamed it the Mexican Revolutionary Party (PRM), and removed the generals. Then he set to work implementing the reforms promised in the Constitution of 1917. In short order, Cárdenas redistributed 44 million acres (17.6 million hectares) to peasant communes. He closed church-run schools, replacing them with government teachers. He nationalized the railroads and numerous other businesses.

Cárdenas's most dramatic move was the expropriation of foreign-owned oil companies. In the early 1920s, Mexico had been the world's leading producer of oil, but a handful of American and British companies exported almost all of it. In 1938, Cárdenas seized the foreign-owned oil industry, more as a matter of national pride than of economics. The oil companies expected the governments of the United States and Britain to come to their rescue, perhaps with military force. In the end, however, Mexico and the United States resolved the issue through negotiation.

When Cárdenas's term ended in 1940, Mexico, like India and China, was still a land of poor farmers with a small industrial base. The Revolution had brought great changes, however. The political system was free of both chaos and dictatorships. Land and other resources were no longer monopolized by a small group of wealthy people. The military was tamed, the Catholic Church no longer controlled education, and the nationalization of oil had demonstrated Mexico's independence from foreign corporations and military intervention.

Nevertheless, the democratic promise of Francisco Madero's campaign remained unfulfilled. With the return of stability Mexico would prosper again, but this fragile prosperity would be threatened by growing population and an increasingly corrupt public administration.

CONCLUSION

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed revolutionary upheavals around the world. Russia underwent a revolution in 1917. After World War II, revolutions and national independence movements occurred in Indochina, Cuba, and many parts of Africa. Events in China, India, and Mexico, however, were especially important, for two reasons. First, they involved half of the world's population. Second, by joining the rebellion of the poor with the ideas and methods of modern mass politics, they were the forerunners of revolutions elsewhere.

Mass participation in politics was often provoked by Western-educated leaders like Sun Yatsen, Mahatma Gandhi, and Francisco Madero. But charismatic leaders with little formal education like Mao Zedong and Emiliano Zapata also moved people to act. The leaders who were most successful were the ones who appealed not only to the masses of peasants but also to urban workers, soldiers, and educated people. The basis of their appeal was a nationalistic promise: if the people united to free themselves from foreign domination, then not only would the whole nation benefit politically, but all classes of people would gain economically as well.

This promise could not be fulfilled without a struggle. In India, revolution meant liberation from colonialism. Because of Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence and Britain's policy of gradual withdrawal, independence was achieved by mutual consent. By then, however, nationalism had stirred religious differences into a bloody ethnic conflict.

In Mexico and China, revolution and civil war went hand in hand, not because the old elites clung to power but because rival groups representing different social classes fought to fill the power vacuum that those elites left. The winners were the ones who most clearly stood up to foreign interests, whether the Japanese in China or the American oil companies in Mexico.

Through revolution, all three regions achieved their political aims: mass participation, less foreign interference, and the replacement of traditional or foreign rulers by nationalistic and modernizing elites. These political and social changes were perhaps necessary to improve the lives of ordinary people, but they certainly were not sufficient. In the end, China, India, and Mexico remained underdeveloped and poor because of the destruction of war and the growth of population. For them, the economic revolution, the advent of prosperity, lay in the future.

SUGGESTED READING

An important book on popular revolutions in developing countries is Eric Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (1969).

In the large and fast-growing literature on twentieth-century China, two general introductions are especially useful: John K. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800–1985* (1986), and Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (1990). Jung Chang's, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (1991) is a fascinating account of women's experiences during the Chinese Revolution and the Mao era by the daughter of two Communist officials.

For a general introduction to Indian history see Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885–1947* (1983), and Percival Spear, *India: A Modern History*, rev. ed. (1972). The Indian independence movement has received a great deal of attention. Judith M. Brown has written many books on Gandhi; her most recent is *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope* (1989). The environment is discussed in M. Gadgil and R. Guha, *This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India* (1993).

On the Mexican Revolution, two recent books are essential: Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 2 vols. (1986), and John M. Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (1987). Mexico's most celebrated revolutionary is the subject of Manuel Machado, *Centaur of the North: Francisco Villa, the Mexican Revolution, and Northern Mexico* (1988).

PART EIGHT

The Perils and Promises of a Global Community, 1945 to the Present

For thirty years or more after World War II, historians, journalists, and many others routinely used the term "postwar era" when referring to the times they were living in. The two world wars and the intervening global economic depression had firmly established the idea that in the twentieth century the world's societies were more closely interrelated than they

Technology

1952—First hydrogen bomb
1953—Structure of DNA identified
1956—First videotape recorder
1957—Sputnik space satellite
1959—First dry copier (xerography)
1967—First heart transplant
1969—U.S. astronaut Neil Armstrong first person on moon
1976—First personal computer

Environment

1962—Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*
1974—OPEC oil-price increases begin
1980s–1990s—Burning of Amazon rain forest
1985, 1994—International whaling conventions
1986—Chernobyl nuclear disaster spreads contamination
1992—International treaty to limit chemicals causing ozone depletion
1996—Mexico City the world's largest city

United States

1945–1991—Cold War between United States and USSR
1962—Cuban missile crisis
1963—John F. Kennedy assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson assumes the presidency, launches the "Great Society"
1970—United States expands Vietnam War by invading Cambodia
1974—Richard M. Nixon resigns presidency in wake of Watergate scandal
1981–1989—Presidency of Ronald Reagan

Latin America

1946–1955, 1973–1974—Juan Perón president of Argentina
1959—Cuban Revolution
1979–1990—Leftist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua
1982—Argentina and Britain fight for Falkland Islands

ever had been before. Yet the notion of a "postwar era" in which all the peoples of the world could rejoice in the defeat of totalitarianism became increasingly hollow as the Cold War set in between the United States and the Soviet Union and more and more peoples became engrossed in national struggles for independence. With the end of the Cold War in 1991 the last of Europe's colonies gained their freedom, but by then much uncertainty had arisen about how the second half of the twentieth century should be seen and what the world would be like in the next century.

In much of the world, freedom from European imperial domination challenged formerly colonized peoples to develop new political, social, and economic institutions. Each of these new nations saw the postwar period in terms of its own needs and aspirations. By contrast, western Europe, North America, and the bloc of states dominated by the USSR saw the entire world as a rivalry between two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

From 1945 to 1991, local struggles between communist and noncommunist forces repeatedly involved the two superpowers. Sometimes the superpowers were arms suppliers or political allies, as in eastern Europe and Iran at the end of World War II. Sometimes they were combatants. The Korean War (1950–1953) and the Vietnam War (1954–1975) engaged American troops and arms; the Soviet Union intervened massively in Afghanistan in 1979. In other instances, newly independent countries that saw themselves as nonaligned states sought economic or political benefits from both superpowers by leaning first toward one, then toward the other.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 triggered the last phase of decolonization. American and Soviet development of nuclear weapons and delivery systems taxed the American econo-

1949—NATO formed
1957—Common Market established
1991—Maastricht agreement to forge European Union

Russia and Eastern Europe

1955—Warsaw Pact concluded
1956—Hungarian Revolution suppressed
1961–1989—Berlin Wall
1991—USSR dissolved

East Asia

1949–1976—Mao Zedong rules China
1950–1953—Korean War
1954–1975—Vietnam War
1980s—Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan emerge as industrial states

Middle East

1948—Israeli independence
1967—Six-Day War
1975–1990—Lebanese Civil War
1979—Iranian Revolution
1980–1988—Iran-Iraq War
1991—Gulf War

South Asia

1948—British withdrawal creates modern India and Pakistan
1971—Civil war in Pakistan, Bangladesh secedes
1979—USSR sends troops to Afghanistan

—Algerian war of independence
ana, Africa's first postcolonial state
hteen African colonies become
endent nations
son Mandela elected president
uth Africa

Society

1945—United Nations charter signed
1948—Universal Declaration of Human Rights
From 1959—Cuban Revolution inspires Latin American liberation movements
1960s—Resurgence of feminist movement in United States; Japan becomes industrial power
1964, 1965, 1968—U.S. civil rights legislation
1966–1969—Cultural Revolution in China
1968–1975—U.S. antiwar movement
1979—Islamic revolution in Iran
1991—Fall of USSR and eastern European communist regimes; end of apartheid in South Africa

Culture

1956—Elvis Presley becomes a star
1962—Vatican II council
From ca. 1975—Postmodernism in architecture
1981—MTV (Music Television)
1993—World Wide Web popularizes the Internet

my but drove the Soviet Union into bankruptcy. Soviet citizens vented their anger and frustration by rejecting their government. These events marked the end of an era that, in retrospect, seems to be most accurately characterized not as the "postwar era" but as a time of Cold War and decolonization.

Changes in technology and economic relations accompanied the political changes. In the second half of the twentieth century, limitations of time and space were almost entirely overcome. Instantaneous communication became commonplace, and new technologies fostered the growth of transnational corporations.

In the relatively nonindustrialized parts of the world, population grew rapidly in all postwar decades, partly because public health improved and epidemic diseases were contained, and partly, perhaps, in response to the hope for a better future that new-found independence seemed to promise. Consequently, Latin America, Africa, South Asia, China, and parts of the Middle East faced serious problems in providing their people with food, housing, and work opportunities as millions left agricultural life and sought their livelihoods in rapidly growing cities. Technological advances helped countries cope, and some countries exported large numbers of workers to richer countries. But strains on society continued to grow in many regions.

In addition, various nonpolitical factors seemed increasingly to shape social and cultural life. According to some critics, international business interests seemed to be coercing all the world's peoples into accepting a single, Western cultural model. Other people—particularly in Islamic, Hindu, and Buddhist societies—rededicated themselves to renewing and energizing cultural and religious traditions that were not of Western origin.

Running parallel to this contest were forces that tended to draw the world together. Foremost among them was the United Nations. Though often inefficient in action, the United Nations provided a forum for all the peoples of the world to voice their concerns.

But even while the world was edging closer to common standards in the areas of human rights and gender equality, thanks to United Nations activities and those of other international organizations, the quest for peace among nations was proving to be frustrating. Most governments were unwilling to surrender sovereignty to international bodies, and new currents of unrest flowing from religious and ethnic identity were coursing around the world. At the same time, the Cold War arms race was replaced by fears of smaller-scale nuclear threats, either from countries developing the means to build nuclear weapons or from states or terrorist organizations acquiring those weapons by theft or purchase.

How far will the earth's peoples go in accepting common values, cultural outlooks, and economic preferences? The centuries-long trend toward greater global interaction and interdependence accelerated during the twentieth century even as the number of independent nations multiplied through decolonization. But throughout history different peoples have repeatedly asserted their separate identities even when subjected to centuries of imperial control. Will human diversity finally succumb to the domination of economic forces? Or are the new assertions of difference in religious movements, struggles for ethnic autonomy, and distinctive adaptations of modern industrial life to local values and traditions better indicators of how the world will develop in the twenty-first century?

CHAPTER TWENTY SEVEN

Decolonization and the Cold War, 1945–1991

Decolonization and Nation Building • The Cold War

Limits to Superpower Influence • The End of the Bipolar World

In 1946, in a speech at Fulton, Missouri, Great Britain's wartime leader Winston Churchill said: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. . . . I am convinced there is nothing they [the communists] so much admire as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than weakness, especially military weakness."

The phrase "iron curtain" became a watchword for the Cold War between the United States and its allies ("running dogs of capitalism" in Soviet parlance) and the Soviet Union and its allies ("satellites" in American parlance). The metaphorical curtain separating the two sides took palpable form in 1961 when the communist government of the German Democratic Republic erected a wall in Berlin—as much to prevent its citizens from fleeing to the noncommunist western part of the city as to keep westerners from entering its territory.

Fittingly, the demolition of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent reuniting of Germany symbolized the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War. With the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1991, the process was complete, and the world entered a new and uncertain era unexpectedly relieved of the constant fear of nuclear destruction and the suffocating burden of East-West rivalry.

The intensity of that rivalry sometimes obscured another postwar phenomenon. The western domination of Asia, Africa, and Latin America was largely ended and the colonial empires of the New Imperialism (see Chapter 24) dismantled. The new generation of world leaders to head these states sometimes skillfully played Cold War antagonism to their own advantage. These moves simply formed the background to the real business, however: nation building. Many of these leaders sought unique ways to achieve their national goals without embracing either the communist or the capitalist camp.

DECOLONIZATION AND NATION BUILDING

Whereas the losing countries in World War I—Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire—were stripped of colonies and torn apart to be reborn as new nations in the Balkans and the Middle East (see Chapter 25), it was primarily countries on the winning side in World War II—Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium—that ended up losing their colonies (see Map 27.1). However, this time decolonization did not come about through a series of war-ending treaties or through the mechanism of the League of Nations. Instead, each colony raised its demand for freedom and recognition, sometimes making that demand at the point of a bayonet.

New Nations in South and Southeast Asia

The independent states of India and Pakistan (see Chapter 26) were strikingly dissimilar. Muslim Pakistan—half centered on the valley of the Indus River in the west and half in Bengal in the east—defined itself according to religion and quickly fell under the control of military leaders. India, a secular republic led by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), was much larger and inherited most of the considerable industrial and educational resources the British had developed, along with the larger share of trained civil servants and military officers. Ninety percent of its population was Hindu, most of the rest Muslim.

Despite recurrent predictions that multilingual India might break up into a number of linguistically homogeneous states, most Indians recognized that unity benefited everyone; and the country pursued a generally democratic and socialist line of development. Pakistan, in contrast, did break up. In 1971 its Bengali-speaking eastern section seceded to become the independent country of Bangladesh.

In the Dutch East Indies, a man named simply Sukarno (1901–1970) led the independence movement. Dutch withdrawal was finally negotiated in 1949, and Sukarno went on to become the dictator of his poor, populous, sprawling island nation. He ruled until 1965 when a military coup ousted him and brutally eliminated Indonesia's powerful communist party.

Elsewhere in the region, nationalist movements won independence as well. Britain granted independence to Burma (now Myanmar) in 1948 and established the Malay Federation that same year. (Singapore, once a member of the federation, became an independent city-state itself in 1950.) After the war, the United States kept its promise and granted independence to the Philippines.

In all these places, communist insurgents plagued the departing colonial powers and the newly formed governments. The most important of the postwar communist movements arose in the part of Southeast Asia known as French Indochina. There Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969), founder of the Indochina Communist Party in 1930, played the pivotal role.

After World War II, the new government of France was determined to keep its prewar colonial possessions. Ho Chi Minh's nationalist coalition, then called the Viet Minh, fought the French with help from the People's Republic of China (see Chapter 26). After a brutal struggle, Ho's Viet Minh government took over in the north, and a noncommunist nationalist government ruled the south. Fighting between North and South Vietnam eventually became a major conflict in the Cold War (see below).

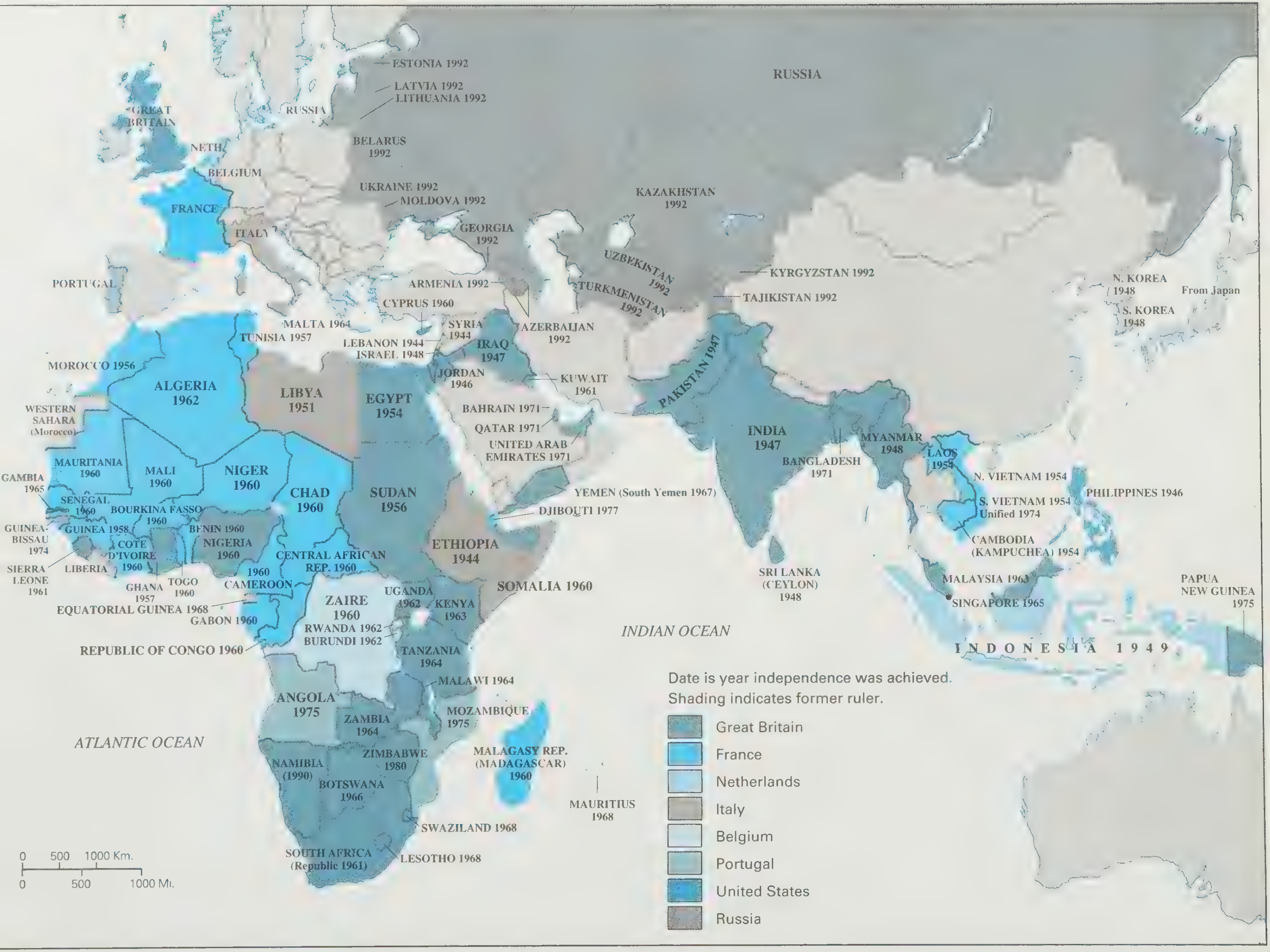
The Struggle for Independence in Africa

The government of France was as determined to hold on to Algeria as it was to keep Vietnam. French settlement of the North Africa country had been strongly encouraged, and Algeria had been declared an actual part of France rather than a colony. By the mid-1950s, 10 percent of the Algerian population was French, and the country's economy was strongly oriented toward France.

A revolt that broke out in 1954 was pursued with great brutality by both sides. The Algerian revolutionary organization, the Front de Libération National (FLN), was supported by Egypt and other Arab countries. French colonists considered the country theirs and swore to fight to the bitter end. When Algeria finally won independence in 1962, a flood of angry colonists returned to France. Despite the bitter feelings left by the war, Algeria retained close, and seemingly indissoluble, economic ties to France, and Algerians increasingly fled unemployment at home by emigrating to France and taking low-level jobs.

Most of the new states in sub-Saharan Africa faced enormous problems. Boundaries established by the imperial powers did not coincide with natural geographic or ethnic divisions. Education had been neglected under colonial rule. In some places, overdependence on export crops such as cacao or peanuts made economies hostage to international price fluctuations. States lacked national road and railroad networks. And population increases foreshadowed worsening poverty and unemployment in the absence of the massive investment needed for education, industrialization, and agricultural expansion.

In the 1950s and 1960s, enthusiasm for liberation overcame worries about these material problems. Some of the politicians who led the nationalist movements had devoted their lives to ridding their homelands of foreign occupation. Their skills as government administrators, however, frequently proved unequal to the problems they faced. An example is Kwame Nkrumah


RUSSIA
ESTONIA 1992
LATVIA 1992
LITHUANIA 1992
RUSSIA
GREAT BRITAIN
NETH.
BELGIUM
BELARUS 1992
UKRAINE 1992
MOLDOVA 1992
FRANCE
ITALY
GEORGIA 1992
KAZAKHSTAN 1992
UZBEKISTAN 1992
TURKMENISTAN 1992
KYRGYZSTAN 1992
TAJIKISTAN 1992
PORTUGAL
ARMENIA 1992
CYPRUS 1960
AZERBAIJAN 1992
N. KOREA 1948
S. KOREA 1948
From Japan
MALTA 1964
TUNISIA 1957
SYRIA 1944
LEBANON 1944
ISRAEL 1948
IRAQ 1947
MOROCCO 1956
ALGERIA 1962
LIBYA 1951
EGYPT 1954
JORDAN 1946
KUWAIT 1961
PAKISTAN 1947
BAHRAIN 1971
QATAR 1971
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES 1971
WESTERN SAHARA (Morocco)
INDIA 1947
MYANMAR 1948
BANGLADESH 1971
LAOS 1954
MAURITANIA 1960
MALI 1960
NIGER 1960
CHAD 1960
SUDAN 1956
N. VIETNAM 1954
GAMBIA 1965
SENEGAL 1960
BOURKINA FASSO 1960
YEMEN (South Yemen 1967)
PHILIPPINES 1946
S. VIETNAM 1954
Unified 1974
DJIBOUTI 1977
GUINEA-BISSAU 1974
GUINEA 1958
BENIN 1960
NIGERIA 1960
COTE D'IVOIRE 1960
ETHIOPIA 1944
CAMBODIA (KAMPUCHEA) 1954
CENTRAL AFRICAN REP. 1960
SIERRA LEONE 1961
LIBERIA
1960 CAMEROON
GHANA 1957
TOGO 1960
SOMALIA 1960
SRI LANKA (CEYLON) 1948
MALAYSIA 1963
PAPUA NEW GUINEA 1975
UGANDA 1962
KENYA 1963
ZAIRE 1960
SINGAPORE 1965
EQUATORIAL GUINEA 1968
GABON 1960
RWANDA 1962
BURUNDI 1962
INDIAN OCEAN
REPUBLIC OF CONGO 1960
TANZANIA 1964
INDONESIA 1949
MALAWI 1964
ANGOLA 1975
ZAMBIA 1964
MOZAMBIQUE 1975
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ZIMBABWE 1980
MALAGASY REP. (MADAGASCAR) 1960
NAMIBIA (1990)
BOTSWANA 1966
MAURITIUS 1968
SWAZILAND 1968
SOUTH AFRICA (Republic 1961)
LESOTHO 1968
0 500 1000 Km.
0 500 1000 Mi.
Date is year independence was achieved.
Shading indicates former ruler.
Great Britain
France
Netherlands
Italy
Belgium
Portugal
United States
Russia

(1909–1972), who in 1957 became prime minister of Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast), the first British colony in Africa to achieve independence.

After graduating from teacher training college, Nkrumah spent a decade reading philosophy and theology in the United States, absorbing ideas about black pride and independence then being propounded by W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey. In 1947 he returned to the Gold Coast to work for independence. The time was right. Great Britain was exhausted by war and unwilling to spend money and spill blood to hold on to restive colonies that were not particularly valuable in terms of resources. Independent Ghana thus came into being without war or protracted bloodshed. Nkrumah became president in 1960. He made a grander impression internationally than he did at home, and in 1966 a group of army officers ousted him.

In contrast with African nationalists in the British colonies and their counterparts in Algeria, African leader in the sub-Saharan French colonies were reluctant to call for independence. They visualized change in terms of the promises made by the Free French movement of General Charles de Gaulle at a conference in Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa, in 1944. Acknowledging the value of his African territorial base, de Gaulle promised the colonial leaders who attended the conference—none of them African—more democratic government and broader suffrage. He also promised to abolish forced labor and imprisonment without charge; to expand education, in French only, down to the village level; to improve health services; and to open more administrative positions, though not the top ones, to Africans. The word *independence* was never mentioned, but the politics of postwar colonial self-government led in that direction.

Most of the new group of African politicians seeking election in the colonies of French West Africa realized that although some colonies had good economic prospects—such as Ivory Coast with coffee and cacao exports, fishing, and hardwood forests—others, such as landlocked, desert Niger, did not. Furthermore, they recognized the importance of French public investment in the region and their own dependence on civil service salaries. Ultimately, however, enthusiasm for liberation prevailed everywhere. Guinea, under the

Map 27.1 Decolonization in Africa and Asia and the Breakup of the Soviet Union Independence came a decade or so earlier in South and Southeast Asia than in Africa, and disintegration of the Soviet Union into independent states occurred some three decades later.

French soldiers on patrol in Algeria The Algerian war was one of the most savage struggles for independence in the era of decolonization. The French held out a more secular, Western-style view of life but did not hesitate to intrude into homes and residential areas in search of their enemies. At independence in 1961, most Algerian leaders spoke French more readily than Arabic. (Marc Riboud/Magnum Photos, Inc.)

dynamic leadership of Sékou Touré, led the way in 1958. By the time Nigeria, the most populous West African state, achieved independence from Great Britain in 1960, the leaders of the former French colonies of Ivory Coast (now Côte d'Ivoire), Niger, Dahomey (now Benin), Senegal, and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) could attend the celebrations as independent heads of state.

Though decolonization in Africa presented innumerable scenes of people of European descent struggling with indigenous Africans to retain personal privileges, control of resources, and political power, race conflict became particularly severe in the temperate southern part of the continent. African guerrillas struggled against Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique, prompting the Portuguese army to revolt against the home government in 1974. The new Portuguese government granted independence to its African colonies the following year. In 1980, after a ten-year struggle for independence, European settlers in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia acceded to majority African rule. The new government changed the country's name, which had honored the memory of the British imperialist Cecil Rhodes, to Zimbabwe, the name of a great stone city built by indigenous Africans long before the arrival of European settlers. This left only South Africa and neighboring Southwest Africa in the hands of ruling European minorities. The change had been swift; at the beginning of the postwar period Africa had been almost entirely under European control.

After World War II, a succession of South African governments had constructed a state and society based on a policy of racial separation, or *apartheid*. Indians and people of mixed parentage, approximately 12 percent of the population, were classified as "nonwhite" along with the 74 percent of the population who were indigenous Africans. These groups were subjected to strict limitations on place of residence, right to travel, and access to jobs and public facilities. "Homelands" somewhat similar to Amerindian reservations in the United States were created in undesirable parts of the country. The largest and most productive tracts of land were held by the 14 percent of the population descended from Dutch and English settlers.

Rising in opposition to apartheid was the African National Congress (ANC), formed in 1912. After police fired on demonstrators in the African town of Sharpeville in 1960, a lawyer named Nelson Mandela (b. 1918) organized guerrilla resistance by the ANC. Mandela was sentenced to life in prison in 1964, but he was released in 1990. Recently elected president F. W. de Klerk had decided, under pressure from international boycotts and isolation as well as worsening internal disorder, to dismantle the apartheid system. In 1994 Mandela was elected president of South Africa with 63 percent of the vote in the country's first multiracial election. This was the final step in the process by which indigenous Africans regained control of their countries. (Southwest Africa, under United Nations guidance, made the transition to majority rule in 1990, as the country of Namibia.)

The Quest for Economic Freedom in Latin America

In Latin America, independence from European rule was achieved earlier, but American and European economic domination increased (see Chapter 24). Chile's copper, Cuba's sugar, Colombia's coffee, and Guatemala's bananas were all controlled from abroad. The largest resort hotel in Havana was owned by American mobster Meyer Lansky. The communications networks of several countries were in the hands of ITT (International Telephone and Telegraph Company).

An army colonel turned politician, Argentina's Juan Perón (1895–1974) set a dramatic, though ultimately unsuccessful, example by declaring economic independence in 1946. He called his program the "third position" between communism and capitalism. It combined populism, nationalization of some foreign enterpris-

South African leaders F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela De Klerk became president in 1989 when his predecessor P. W. Botha resigned. Botha had relaxed some apartheid restrictions but maintained a policy of suppressing African political activism. De Klerk freed Nelson Mandela from prison and opened negotiations with Mandela's African National Congress. Under a new constitution, Mandela became president in 1994, fifty years after joining the ANC. (S. Silva/Sygma)

es, a welfare program for the working class, and authoritarian controls on society. Some critics called him a fascist, others a socialist. A military coup forced Perón into exile in 1955, but Peronism remained an electoral force in Argentina for decades.

Perón was one in a long line of personalist, authoritarian rulers, strong of speech and decisive of action, who rose to power in Latin America (see Chapter 20). Typically, in a speech on May 1, 1944, he declared: "I believe that programs, as revolutions, should not be announced, but simply carried out." Few of the other personalist leaders had Perón's popularity or skill in building a working-class party and thus freeing himself from wealthy and foreign interests. Usually those conservative forces reasserted themselves after a period of personalist rule.

In Cuba, the rise of Fidel Castro's revolutionary regime wedded personalist traditions with Cold War politics. American domination of the Cuban economy prior to 1960 was overwhelming. U.S. companies owned 40 percent of raw sugar production, 23 percent of nonsugar industry, 90 percent of telephone and electrical services, and 50 percent of public service railways. Moreover, many of Cuba's American-owned industries depended on factories in the United States for essential supplies. Profits went north to the United States or to a small group of wealthy

Cubans, many of whom, like the owners of the Bacardi rum company, were of foreign origin.

Between 1951 and 1958 Cuba's economic growth rate was 1.4 percent per year, less than the rate of population increase, and a quarter of the working population was unemployed for the better part of every year. Cuba's ruler during that period, Fulgencio Batista, became a symbol of corruption, repression, and foreign economic domination. In 1959 Batista was compelled to flee the country, and Fidel Castro (b. 1927), a lawyer; his brother Raul; and Ernesto "Che" Guevara, the main theorist of communist revolution in Latin America, created a new regime. Within a year, Castro's government redistributed land, lowered urban rents, and raised wages, effectively transferring 15 percent of the national income from rich to poor. Within twenty-two months it had seized almost all U.S. property in Cuba and most Cuban corporations. This resulted in a blockade by the United States, the flight of middle-class and technically trained Cubans, a drop in investment, and the beginning of chronic food shortages.

Little evidence supports the view that Castro undertook his rebellion to install a communist government. However, international politics at that time were increasingly influenced by the East-West rivalry of the Cold War, and Castro soon turned to the Soviet Union for economic aid.

In April 1961, the Cuban army defeated an attempted invasion at the Bay of Pigs by some 1,500 Cuban exiles trained by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The Bay of Pigs fiasco not only tarnished the reputation of the United States and the CIA but also prompted Castro to declare that he and his revolution were and always had been Marxist-Leninist.

Though the dream of a thriving, egalitarian communist state in Cuba subsequently attracted downtrodden people in many parts of Latin America, Castro seemed unable to make the dream come true for his own people. Cuba encouraged revolutionaries in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and elsewhere, but conservative forces backed by the United States fought them to a stalemate, often at a dreadful cost in innocent human life.

Challenges of Nation Building

Decolonization occurred on a vast scale. Fifty-one nations signed the Charter of the United Nations (see Chapter 28) in the closing months of 1945. During its first decade, twenty-five new members joined, a third of them upon gaining independence. During the next decade, forty-six new members were admitted, virtually all of them former colonial territories, as were most of the sixty-some nations that joined after 1976.

Each of these hundred-plus nations had to organize and institute some form of government. Comparatively few were able to do so without experiencing coups, rewritten constitutions, or regional rebellions. In the absence of an established constitutional tradition, leaders frequently tried to impose their own vision by force. Most of these new nations, while trying to establish political stability, also faced severe economic challenges, including foreign ownership and operation of key resources and the need to build an effective infrastructure. Since achievement of political and economic goals depended on educated and skilled personnel, education was another common concern of the newly emerging nations. In some, leaders had to decide which language would be taught in the schools and how to inculcate a sense of national unity in students from different—sometimes antagonistic—ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups.

Only rarely were the new nations able to surmount these hurdles. Even the most successful economically and educationally—such as Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan (see Chapter 28)—suffered from tendencies toward authoritarian rule. Similarly, Costa Rica, with a remarkably stable parliamentary regime from 1949 onward and a literacy rate of 90 percent, remained heavily dependent on world prices for agricultural commodities and on the importation of manufactured goods.

THE COLD WAR

The wartime alliance between the United States, Great Britain, and the USSR had been an uneasy one (see Chapter 25). Political and economic leaders committed to democratic choice, free markets, and untrammeled capital investment had loathed socialism in its several forms for more than a century. After World War II, communist insurgencies in China and elsewhere seemed to confirm the threat of worldwide worker revolution.

Soviet leaders, particularly after the United States and the countries of western Europe established a military alliance in 1949, felt themselves surrounded by hostile forces. The Soviets felt cheated of the dominant role in world affairs they had earned at great cost for their role in defeating the Nazis. As events unfolded, both sides saw their worst fears confirmed. It is far from clear, however, whether the Cold War evolved as the product of those fears or whether a different and more trusting cast of minds among the principal nations' leaders could have averted a world-threatening arms race and a generation of destructive competition worldwide (see Environment and Technology: Rocketry and Space Exploration).

Onset of the Cold War

At war's end, both winners and losers concentrated first on reconstruction. What money and resources remained were mustered to clear rubble, repair infrastructure, rebuild factories, and rehouse the homeless. Western Europe and Japan slowly entered a period of economic renewal that eventually rebuilt their economies, changed their landscapes, and enabled them to compete with the United States in world markets. The Soviet Union—and the new governments in eastern Europe that followed Soviet bidding—pressed industrial reconstruction and production to the maximum to compete with the United States. In doing so, they deprived their citizens of most consumer goods and prolonged housing shortages caused by the war.

After the war, the United States moved to spur the recovery of Europe. The Marshall Plan dispersed over $12.5 billion to friendly European countries between 1948 and 1951. In 1949, the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) committed the United States, Canada, and several countries of western Europe to joint preparations for a war against the USSR. The Soviet counterpart of NATO, the Warsaw Pact, came into being in 1955.

The much-feared and long-prepared-for third great war in Europe did not occur. The Soviet Union tested Western resolve in 1948–1949 by blockading the areas of Berlin occupied by British, French, and American forces, which were surrounded by Soviet-controlled East Germany. An airlift of food and fuel defeated the blockade. In 1961 the East German government accentuated Germany's political division by building the Berlin Wall. The West tested the East, in turn, by encouraging a rift between Stalin and Yugoslavia. Western aid and encouragement resulted in Yugoslavia signing a defensive treaty with Greece and Turkey (but not with NATO) and deciding against joining the Warsaw Pact alliance.

Soviet power set clear limits on how far any eastern European country might stray from Soviet domination. In 1956 Soviet troops crushed an anti-Soviet revolt in Hungary. Czechoslovakia suffered Hungary's fate in 1968. The West, a passive onlooker, had no recourse but to acknowledge that the USSR had the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of any Soviet-bloc nation whenever it wished.

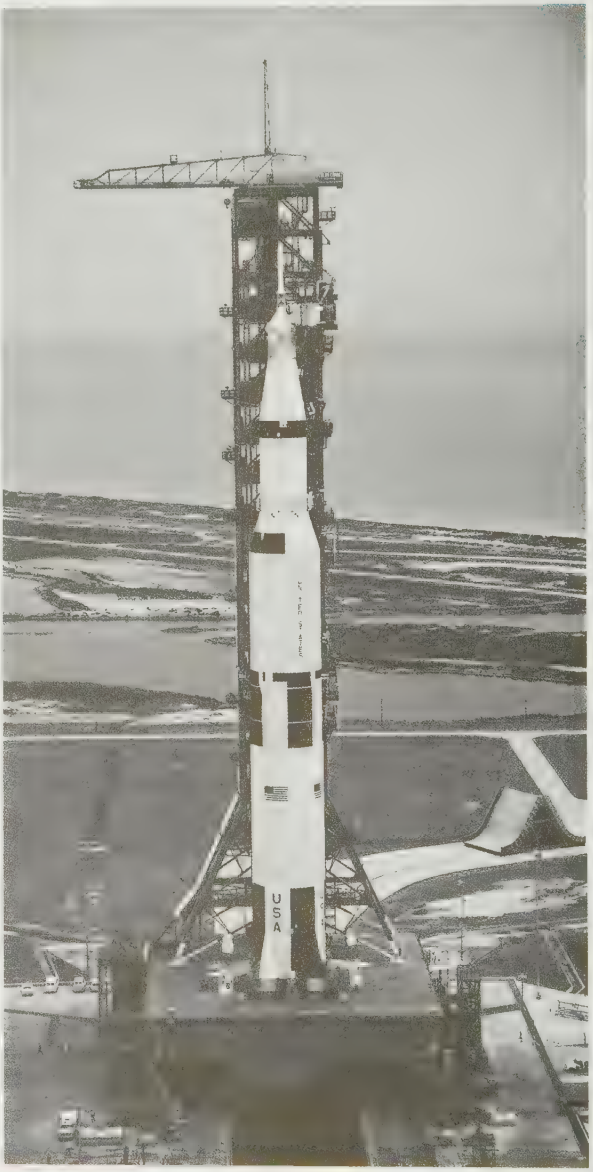
Rocketry and Space Exploration

Advances in military technology arising from the Cold War arms race had a significant impact on civilian life. Rocketry provides an excellent example. Robert Goddard (1882–1945), an American physicist, was the foremost rocket pioneer in the interwar period. He built the first liquid-fueled rocket, developed automatic steering devices, and proved that rockets could work efficiently in the near vacuum of the upper atmosphere.

Practical application of Goddard's ideas did not come until the waning months of World War II, when Nazi Germany launched V2 rocket bombs against England. These weapons were ballistic missiles—that is, they were powered on take-off and then, once their fuel was exhausted, glided along a parabolic arc to the target. The V2 was not very accurate, but American and Soviet strategists realized by war's end that it was the weapon of the future, particularly if it could be designed to carry an atomic bomb, which had enough power to compensate for inaccuracy.

The contest to build larger and more accurate ballistic missiles with ever-more-sophisticated nuclear warheads lasted throughout the Cold War. The United States benefited from the skills of German V2 designers recruited to the American side. Soviet rocket designs tended to be less sophisticated in controls but often were equipped with more powerful engines.

Using rockets designed for the military, the Soviet Union placed a small satellite into orbit around the earth in October 1957; the United States responded with its own satellite three months later. The space race was on, a contest in which accomplishments in space exploration were understood to imply equivalent achievements in military missile technology. The Saturn V rocket that carried Americans Neil A. Armstrong and Edwin E. "Buzz" Aldrin, Jr., to the first human landing on the moon on July 20, 1969, was 363 feet (110.6 meters) tall, more than seven times the size of the V2.



Saturn V rocket on launch pad This three-stage rocket was the main vehicle in U.S. missions to the moon. Three sets of engines and fuel tanks stacked on top of one another and fired consecutively account for most of the Saturn's length, which roughly equals that of the Statue of Liberty with a World War II V-2 rocket perched on its torch. (National Aeronautics and Space Administration)

A more explosive crisis erupted in Korea, where the Second World War had left Soviet troops in control in the north and American troops in control in the south. When no agreement could be reached on holding elections throughout the country, communist North Korea and noncommunist South Korea became independent states in 1948. Two years later, the former invaded the latter. The United Nations Security Council, acting in the absence of the Soviet delegation, voted to condemn the invasion and called on members of the United Nations to come to the defense of South Korea. The ensuing war lasted until 1953. The United States was the primary ally of South Korea. The People's Republic of China supported North Korea.

The conflict in Korea remained limited to the Korean peninsula because the United States feared that launching attacks into China might prompt China's ally, the USSR, to retaliate and bring about the dreaded World War III. The two sides eventually agreed to a truce, but the cease-fire lines remained fortified, no peace treaty was concluded, and the possibility of renewed warfare between the two Koreas continued well past the end of the Cold War.

The Race for Nuclear Supremacy

The existence of nuclear weapons underlay all aspects of Cold War confrontation. The American devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atomic weapons (see Chapter 25) had ushered in a new era in the history of war. After the Soviet Union exploded its first nuclear device in 1949, fears of a world holocaust grew rampant and became even greater when the United States exploded a far more powerful weapon, the hydrogen bomb, in 1952 and the Soviet Union followed suit less than a year later.

The number, means of delivery, and destructive force of nuclear weapons rapidly increased. By 1990 the arsenals of eight nuclear powers held more than twenty-three thousand nuclear warheads.

Paradoxically, the previous thirty years had seen progress in arms limitation, with agreements in the 1960s curtailing the testing and proliferation of nuclear weapons and in 1972 the two superpowers beginning the arduous and extremely slow process of negotiating limits on the number of nuclear weapons each side could possess. In the 1980s, as the Cold War ebbed and the Soviet Union faced financial exhaustion, the superpowers even agreed to reduce their arsenals of nuclear arms.

LIMITS TO SUPERPOWER INFLUENCE

Though no one underestimated the importance of the superpower rivalry in world affairs, the newly independent states had concerns that were primarily domestic and regional. Their challenge was to find their ends within the framework of the bipolar structure of the Cold War—and possibly take advantage of that rivalry.

Exploiting Superpower Rivalries

Representatives of twenty-nine African and Asian countries met in 1955 to proclaim solidarity among all peoples fighting colonial rule. The conference marked the beginning of an effort by the many new, poor, mostly non-European nations emerging from colonialism to increase their influence in world affairs by banding together. The use of the terms *nonaligned nations* and *Third World*, which became commonplace in the following years, signaled these countries' collective stance toward the rival sides in the Cold War.

For the movement's leaders, nonalignment was primarily a means to extract money and support from one or both superpowers. A skillfully played balancing game allowed nonaligned countries to play the superpowers against each other and gain from one or both sides in the process. Numerous countries adopted this strategy. If one sympathized with the Soviet view of the world, as India often seemed to do under Nehru, a regional rival, such as Pakistan, could be expected to court the United States. In Ethiopia, a leftist military coup in 1974 led to a switch of allegiance from the United States to the Soviet Union. As a result, neighboring Somalia, until then a recipient of Soviet aid, turned to the United States for support. In all of these cases, the underlying dilemma of local leaders was how to develop their nations' economies and assert or preserve their nations' interests. Manipulating the superpowers was simply a means toward those ends and implied very little about true ideological orientations.

U.S. Defeat in Vietnam

U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953–1961) and his foreign policy advisers debated long and hard in 1954 about whether to send aid to the French in their failing effort to sustain colonial rule in Vietnam. They decided against it, correctly perceiving that the days of the European colonial empires were numbered. After winning independence, however, communist North Vietnam supported a communist guerrilla movement—the Viet Cong—against the noncommunist government of South Vietnam. At issue was the ideological and economic orientation of an independent Vietnam.

When John F. Kennedy became president (1961–1963), he and his advisers decided to support the South Vietnamese government of President Ngo Dinh Diem. They realized that the Diem government was corrupt and unpopular, but they feared that a communist victory would encourage communist movements throughout Southeast Asia and alter the Cold War balance of power. Kennedy steadily increased the number of American military advisers from 685 to almost 16,000 while secretly encouraging the overthrow and execution of Diem in hope of seeing a more popular and honest government come to power.

President Lyndon Johnson (1963–1969), who assumed office after Kennedy's assassination in 1963, gained support from Congress for an unlimited expansion of American military deployment after what he claimed was a North Vietnamese attack on two U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. By the end of 1966, 365,000 American troops were engaged in the Vietnam War. Nothing the Americans tried, however, stopped the Viet Cong guerrillas and their North Vietnamese allies.

In 1973, a treaty between North Vietnam and the United States ended American involvement in the war and promised future elections. Two years later, in violation of the treaty, Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops overran the South Vietnamese army and captured the southern capital of Saigon, renaming it Ho Chi Minh City. The two parts of Vietnam were then reunited in a single state ruled from the north.

The Vietnam War was bloody and traumatic. More than a million Vietnamese were casualties. The fifty-eight thousand deaths suffered by the United States seared the national consciousness and ensured that the United States would not easily be drawn into another shooting war. On the U.S. home front the conflict stirred an antiwar movement that eventually convinced the government that Americans did not support the war. At the same time, many members of the armed forces and their civilian supporters were angry about restrictions on the conduct of military operations—limitations that they believed were making a U.S. victory impossible to achieve.

Later, the searing experience of the Vietnam War prompted the United States to use proxy combatants. The Soviet Union had already adopted this practice. In the 1970s and 1980s, Cubans fought for the newly independent and Soviet-supported government of Angola against a rival nationalist movement backed by South Africa and the United States. In Nicaragua, the Soviets supported the leftist Sandinista government, and the United States backed armed right-

Destruction in Vietnam Images like this, resulting from American bombing raids, helped galvanize popular opposition to the war in the United States and around the world. The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese countered American air superiority by effective guerrilla tactics, winning popular support among many South Vietnamese, and routing supplies through neighboring Laos and Cambodia. American attacks on these neighbors further intensified the antiwar movement. (Jacques Pavlovsky/Sygma)

wing guerrillas known as Contras. In these and other cases, the animosities and political ambitions that led to war were local or regional in nature, quite removed from the primary struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. But the wars were waged within the overarching geopolitical framework of superpower rivalry.

Japan and China

When the Cold War ended, the Soviet Union was in pieces, and the United States was weary and uncertain of its role in the world. Japan and China, however, were poised to become major world forces.

Japan signed a peace treaty with most of its former enemies in 1951 and regained independence from American occupation the following year. Renouncing militarism and its imperialist past (see Chapter 23), Japan remained on the sidelines throughout the Korean War, concerned only with domestic and economic affairs. Its new constitution, written under American supervision in 1946, allowed only a limited self-defense force and banned the deployment of Japanese troops abroad.

The emergence of Japan as a worldwide economic power is discussed in Chapter 28. The point to be made here is that the Cold War, by isolating Japan and excluding it from most world political issues, provided an exceptionally favorable environment for it to develop its economic strength.

By contrast, China was deeply involved in, though not controlled by, Cold War politics. When Mao Zedong and the Communists defeated Chiang Kai-shek and the nationalist Guomindang armies in 1949 and established the People's Republic of China (PRC), their main ally and source of arms was the Soviet Union. By 1956, however, the PRC and the USSR were beginning to diverge politically. Mao had his own notions of communism, focusing strongly on the peasantry, whom the Soviets ignored in favor of the industrial proletariat. Mao's Great Leap Forward, in 1958, was supposed to vault China into the ranks of world industrial powers by maximizing the use of labor in small-scale, village-level industries. The policy failed but demonstrated Mao's willingness to carry out massive economic and social projects of his own devising.

In 1966, Mao instituted another radical nationwide program, the Cultural Revolution. He ordered a mass mobilization of Chinese youth into Red Guard units. His goal was to kindle revolutionary fervor in a new generation. The Guards criticized and purged teachers, party officials, and intellectuals for "bourgeois values," but they themselves suffered from factionalism. Internal party conflict continued until 1971, when Mao admitted that some aspects of the Cultural Revolution had gotten out of hand. When Mao died in 1976, the radicals who dominated the Cultural Revolution were imprisoned and a more pragmatic Chinese leadership emerged.

In the meantime, the rift between the PRC and the USSR had opened so wide that in 1971 the United States dropped its objections to the PRC joining the United Nations and occupying China's permanent seat on the Security Council. This decision necessitated the expulsion from the United Nations of the Chinese nationalist government based on Taiwan. The following year, U.S. president Richard Nixon (1969–1974) visited Beijing, and U.S.-China relations improved. Then China's violent military suppression of prodemocracy student demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989, followed by other incidents of human rights abuses, gave rise to strong pressures in the United States to cool relations with China. But the opening up of the world's largest country—over a billion people—to foreign trade and economic development offered such phenomenal prospects for American business that no permanent rupture took place between China and the United States.

Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Politics of Oil

One arena of seemingly unending regional conflict illustrates the superpowers' inability to control dangerous international disputes. In the Middle East, rival claims to Palestine continued to plague politics. Palestinian resistance groups joined together in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), headed by Yasir Arafat. The PLO waged guerrilla war against Israel, frequently engaging in terrorism. The militarized Israelis were able to blunt or absorb these attacks and launch terrorist counterstrikes of their own. This standoff lasted until 1993, when Israel and the PLO reached an agreement in principle that granted Palestinians living on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip relief from military occupation and a measure of autonomy.

After 1948, the United States proved a firm friend of Israel, and the Soviet Union armed the Arab states. Neither superpower, however, saw the struggle between Zionism and Palestinian nationalism as a vital concern—until oil became a political issue.

The phenomenal concentration of oil in the Persian Gulf states—Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates—was not fully realized until after World War II, when demand for oil rose sharply.

As a world oversupply diminished in the face of rising demand, oil-producing states in 1960 formed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to promote their collective interest in greater shares of ownership and profits from the foreign oil companies that developed their oil fields.

Oil politics and the Arab-Israeli conflict intersected in October 1973, when the Arab oil-producing countries voted to embargo oil shipments to the United States and the Netherlands as punishment for their support of Israel.

The implications of oil as an economic weapon profoundly disturbed the worldwide oil industry. Prices rose—along with feelings of insecurity. In 1974 OPEC quadrupled prices, and prices continued to rise for a decade. The political outcome was the deepening of U.S. commitment to the stability of the oil-producing states and increasing anxiety about the Soviet Union's somehow gaining access to the region. The United States thus pursued an inconsistent policy of political and military support for Arab oil producers along with a commitment to guarantee the survival of Israel, the Arabs' enemy.

Iran and Afghanistan

Although the Arab-Israeli conflict and the oil crisis concerned both superpowers, the prospect of direct military involvement remained remote. When unexpected crises developed in Iran and Afghanistan, however, significant strategic issues came into the foreground because both countries adjoined Soviet territory and Soviet military intervention seemed more likely. Exercising post–Vietnam War caution, the United States reacted with restraint. The Soviet Union chose a bolder and ultimately disastrous course.

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 proved enormously frustrating to the United States, which backed the shah. In Iran, resentment against the shah and the ballooning wealth of the elite families around the throne had swelled into mass opposition in the 1970s. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a Shi'ite philosopher-cleric who had spent most of his eighty-plus years in religious and academic pursuits, became the voice and symbolic focus of the opposition. When the shah fled the country, the monarchy was replaced by the Islamic Republic of Iran, led by Ayatollah Khomeini. The ayatollah was the supreme arbiter of disputes and the guarantor of religious legitimacy, overseeing a parliamentary regime based on European models but embodying religious control of legislation and public morals. Monarchists, communists, and other groups opposed to the idea of an Islamic republic were barred from running for office. Universities were temporarily closed and their faculties purged of secularists and monarchists. Women were compelled to wear modest Islamic garments outside the house, and semiofficial vigilante committees policed public morals.

Although the United States under President Jimmy Carter (1977–1981) had criticized the shah's repressive regime, the rise of the Islamic Republic of Iran was a blow to American power and prestige. Not only was the new regime religiously doctrinaire, anti-Israeli, and anti-American—Khomeini saw the United States as a "Great Satan"—but in its early years it fostered revolutionary Islamic movements in other countries. Moreover, when radicals seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran and held fifty-two diplomats hostage for 444 days, Americans were humiliated by their inability to do anything, particularly after a military rescue attempt failed.

In the fall of 1980, Saddam Hussein, the ruler of neighboring Iraq, invaded Iran to topple the Islamic republic. His own dictatorial rule rested on a secular, Arab nationalist philosophy and long-standing friendship with the Soviet Union. The war pitted American weapons in the hands of the Iranians against Soviet weapons in the hands of the Iraqis, but the superpowers avoided overt involvement during eight years of bloodshed, which finally ended when Iran accepted a ceasefire in 1989.

While the United States faced anguish and frustration in Iran, the Soviet Union got involved in problems of a more serious nature in neighboring Afghanistan. In 1978 the Soviet Union sent its army to Afghanistan to support a fledgling communist regime against a hodgepodge of local, religiously inspired guerrilla bands that had taken control of much of the countryside. With the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan paying, equipping, and training the Afghan rebels, the Soviet Union found itself in the same kind of unwinnable war that the United States had stumbled into in Vietnam. Unable to justify the ongoing drain on morale and on human and economic resources, and facing widespread domestic discontent over the war, Soviet leaders finally withdrew the troops in 1989. The Afghan communists held on for another three years, but eventually rebel groups took control of the entire country—only to fight among themselves over who should rule.

THE END OF THE BIPOLAR WORLD

Under U.S. president Ronald Reagan (1981–1989) and the Soviet Union's General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, the rhetoric of the Cold War remained intense. Massive U.S. investment in armaments and in a space-based missile protection system that never became operational marked a new and extremely expensive stage in the arms race. Ultimately, the challenge to the inefficient Soviet economy proved too much. Government functionaries and communist party favorites received special privileges, but the average citizen faced long lines for meager food supplies and scarce consumer goods. Soviet citizens compared their lot with the free and prosperous life of the West—depicted in the increasingly accessible Western media. Western tourists in the USSR became accustomed to people offering to buy their clothes.

By the time Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931) took up the reins of the Soviet government in 1985, war weariness, economic decay, and vocal protest had reached critical levels. Gorbachev inaugurated major reforms in an attempt to stave off total collapse. His policy of openness (*glasnost*) permitted the Soviet people to express opinions critical of the government and the party, and he struggled to address long-suppressed economic problems by moving the USSR toward a free enterprise economic system, a process he called *perestroika* ("restructuring"). It was he who abandoned the war in Afghanistan in 1989.

Events in eastern Europe played an important role in forcing change on the Soviet Union. In 1980 Polish shipyard workers formed a labor union called Solidarity, which soon enrolled 9 million members. The Roman Catholic Church in Poland, strengthened by the elevation of a Pole, Karol Wojtyla, to the papacy as John Paul II in 1978, gave strong moral support to the protest movement. The reluctance of the Soviet Union to send troops to Poland, as it had done in Hungary and Czechoslovakia in earlier decades, emboldened critics and reformers throughout eastern Europe (see Map 27.2). Beleaguered Warsaw Pact governments vacillated between relaxation of control and suppression of dissent. At the same time, many sought solutions to their own severe economic problems—the result of Soviet-style industrial policies—by turning to the West for trade and financial assistance. The flow of travelers, ideas, styles, and money from Western countries accelerated the demand for change.

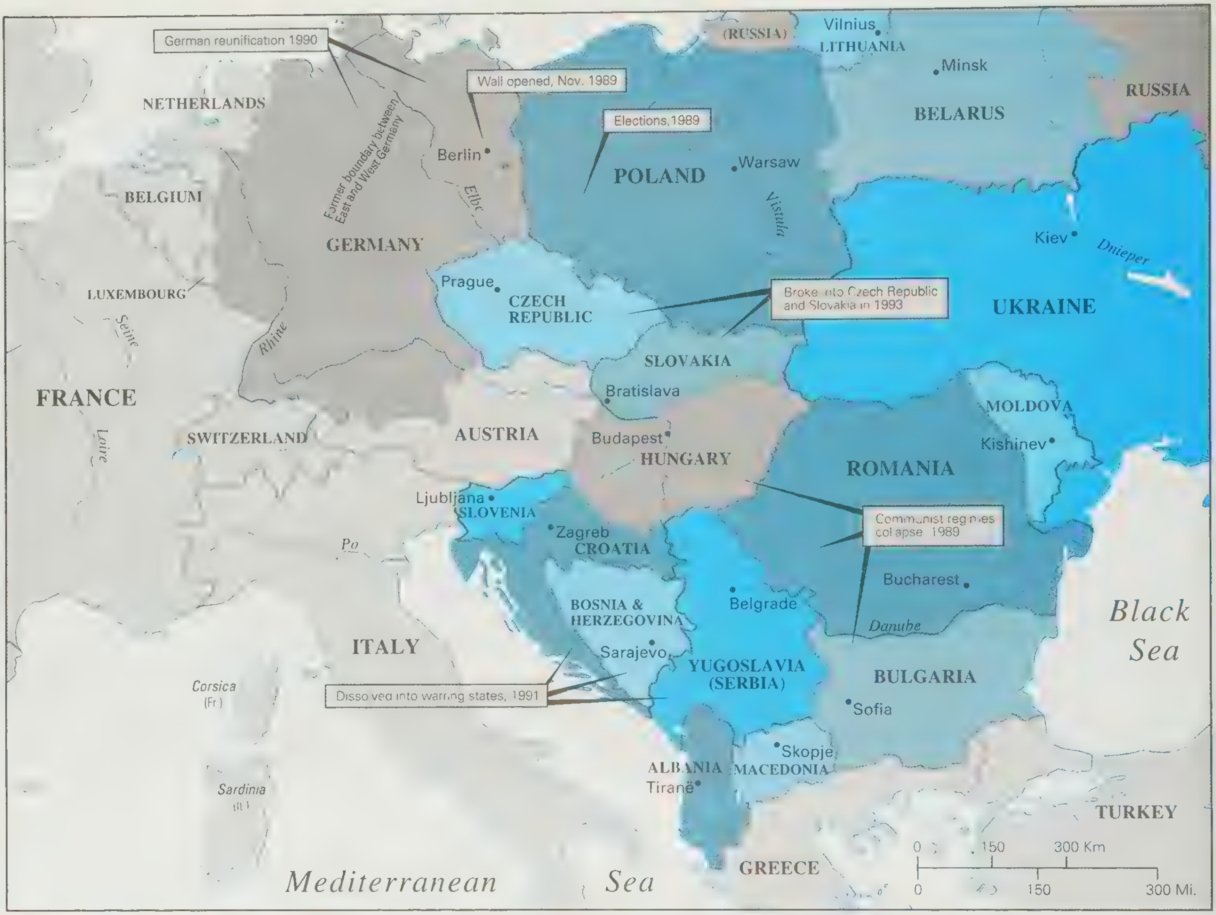
By the end of 1989, the communist governments of eastern Europe had fallen, and the Berlin Wall had been torn down. In 1990 Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was elected president of Poland, and dissident playwright Vaclav Havel was elected president of Czechoslovakia. The year 1990 also brought declarations of independence by Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, three small states on the Baltic Sea that the Soviet Union had annexed in 1939. Soon, the other constituent republics of the USSR demanded independence as well. Gorbachev tried to accommodate the rising pressures for change. But the tide was running too fast.

Demonstration by Polish Solidarity labor union Founded in 1980 by Lech Walesa, Solidarity sponsored strikes and public protests and quickly gained 9 million members. Communist leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski, with Soviet backing, suppressed Solidarity in 1982. It remained active underground, however, with the support of the Catholic Church. Taking to the streets in the late 1980s, it achieved government recognition in 1989. A year later, Walesa was elected president of Poland. (Michel Philippot/Sygma)

The end of the Soviet Union came in 1991. Boris Yeltsin (b. 1931), the president of the Russian Republic, the largest republic in the Soviet Union, emerged as the most powerful authority in the country. With the central government of the Soviet Union scarcely functioning, the elected assemblies of the various republics proclaimed independence. In September, the Congress of People's Deputies—the central legislature of the USSR and long subservient to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—voted to dissolve the union, and Mikhail Gorbachev went into retirement.

CONCLUSION

The year 1991 marks a turning point in world history. The Cold War ended; communism collapsed almost everywhere; fear of global nuclear holocaust disappeared; and the last great colonial empire, that of the Soviet Union, dissolved into fledgling independent states. Above and beyond these momentous developments, however, three centuries of world history shaped


German reunification 1990

Wall opened, Nov. 1989

Elections, 1989

Broke into Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993

Communist regimes collapse 1989

Dissolved into warring states, 1991

Map 27.2 The End of Soviet Domination in Eastern Europe The creation of new countries out of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, and the reintegration of Germany into a single country, marked the most complicated changes of national borders and state identities since World War I. As always in such matters, the process affected majority-minority relationships and in some cases led to bitterness and bloodshed, particularly in the states that formerly constituted Yugoslavia: Serbia (still called Yugoslavia), Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

overwhelmingly by the ambitions and rivalries of European and American powers came to an end, leaving the world uncertain about what would come next.

War and politics, however, should not be allowed to overshadow other ways of understanding the history of the last half of the twentieth century. The environment, population growth, world economic competition, global unification, and cultural diversity emerged as important issues. Thus in the final chapters of this book we examine these areas of current world concern.

SUGGESTED READING

The period since 1945 has been particularly rich in memoirs by government leaders. Some that are particularly relevant to the Cold War and decolonization are Dean Acheson (U.S. secretary of state under Truman), *Present at the Creation* (1969); Nikita Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers* (1970); Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (1993); and Anthony Eden (British prime minister), *Full Circle* (1960). Geoffrey Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (1964), is a remarkable early effort at understanding the broad sweep of history during this period.

For a good general history of the Cold War see Martin Walker, *The Cold War: A History* (1993). For a look at the Cold War from the Soviet perspective see William Taubman, *Stalin's America Policy* (1981); for the American perspective see John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy* (1982).

The nuclear arms race and the associated U.S.-Soviet competition in space are well covered by McGeorge Bundy, *Danger and Survival: Choices About the Bomb in the First Fifty Years* (1988), and Walter McDougall, *The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age* (1985). Among the many novels illustrating the alarming impact of the arms race on the general public are Philip Wylie, *Tomorrow!* (1954), and Nevil Shute, *On the Beach* (1970).

The end of the European empires is broadly treated by D. K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires* (1982). For a critical view of American policies toward the decolonized world see Gabriel Kolko, *Confronting the Third World: United States Foreign Policy, 1945–1980* (1988).

The special cases of Japan and China in this period are covered by Edwin O. Reischauer, *The Japanese* (1981), and Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (1986). John Merrill, *Korea: The Peninsular Origins of the War* (1989), presents the Korean War as a civil and revolutionary conflict as well as an episode of the Cold War. The story of the Iranian Revolution and the early days of the Islamic Republic of Iran is well told by Shaul Bakhash, *The Reign of the Ayatollahs: Iran and the Iranian Revolution* (1990). Among hundreds of books on the Arab-Israeli conflict Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (1992), stands out as one of the most thoughtful and well written.

The Global Contest for Resources After 1945

Competition and Integration in a Global Economy • Population Growth

The Movement of People • Technological and Environmental Change

On Thursday, July 22, 1993, police officers in the banking district of Rio de Janeiro attempted to arrest a young boy for sniffing glue. One of the arresting officers was injured by stones thrown by homeless children living in nearby streets and parks. Late the following night, hooded vigilantes in two cars fired hundreds of shots at a group of about forty-five of these children sleeping on the steps of a nearby church. The attackers killed five children there and two more in a nearby park. The murderers were later identified as off-duty police officers.

In 1993 death squads and drug dealers killed more than four hundred of Rio's street children. Few people sympathized with the victims. One person living near the scene of the July shooting said, "Those street kids are bandits, and bandits have to die. They are a rotten branch that has to be pruned."

The victims lived in Rio's streets and parks, where more than 350,000 abandoned children resorted to begging, selling drugs, stealing, and prostitution in order to survive. The brutality of their lives was an increasingly common feature of life in the developing world, where rapid population growth was outstripping economic resources.[1] Similar problems of violence, poverty, and social breakdown could be found in many other developing nations.

In industrialized nations as well, politicians and social reformers worried about increasing levels of unemployment, family breakdown, and homelessness. As was true during the eighteenth-century Industrial Revolution, dramatic economic growth and rapid technological progress in the post–World War II era coincided with growing social dislocation and inequality.

In the 1990s the world economy was more integrated than at any other time. Trade agreements opened markets, and new technologies transformed the workplace. Industrial and agricultural corporations produced and marketed goods and services globally. The benefits of expansion and integration were enjoyed disproportionately by the advanced industrial nations. This period also witnessed a dramatic increase in world population: the most rapid increases occurred in the poorest nations.

The combination of population growth and increased industrialization had a dramatic impact on the environment. Every continent experienced the depletion of forests, loss of farmland, and destructive effects of mining. Wealthy nations with slow rates of population growth found it easier to respond to these environmental challenges than poor nations experiencing rapid population growth. These then were the challenges facing the world at the end of the twentieth century: the unequal distribution of wealth, growing population pressures, and threats to the environment.

COMPETITION AND INTEGRATION IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY

After 1945, global economic productivity expanded more rapidly than at any other time. Faster, cheaper communications and transportation combined with improvements in industrial and agricultural technologies to create levels of material abundance that would have amazed those who experienced the eighteenth-century Industrial Revolution. Despite this remarkable economic expansion, however, a majority of the world's population remained in poverty. In fact, the share of the world's wealth enjoyed by the industrialized nations of the Northern Hemisphere nations was larger than it had been a century earlier.

Confrontation Between Capitalism and Socialism

The Cold War was more than a military and political rivalry. It also was a confrontation between two economic systems. In this competition of East and West, socialism versus capitalism, success or failure was measured by economic growth, changes in per capita income, and productivity gains rather than by military divisions or atomic weapons.

In the United States during World War II, military spending and the draft led to full employment and high wages. The wartime conversion of factories from the production of consumer goods created pent-up demand for those goods. With peace, the United States enjoyed prosperity and from a position of economic strength supported recovery in western Europe and Japan. The Marshall Plan was the primary instrument of American economic assistance to Europe. Between 1948 and 1952, the United States provided $12.5 billion in Marshall Plan assistance. By 1961 more than $20 billion in economic aid had been provided.

Although at the end of the Cold War the U.S. economy remained the world's largest and Americans were still well-off, enormous defense costs, competition from the revitalized European and Japanese economies, and the oil price shocks of the 1970s combined to diminish U.S. economic preeminence. Nevertheless, it was the U.S. economy that led the developed nations' slow escape from the recession of the 1970s and 1980s. Faced with strong competition from Europe and Asia, U.S. industry undertook a massive restructuring. New technologies (such as computers, fiber optics, and industrial robots) improved efficiency and competitiveness. American business leaders—and politicians—actively promoted international trade agreements to reduce tariffs and open access to international markets, including the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) signed in 1992. As a result, by the end of the 1990s, American industry and agriculture were integrated in a global marketplace, and American workers competed directly with workers in Mexico and South Korea as well as in Germany and Japan.

The western European economy was heavily damaged during World War II, and the early postwar years were bleak in many European nations. Nevertheless, the efforts of European governments and American aid spurred recovery. By 1963, a resurgent European economy had doubled 1940 output.

Western European governments generally increased their role in economic management during this period. In Great Britain, the Labour Party government of the 1950s nationalized coal, steel, railroads, and health care. The French government nationalized public utilities, the auto, banking, and insurance industries, and parts of the mining industry. These steps provided large infusions of capital for rebuilding and for acquiring new technologies.

In 1948 European governments launched a process of economic cooperation and integration with the creation of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OECD). After cooperative policies on coal and steel proved successful, some OECD countries were ready to begin lowering tariffs to encourage the movement of goods and capital. In 1957 France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg signed a treaty creating the European Economic Community, also known as the Common Market. By the 1970s the Common Market nations had nearly overtaken the United States in industrial production. The economic alliance expanded after 1970, as Great Britain, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Finland, Sweden, and Austria joined. The enlarged alliance called itself the European Community (EC).

Prosperity brought dramatic changes to European society. Average wages increased, unemployment fell, and social welfare benefits were expanded. Governments increased spending on health care, unemployment benefits, old age benefits, public housing, and grants to poor families with children. By the 1980s, European workers had the most generous paid vacations anywhere. Living standards rose, as did demand for consumer goods. Automobile ownership, for example, grew approximately ninefold between 1950 and 1970. However, significant differences in income levels remained among EC nations. The German average income, for example, was nearly four times that of the poorest members, Greece and Portugal.

Western European economies slowed and unemployment levels rose after the oil price shocks of the 1970s (see Chapter 27) and the resulting worldwide recession. High wages and costly welfare benefits made European goods more expensive than competing products from North America and the Pacific Rim. In addition, the costs of funding reunification (see Chapter 27) slowed growth in Germany, Europe's strongest economy. In response, major corporations, like Mercedes Benz and BMW, built factories in the United States to lower labor costs, and European politicians began to discuss benefits cuts. With international economic competition increasing, whether Europe could maintain traditional high wage levels and generous social welfare benefits was an open question.

The economies of the Soviet Union and its eastern European allies were just as devastated at the end of the Second World War as those of western Europe. However, the Soviet command economy had enormous natural resources, a large population, and abundant energy at its disposal. Moreover, Soviet planners had made large investments in technical and scientific education. As a result, recovery was rapid at first. The Soviet economy grew at an estimated annual rate of approximately 5 percent per year from war's end to the end of the 1960s.

Thanks to Stalin's Five-Year-Plans (see Chapter 25), the Soviet state had developed heavy industry in the 1930s and during the war years. However, the Soviets were inefficient in the postwar years, when industrial might was increasingly measured by the production of televisions and automobiles rather than by tons of coal and steel. The gap with the West widened in the 1970s and then expanded further in the 1980s when the Soviet economy failed to meet domestic demand for clothing, housing, food, automobiles, and consumer electronics. The Soviet Union also was forced to rely on food imports.

The socialist nations of eastern Europe were compelled to follow the Soviet economic model, although some national differences appeared. Poland and Hungary, for example, implemented agricultural collectivization more slowly than did Czechoslovakia. Significant growth occurred among the socialist economics, but the inefficiencies and failures that plagued the Soviet economy troubled them as well.

The Pacific Rim

At the end of World War II, American military forces occupied Japan, and General Douglas MacArthur, the American commander, held nearly unconditional power. The occupation government set out to help rebuild the economy. Unions were given greater freedom, land reform was undertaken, and some of the large industrial firms associated with the war effort were broken up. However, with the triumph of the Communists in China, the United States moderated its reform agenda in Japan, allowing the reappearance of powerful industrial conglomerates that had been banned by the U.S. occupation authorities. In 1952, the United States finally ended the occupation.

Japan's economic recovery was at first slow, but the Korean War provided a dramatic boost by pumping American money into the economy. The Japanese economy then grew at about 10 percent a year for the next two decades. Average income also increased rapidly, overtaking the United States in 1986.

Japanese success had its origins in prewar industrialization as well as in postwar reforms. Japan had developed heavy industry, a disciplined industrial work force, and modern transportation and communication networks before the war (see Chapter 25). Although bombing raids destroyed many of these assets, the nation retained the knowledge and political will necessary to recreate them. With U.S. aid, a government committed to rebuilding the industrial base, relatively inexpensive labor, and global demand for consumer goods, Japanese corporations quickly achieved competitiveness. By 1960, Japanese factories were among the most modern and efficient anywhere.

The Japanese miracle began with the production of inexpensive, low-technology products for the mass markets of America and Europe. Japanese industry quickly progressed to the production of high-value, technologically sophisticated products. By the 1990s Japanese products, from automobiles to computers and consumer electronics, had set global standards for quality.

In the 1970s and 1980s Japanese success at exporting goods produced huge trade surpluses with other nations, prompting the United States and the European Community to try, through tough negotiating, to force an opening of the Japanese market. In the 1990s Japan also faced competition from new lower-cost producers elsewhere in Asia. As a result, Japanese industries struggled to retain their technological edge and their traditional commitment to lifetime employment while increasing their competitiveness.

A small number of Asian states successfully imitated the Japanese model. The most important of these was South Korea. With inexpensive labor, strong technical education, and substantial domestic capital reserves, South Korea overcame the devastation of the Korean War in little more than a decade. Despite large defense expenditures, South Korea developed heavy industries such as steel and shipbuilding, as well as consumer industries such as automobiles and consumer electronics. Led by four giant corporations, which accounted for nearly half of the gross domestic product and produced a broad mix of goods, the Korean economy matched Japanese economic growth rates by the 1980s.

Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore developed modern industrial and commercial economies as well. Taiwan's development was led by smaller, more specialized companies. Also, Taiwan was able to gain a foothold in the economy of the People's Republic of China while maintaining its traditional markets in the United States and South Asia.

Hong Kong and Singapore, small societies with fewer resources, also enjoyed rapid economic development. The source of their prosperity was their busy ports and their banking and commercial services. They also developed highly competitive industrial sectors dominated by textile and consumer electronics production.

Certain common characteristics help to explain the rapid achievement of industrialization by these newly industrialized economies: disciplined and hard-working work forces, heavy investment in education, high rates of personal saving, and government sponsorship and protection.

The "Third World"

Decolonization (see Chapter 27) produced scores of new nations that immediately were confronted with the need to chart their own economic course. Most faced their new future hobbled by a set of problems inherited from their colonial past—low levels of industrialization, an underdeveloped infrastructure, and dependence on mineral or agricultural exports. The question of which course to follow was often colored by the passions and ideology of the independence movements.

Resentment toward former colonial masters—or, in the case of Latin America, toward earlier U.S. intervention—led in many cases to the nationalization of foreign-owned businesses. More common was the use of tariffs, import restrictions, and domestic-content laws to protect manufacturers from the competition of producers in the industrialized nations. These import-substitution policies produced some successes but more commonly meant that domestic consumers were forced to purchase inferior locally produced goods at high prices.

The oil crisis of the 1970s caused recession in the industrialized Western nations (see Chapter

27) but devastated the oil-importing nations of the developing world. Many attempted to ride out the crisis by borrowing from international lenders, but debt payments drained off their scarce resources. Argentina, Brazil, and Chile alone owed nearly $200 billion to foreign lenders by 1990. African nations' foreign debt also increased, rising from $14 billion in 1973 to well over $125 billion in 1990.

Hit hard by the oil price shocks, the worldwide recession, and growing indebtedness, the "Third World" suffered another blow when the end of the Cold War led to dramatic reductions in foreign aid. Although responses to this crisis differed, laws restricting foreign investment were amended to attract investment capital. Many developing nations began to sell off public utilities and even some of the industries nationalized during the 1950s and 1960s.

Growing Inequality

The benefits of postwar material progress were unevenly distributed. After 1945, remarkable changes in technology, productivity, and commercial relations coincided with growing levels of wealth inequality among nations and among regions and individuals within nations. The thousands of homeless children living among the gleaming glass and steel towers of Rio's banking district might be seen as emblems of the negative social consequences of postwar economic development.

The gap between rich and poor nations grew much wider after 1945. In 1993 Switzerland and Japan had the highest GNP per capita with $35,760 and $31,490, respectively; that of the United States was $24,740. Among developing economies, Algeria and Thailand had per capita GNPs of approximately $2,000, while Nigeria, India, and China were below $500 (see Map 28.1). At the end of the twentieth century, a billion of the world's people, approximately 20 percent, were living on less than $500 a year. Overwhelmingly, this poverty was concentrated in Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

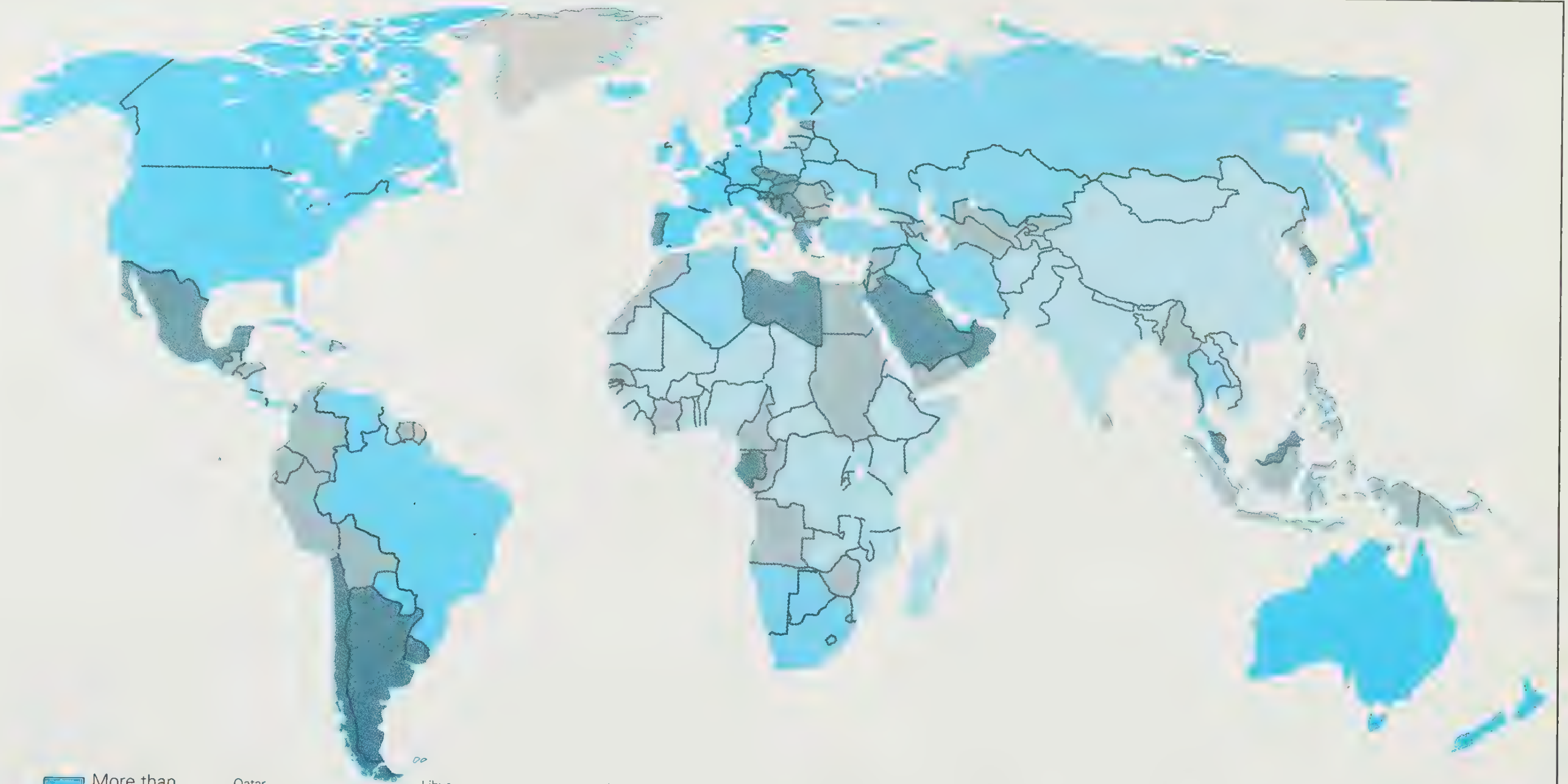
The gulf separating rich and poor nations continued to expand even as worldwide economic output grew. A few Asian nations were able to compete successfully with the traditional industrial powers after 1945; otherwise, little progress was made. In fact, most of the nations of the Third World were relatively worse off at the end of the 1990s than they had been in 1945.

Wealth inequality within nations also grew. Regions tied to new technologies that provided competitive advantages became wealthier while other regions lost ground. In the United States, for example, the south and southwest outpaced the older industrial midwest and east. The same inequalities appeared in developing nations. Generally, capital cities like Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Lagos (Nigeria) attracted large numbers of migrants from rural areas because they offered more opportunities, even if those opportunities could not compare to those available in developed nations.

Even in the industrialized world, people were divided into haves and have-nots. During the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1981–1989), wealth inequality in the United States reached its highest level since the 1929 stock market crash. Some scholars estimated that the wealthiest 1 percent of households in the United States controlled more than 30 percent of the nation's total wealth. Although wealth was less concentrated in the mature industrial economies of Europe, where tax and inheritance laws redistributed wealth, unemployment, homelessness, and substandard housing were increasingly common.

POPULATION GROWTH

World population exploded in the twentieth century (see Table 28.1). Every three years it increased by a number equal to the total population of the United States. Unlike population growth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when much of the increase occurred in the



▨ More than $10,000

Australia
Austria
Belgium
Canada
Cyprus
Denmark
Finland
France
Germany
Iceland
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Kuwait
Luxembourg
Netherlands
New Zealand
Norway
Qatar
Singapore
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom
United States

▨ $3,001-$10,000

Argentina
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Brunei
Chile
Croatia
Czech Republic
Estonia
Gabon
Greece
Hungary
Korea, South
Libya
Malaysia
Malta
Mexico
Oman
Portugal
Saudi Arabia
Slovakia
Slovenia
Taiwan
Uruguay
Yugoslavia

▨ $1,501-$3,000

Algeria
Belarus
Belize
Botswana
Brazil
Costa Rica
Cuba
Iran
Iraq
Kazakstan
Latvia
Namibia
Panama
Paraguay
Poland
Russia
South Africa
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukraine
Venezuela

▨ $501-$1,500

Angola
Armenia
Azerbaijan
Bolivia
Bulgaria
Cameroon
Colombia
Congo
Côte d'Ivoire
Djibouti
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Georgia
Guatemala
Honduras
Indonesia
Jamaica
Jordan
Korea, North
Kyrgyzstan
Lebanon
Lesotho
Lithuania
Macedonia, F.Y.R.
Moldova
Morocco
Myanmar (Burma)
Papua New Guinea
Peru
Philippines
Romania
Senegal
Sri Lanka
Sudan
Suriname
Swaziland
Syria
Turkmenistan
Uzbekistan
Yemen
Zimbabwe

▨ $0-$500

Afghanistan
Albania
Bangladesh
Benin
Bhutan
Burkina Faso
Burundi
Cambodia
Central African Republic
Chad
China
Equatorial Guinea
Eritrea
Ethiopia
Gambia
Ghana
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Guyana
Haiti
India
Kenya
Laos
Liberia
Madagascar
Malawi
Mali
Mauritania
Mongolia
Mozambique
Nepal
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Pakistan
Rwanda
Sao Tome and Principe
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Tajikistan
Tanzania
Togo
Uganda
Vietnam
Zaire
Zambia

wealthiest nations, population growth at the end of the twentieth century was overwhelmingly in the poorest nations. Fertility rates had dropped in most developing nations but remained much higher than rates in the industrialized nations. Moreover, improvements in hygiene and medical treatments reduced mortality rates.

The Industrialized Nations

In the developed industrial nations, low fertility and increased life expectancy presented challenges for the future. In Russia and other former socialist nations, birthrates were actually lower than death rates—that is, births were inadequate to maintain existing population levels. The United States fell between the low birth levels of Europe and Japan and the higher levels of developing countries.

The low birthrates of the mature industrial nations were commonly associated with higher levels of female employment outside the home, the material values of consumer culture, improvements in contraception, and greater access to abortion. Armed with modern contraceptive technology, adults in the industrial nations commonly planned their families. When the economies of eastern Europe stagnated, birthrates plunged.

The Developing Nations

Even if the industrialized nations decided to pursue pronatalist policies in the twenty-first century, they would continue to fall behind the developing nations as a percentage of world population. Ninety-five percent of all future population growth was likely to be in developing nations. A comparison between Europe and Africa illustrates the recent transformation in world demography. In 1950, Europe had twice the population of Africa. By 1985, Africa had drawn even. According to projections, by 2025 Africa's population would be three times larger than Europe's. Given the performance of African economies, future generations of Africans probably would face increased levels of famine, epidemics, and social breakdown.

Table 28.1 Growth of World Population

Year	Population
1825	1.0 billion
1925	2.0 billion
1976	4.0 billion
1990	5.3 billion
2025 (projected)	8.5 billion

Source: Paul Kennedy, *Preparing for the Twenty-first Century* (New York, 1993), pp. 22–23.

Map 28.1 Estimated GNP per Capita Income in the Early 1990s After World War II, wealth was increasingly concentrated in a small number of industrialized nations located in the Northern Hemisphere. The cost of developing and acquiring new technologies widened the gap between rich and poor nations.

As the 1990s ended, other developing regions had rapid population growth as well. All other developing nations had an average birthrate of 33.6 births per 1,000 inhabitants, but in Muslim countries the rate was 42.1—more than 300 percent higher than the rate of the industrial nations (13.1). The populations of Latin America and Asia also were expanding dramatically, but at rates slower than those in sub-Saharan Africa or the Muslim nations. Since the early 1960s, Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile had crude birthrates similar to those of poorer European nations like Ireland, Greece, and Spain and only slightly higher than those of the United States, Germany, and France. Mexico, Brazil, and Peru had birthrates more than 70 percent higher. The nations of Central America had birthrates similar to those of the fast-growing Muslim nations.

In Asia, the populations of India and China continued to grow despite government efforts to reduce family size (see Voices and Visions:

VOICES & VISIONS

China's Family Planning Needs

China has the world's largest population—over a billion people. Although China enjoyed rapid economic growth in the closing years of the twentieth century, population pressures continued to present severe problems. In 1993 the Chinese economy became the world's tenth largest. Nevertheless, China's per capita GDP (gross domestic product) of $370 remained at Third World levels. Families in China were under heavy pressure to have only one child, resulting in the killing of female infants and the abandonment of children with disabilities. Peng Yu, vice-minister of the State Family Planning Commission, explained the need for efforts at population control.

China is a developing country with a huge population but limited cultivated land, inadequate per capita resources and a weak economic foundation. . . . Despite continuous efforts in family planning, the huge base has created an annual net increase of around 14 million in recent years, equal to the total population of a medium-sized country. At present, per capita cultivated land in China has declined to less than 0.1 hectare, equivalent to only one-fourth the world average as are per capita freshwater resources. . . . Although national income has been climbing by 25 percent annually, the increase has been eaten up by new population growth, resulting in reduced fund accumulation and also holding up the speed of economic construction. A fast-growing population has also created great difficulties in employment, education, housing, transportation, and health care. Confronted by such grim realities, to guarantee basic living conditions and constantly improve standards of living, China cannot follow the Western mode under which natural falling birth rates coincide with gradual economic growth.

The Chinese government's family planning policies have been harshly criticized. Why has the Chinese government sought to control population growth? What effect does population growth have on the environment and economic development? What ethical and other questions are raised by the effort of any government to limit population growth?

China's Family Planning Needs). By 2025 both China, which at the end of the twentieth century had 1.13 billion people, and India, with 853 million, would reach 1.5 billion. In Pakistan and Bangladesh rapid population growth persisted despite high levels of family planning assistance from the U.S. government.

As the twentieth century opened, it was not clear whether the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America would ever undergo the "demographic transition" experienced in the West during the Industrial Revolution, and enjoy lowered fertility rates and reduced mortality. Education levels, particularly those of women, seemed to be closely tied to fertility rates. Where women in the developing world had uninhibited access to education and worked outside the home in large numbers, as in Argentina, fertility rates were similar to those of the developed nations, but obstacles to the education and employment of women remained strong in much of the world.

Old and Young Populations

The profound transformation in human reproductive patterns and life expectancy in the fifty-five years after World War II is evident in "population pyramids" generated by demographers. Figure 28.1 shows age distributions in 1985 in Pakistan, South Korea, and Sweden—nations at three different stages of economic development. Sweden is a mature industrial nation. South Korea is a rapidly industrializing nation that has surpassed many European nations in both industrial output and per capita wealth.

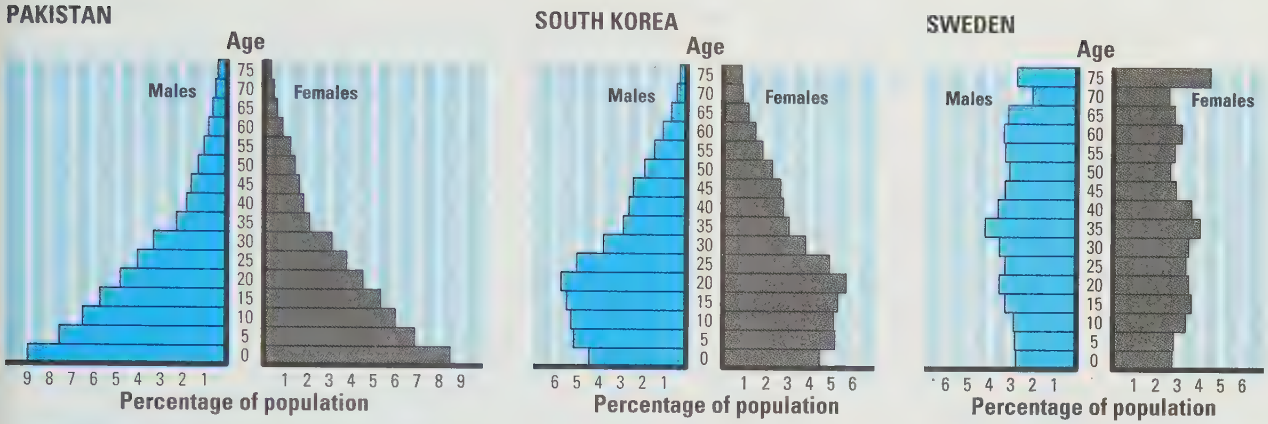


Figure 28.1 Age and Sex Comparison of an Islamic Nation (Pakistan), a Non-Islamic Developing Nation (South Korea), and a Developed Nation (Sweden), 1985
Source: World Bank

Pakistan is a poor, traditional Muslim nation with rudimentary industrialization, low educational levels, and little effective family planning.

Nearly 50 percent of Pakistan's population is under age 16. The resulting pressures on the economy are extraordinary. Every year 150,000 men reach age 65, and another 1.2 million turn 16. Pakistan, therefore, must create more than a million new jobs a year or face a steadily growing problem of unemployment and declining wages. Sweden confronts a different problem. With an aging population, a growing demand for social welfare benefits, and a declining labor pool, Sweden's industries could become less competitive and its citizens could face declining living standards. South Korea's age-sex structure was similar to Pakistan's until recently, but a decline in fertility dramatically altered the ratio of children to adults. South Korea now faces neither Pakistan's pressure to create jobs nor Sweden's growing demands for welfare benefits for the aged.

The demographic challenges confronting the developing nations at the end of the twentieth century were much more daunting than those facing Sweden and other developed nations. Poor nations had to overcome problems such as shortages of investment capital, poor transportation and communication networks, and low educational levels, while at the same time they struggled to create jobs. Wealthy, well-educated, and politically stable nations could invest in new technologies to reduce labor needs and increase industrial and agricultural efficiency as their populations aged.

Both the demographic problem and a potential technological fix were most clearly visible in Japan. Unless demographic patterns were reversed, Japan would have the oldest population among industrial nations by 2025. In most other industrialized nations—Canada and Germany, for example—young immigrants from poorer nations were entering the work force in large numbers. But Japan resisted immigration, instead investing heavily in technological solutions to the problems created by an aging labor force. As of 1994, Japan had 75 percent of the world's industrial robots. Although Japanese industries could produce more goods with fewer workers, Japan faced long-term increases in social welfare payments.

THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

Two characteristics of the postwar world should now be clear. First, despite decades of experimentation with state-directed economic development, most nations that were poor in 1960 were as poor or poorer at the end of the 1990s. The only exceptions were a few rapidly developing Asian industrial nations and an equally small number of oil-exporting nations. Second, world population increased to startlingly high levels, and most of the increase was in the poorest nations. The combination of intractable poverty and burgeoning population generated a surge of international immigration.

Few issues in the recent past stirred more controversy. Large numbers of legal and illegal immigrants from poor nations with growing populations were moving to all the developed industrial nations except Japan. Large-scale migrations *within* developing countries were a related phenomenon. The movement of impoverished rural residents to the cities swelled urban populations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This internal rural-to-urban migration was often the first step toward migration abroad.

Internal Migration: The Growth of Cities

Migration from rural areas to urban centers in developing nations increased threefold from 1925 to 1950. After that, the pace accelerated. Shanty towns sprawling around major cities in developing nations are commonly seen as signs of social breakdown and economic failure. Nevertheless, city life was better than life in the countryside. A World Bank study estimated that three out of four migrants to cities made gains. Residents of cities in sub-Saharan Africa were six times more likely than rural residents to have safe water. An unskilled migrant from the depressed northeast of Brazil could triple his or her income by moving to Rio de Janeiro.

As the scale of rural-to-urban migration grew, such benefits proved more elusive, however. In many West African cities, basic services were crumbling under the pressure of rapid population growth. In the world's largest city, Mexico City, more than thirty thousand people lived in garbage dumps and scavenged for food and clothing. Worsening conditions and the threat of crime and political instability led many governments to try to slow the migration to cities and, in some cases, to return people to the countryside. Despite some successes with slowing the rate of internal migration, at the end of the twentieth century, nearly every poor nation faced the challenges posed by rapidly growing cities.

International Immigration

Each year hundreds of thousands of men and women leave the agricultural regions and cities of the developing world to emigrate to the industrialized nations. After 1960, this movement increased in scale, and ethnic and racial tensions in the host nations worsened. At the end of the 1990s levels of immigration posed daunting social and cultural challenges for both host nations and immigrants.

Immigrants from the developing nations brought to host nations many of the benefits that the great migration of Europeans to the Americas had provided in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 20). Many European nations actively promoted guest worker programs and other inducements to immigration in the 1960s when an expanding European economy first confronted labor shortages. However, attitudes toward immigrants changed as the size of the immigrant population grew and as European economies slowed in the 1980s. Native-born workers facing higher levels of unemployment themselves saw immigrants as competitors willing to work for very low wages and not likely to support unions. Worsening relations between immigrants and the native-born were inevitable, given the narrow, culturally and ethnically derived, sense of nationality in many European countries (see

Garbage dump in Manila, Philippines Garbage pickers are a common feature of Third World urban development. Thousands of poor families in nearly every Third World city sort and sell bottles, aluminum cans, plastic, and newspapers to provide household income. (Geoff Tompkinson/Aspect Picture Library Ltd.)

Chapter 23). Many Germans, for example, were unable to think of the German-born son or daughter of Turkish immigrants as a German.

Because immigrants generally are young adults and commonly retain the positive attitudes toward early marriage and large families dominant in their native cultures, immigrant communities in Europe and the United States tended to have fertility rates higher than the rates of the host populations. In Germany in 1975, for example, immigrants made up about 7 percent of the population but accounted for nearly 15 percent of all births. Recent studies demonstrate that immigrant fertility declines with prolonged residence in industrialized societies. The family size of second-generation immigrants living in developed nations is almost always smaller than the size of their parents' families, but it remains larger than the family size of the host population. Therefore, even without additional immigration, immigrant groups grow faster than the longer-established population.

In every developed nation, immigration was portrayed as economically useful but culturally threatening. These issues were understood differently by different social groups. In the United States, for example, large-scale agricultural companies, dependent on immigrants for labor, opposed efforts to lower immigration rates or strictly enforce immigration laws, but unions and

Illegal immigration Despite increased efforts by developed nations to restrict immigration, the growing populations and limited economic opportunities of poorer nations have led to increased levels of population movement. Here, a border patrol vehicle keeps hundreds of hopeful immigrants from entering the United States near Tijuana, Mexico. (Don Bartletti)

other groups representing workers saw immigrants as a threat to wage levels and job security.

As the Muslim population in Europe and the Asian and Latin American populations in the United States expand in the twenty-first century, cultural conflicts will test definitions of citizenship and nationality. The United States will have some advantages in meeting these challenges because of its long experience with immigration and relatively open access to citizenship. Yet in the 1990s the United States was moving slowly in the direction of European efforts to restrict immigration and defend a culturally conservative definition of nationality.

TECHNOLOGICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

Technological innovation powered the economic expansion that began after World War II. New technologies increased productivity and disseminated human creativity. They also altered the way people lived, worked, and played. Because most of the economic benefits of these changes were concentrated in the advanced industrialized nations, technology increased the power of those nations over the developing world.

Population growth and increased levels of migration and urbanization led to the global expansion of agricultural and industrial production. This multiplication of farms and factories intensified environmental threats. At the end of the twentieth century, loss of rain forest, soil erosion, global warming, pollution of air and water, and extinction of species represented threats to the quality of life and to the survival of human societies. Here again, differences between nations were apparent. Environmental protection, like the acquisition of new technology, had progressed furthest in societies with the most economic resources.

Technology and the World Economy

Nuclear energy, jet engines, radar, and tape recording were among the many wartime developments that later had an impact on consumers' lives. When applied to industry, new technology increased productivity, reduced labor requirements, and improved the flow of information. Pent-up demand for consumer goods also prodded research and development. As the Western economies recovered from the war and incomes rose, consumers wanted products that reduced their workloads or provided entertainment. The consumer electronics industry rapidly developed new products.

No technology had greater significance than the computer. The first computers were expensive, large, and slow. Only large corporations, governments, and universities could afford them. But by the mid-1980s desktop computers had replaced typewriters in most of the developed world's offices, and technological advances continued. Each new generation of computers was smaller, faster, and more powerful than the one before.

Linked with modems (which connect computers over phone lines) and satellites, computers had a revolutionary effect on the conducting and organizing of work. Along with cellular phones and fiber optics, computers made possible the nearly instantaneous transmission of large amounts of information. Financial markets were integrated so that national currencies could be continuously traded in response to a constant flow of political and economic information. Computers also altered manufacturing. Small dedicated computers controlled and monitored production machinery in some industries. In Japan and elsewhere in the developed world, companies forced by increased competition to improve efficiency and product quality brought robots to the factory floor.

The transnational corporation became the primary agent of these changes. As transnational manufacturers, agricultural conglomerates, and financial giants became wealthier and more powerful, they increasingly could escape the controls imposed by national governments. If labor costs were too high in Japan, antipollution measures too intrusive in the United States, or taxes too high in Great Britain, transnational companies could relocate—or threaten to do so. Governments in the developing world often were hard-pressed to exercise any control over them. It was usually in those settings that the worst abuses of labor or of the environment occurred.

Technology and Work

The revolution in communication permitted people to modify the nature of work in fundamental ways. It became possible to conduct business from nearly any location. Even in developing nations, modems and satellites linked engineers, software writers, and other specialists to distant corporate headquarters or manufacturing plants.

These technologically induced changes in work seemed to have a downside: greater isolation.

An interconnected world In a remote part of Kenya, a member of the Samburu people uses a cellular phone. (Sally Wiener Grotta/The Stock Market)

Could faxes, cellular conversations, and e-mail be as socially and intellectually stimulating as face-to-face interaction in the workplace? Would these changes in work accentuate divisions of class, race, and culture? The concentration of technology in developed nations suggested that future efforts to improve the economies of developing societies would confront many difficulties. Could nations leapfrog into the modern industrial age without having first developed basic industries and infrastructure?

Conserving and Sharing Resources

In the 1960s, environmental activists and political leaders began warning about the devastating environmental consequences of population growth, industrialization, and the expansion of agriculture onto marginal lands. Assaults on rain forests and redwoods, the disappearance of species, and the poisoning of streams and rivers raised public consciousness. Environmental damage occurred in advanced industrial economies and in the poorest of the developing nations. Perhaps the worst environmental record was achieved in the former Soviet Union, where industrial and nuclear wastes often were dumped with little concern for environmental consequences.

The expanding global population required increasing quantities of food, housing, energy, and other resources as the twentieth century ended. In the developed world, industrial activity had increased much more rapidly than population growth, and the consumption of energy (coal, electricity, and petroleum) rose proportionally. Indeed, the consumer-driven economic expansion of the post–World War II years may itself become an obstacle to addressing environmental problems. Modern economies depend for their well-being on the profligate consumption of goods and resources. Stock markets closely follow measures of consumer confidence—the willingness of people to buy. When consumption slows, industrial nations enter a recession. How could the United States, Germany, or Japan change consumption patterns to protect the environment without endangering corporate profits, wages, and employment levels?

Population growth after 1945 was most dramatic in the developing countries, and environmental pressures there were often extreme. Population growth in Indonesia, for example, forced the government to allow the cutting of nearly 20 percent of the total forest area. Indonesia and many other poor nations also attempted to force industrialization, because they feared that their rapidly growing populations could not be provided for unless the transition from agriculture to manufacturing was completed. The argument for this policy was compelling. Why should Indians or Brazilians remain poor while Americans, Europeans, and Japanese remain rich?

Responding to Environmental Threats

Despite the gravity of environmental threats, there were many successful efforts to preserve and protect the environment. The Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and the Endangered Species Act were passed in the United States in the early 1970s as part of an environmental ef-fort that included the nations of the European Community and Japan. Environmental awareness spread via the media and grassroots political movements, and most nations in the developed world enforced strict antipollution laws and sponsored massive recycling efforts. Many also encouraged resource conservation by rewarding energy-efficient factories and the makers of fuel-efficient cars and by promoting alternative energy sources.

These efforts produced results. In western Europe and the United States, air quality improved dramatically. The Great Lakes, Long Island Sound, and Chesapeake Bay were all much cleaner at the end of the twentieth century than they had been in 1970. The rivers of North America and Europe also improved. New technologies made much of this improvement possible. The addition of pollution controls to automobiles, planes, and factory smokestacks reduced harmful emissions. Similar progress was made in the chemical industry. Scientists identified the chemicals that threaten the ozone layer, and the phase-out of their use in new appliances and cars began.

Clearly, the desire to preserve the natural environment was growing around the world. In the developed nations, continued political organization and enhanced awareness of environmental issues seemed likely to lead to incremental improvements in environmental policy. In the developing world and most of the former Soviet bloc, however, population pressures and weak governments were major obstacles to effective environmental policies. It was likely, therefore, that the industrialized nations would have to fund global improvements—and the cost was going to be high.

CONCLUSION

In the five-and-a-half decades after the end of World War II, the world was altered by economic growth and integration, by population growth and movement, and by technological and environmental change. Led by the postwar recovery of the industrial powers and the remarkable economic expansion of Japan, the world economy grew dramatically. The new wealth and exciting technologies of the postwar era were not shared equally, however. The capitalist West and a few Pacific Rim nations grew richer and more powerful while most of the world's nations remained poor.

Population growth in the developing world was one reason for this divided experience. Unable to find adequate employment or, in many cases, bare subsistence, people in these nations migrated across borders hoping to improve their lives. These movements often provided valuable labor in the factories and farms of the developed world, but they also provoked cultural, racial, and ethnic tension. Problems of inequality, population growth, and international migration would continue to challenge the global community in the coming decades.

Technology seemed to offer some hope for meeting these challenges. Engineering, financial services, education, and other professions developed an international character thanks to the communications revolution. However, most people living and working in the developing world remained disconnected from this liberating technology by poverty. Technology also bolstered efforts to protect the environment, providing the means to cleaner auto and factory emissions—even while it helped produce much of the world's pollution. Technology has been intertwined with human culture since the beginning of human history. Our ability to control and direct its use will determine the future.

SUGGESTED READING

Among the works devoted to postwar economic performance are W. L. M. Adriaasen and J. G. Waardensburg, eds. *A Dual World Economy: Forty Years of Development Experience* (1989); G. Ambrosius and W. Hibbard, *A Social and Economic History of Twentieth-Century Europe* (1989); and P. Krugman, *The Age of Diminished Expectations: U.S. Economic Policy in the 1990s* (1990).

There are many fine studies of nations and regions. See Volker Berghahn, *Modern Germany: Society, Economy and Politics in the 20th Century* (1983). For the Soviet bloc see Barbara Engel and Christine Worobec, eds., *Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance, Transformation* (1990), and David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire* (1993). For the Pacific Rim see Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (1990), and Edwin O. Reischauer, *The Japanese* (1988). For the Third World see E. Hermassi, *The Third World Reassessed* (1980).

A number of studies examine the special problems faced by women in the postwar period. See Elisabeth Croll, *Feminism and Socialism in China* (1978); J. Ginat, *Women in Muslim Rural Society: Status and Role in Family and Community* (1982); and P. Hudson, *Third World Women Speak Out* (1979).

For general discussions of economic, demographic, and environmental problems facing the world see W. Alonso, ed., *Population in an Interacting World* (1987), and P. R. Ehrlich and A. E. Ehrlich, *The Population Explosion* (1990).

For issues associated with technological and environmental change see M. Feshbach and A. Friendly, *Ecocide in the U.S.S.R.* (1992), and John Bellamy Foster, *Economic History of the Environment* (1994).

NOTE

1. *New York Times*, July 24, 1993, 1.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

The World at the End of the Twentieth Century: A Global Culture?

Toward a Global Culture? • Toward a Global Government?

Toward a Fragmented World? • The Endurance of Cultural Diversity

At the height of World War II, Germans listening to their radios were treated to round-the-clock political speeches and late-night performances of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. United States Army Signal Corps specialists, impressed by the quality of the sound but doubting the stamina of the orators and musicians, deduced that German engineers had devised a recording system that sounded as good as a live broadcast. It was the first tape recorder, called the Magnetophon. After the Allied invasion of France, members of the Signal Corps searched for the mysterious device, but every Magnetophon they found had been smashed to protect the secrets of its design. When the war was nearly over, they finally discovered one intact.

Meanwhile, back in the United States, the country's most popular singer and movie star, Bing Crosby, was battling the radio networks for permission to prerecord his broadcasts. In 1946 all radio shows were live. The networks refused to allow prerecording for fear that the sound quality would be poor. This meant that performers had to be present at the studio at broadcast time almost every week of the year.

ABC Radio, the weakest network, hoped to benefit from Crosby's popularity and finally granted his wish. In October 1946 he began to prerecord his show on wax disks. Although Crosby could edit the show and broadcast only the best parts, listeners complained that the sound was tinny and fuzzy. Looking around for a better recording technique, Crosby's production company found former Signal Corps officer Jack Mullin, who had shipped home two German Magnetophons after the war. A year later, Crosby broadcast his first tape-recorded show on a machine built to Mullin's design. Its superior sound quality, essentially indistinguishable from a live broadcast, transformed radio broadcasting overnight.

Tape-recording technology progressed rapidly, and within a decade engineers had developed the first practical videotape recorder. Other new technology followed, including photocopying, first offered commercially in 1959; the Internet, which originated in the 1960s; and fax machines, an old idea that became practical and cheap in the 1980s. These advances transferred to the general population the ability to reproduce and distribute words, sounds, and images—an ability previously monopolized by governments and wealthy corporations.

Unanticipated consequences soon became apparent. The leader of the Iranian Revolution of 1979, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, roused Iranians against the monarchy by smuggling audiotapes of his sermons into Iran before he himself returned there. Photocopying and hand distribution of underground protest literature played an important role in stirring up discontent against the failing Soviet Union. Power resided even in recordings made for private use: tape recordings of office conversations made by U.S. president Richard M. Nixon revealed wrongdoing and led to his resignation.

Recording technology also facilitated the preservation of local cultural traditions and the development of new ones. Peruvian Amerindian bands played in New York City subway stations and sold their audiocassettes to passers-by. Archivists, scholars, and enthusiasts taped cultural performances and rituals on the verge of extinction around the world.

TOWARD A GLOBAL CULTURE?

As the process of decolonization, more or less completed with the collapse of the Soviet Union, made political imperialism an increasingly distant memory (see Chapter 27), concerns grew in many quarters about cultural imperialism. To some observers, global marketing seemed an especially insidious effort not only to overwhelm the world with a single—Western—outlook shaped by capitalist ideology, but also to suppress or devalue traditional cultures and alternative ideologies. The United States was seen as the primary culprit. But in truth, technology, not ideology, played the central role in spreading Western culture around the world, and a close analysis of cultural trends reveals a diversity of voices.

The Medium and the Message

The idea that the West engages in cultural imperialism rests on the fact that Americans invented and developed so much of the technology that formed and spread popular culture in the twentieth century. Though the content conveyed by motion pictures and television was not always American, American tastes and preoccupations were highly influential.

From the beginning of motion pictures, early in the twentieth century, American filmmakers considered it their business to entertain audiences. In competition for audiences, they looked to cinematic innovation, broad humor, and exciting spectacles, and they developed styles of filmmaking that became immensely popular. After World War II, with much of European and Japanese industry in ruins, the United States became the world's main exporter of movies. Hollywood exported an image of the United States as a land of gangsters and cowboys, pratfalls and musical romance. By the 1960s, depictions of American life broadened. Still, emphasis on crime, luxurious living, and—from the 1970s on—explicit sexuality presented a skewed but influential and fairly consistent image of America.

Television became widely available to consumers only after World War II and did not spread to most non-Western countries until the 1960s. Hollywood's dominance in the world movie industry was not replicated in television, partly because by the time videotape technology and satellite broadcasting were developed, newly independent governments already were using radio and television broadcasting as a tool of nation building.

Moviemaking tended to be privately organized even in countries that imposed government censorship. In contrast, television outside the United States usually became a government monopoly. Government control of news reports and approval of other programming was intended to disseminate a unified national viewpoint by means of television and limit American cultural influence. Many state broadcasters eventually turned to American sources to meet the demand for shows, but the United States was not the only external source of programming. Many nations also purchased shows from Brazil, Mexico, and Great Britain.

At the same time, American producers realized that satellite transmission provided an opening to an international market and MTV (Music Television) and CNN (Cable News Network) came into being. MTV, specializing in rock music videos aimed at a youth audience, became an international enterprise with special editions for different parts of the world. Music videos shown in Uzbekistan, for example, featured Russian groups, and those shown in Singapore featured Chinese groups. CNN, airing news around the clock, began to supplant other commercial and government news programming as the best source of information about rapidly developing events. CNN, however, did offer a fundamentally American view of the news, even in its international editions, prompting some governments to limit its reception.

At first the computer industry, which mushroomed for defense and business purposes in the postwar decades, had little connection with popular culture. Then in the 1990s Japan introduced the first digital television broadcasting, at about the time that disks containing digitized movies and computer programs with movielike action were becoming increasingly available (see Envi-

ENVIRONMENT & TECHNOLOGY

Compact Disc Technology

When the spinning disc replaced Thomas Edison's original revolving cylinder as the preferred means of recording sound, a fragile, single-sided wax disc could play some three to ten minutes of music, depending on whether it was 10 or 12 inches (approximately 25.4 or 30.5 centimeters) in diameter. Pressing both sides of the disc doubled the amount of information that could be stored in its grooves. Making the grooves narrower and closer together, and slowing the speed of rotation from 78 to 33-1/3 revolutions per minute, meant that a whole symphony could be recorded on the two sides of a single 12-inch disc. These long-playing, or LP, records made of durable vinyl became standard for the recording industry in the 1960s.

The compact disc, introduced by Sony and Philips Electronics in the 1980s, used a different recording technique. A laser burned tiny pits, representing the zeros and ones of digitized sound, into a 5-inch (12.7-centimeter) plastic disc. Between 1982 and 1996, 400 million CD players and 6 billion discs were sold. The 12-inch LP became obsolete because the material contained on both of its sides could be recorded on a single-sided CD with more precise sound, less noise, and greater durability.

In 1997 several electronics companies began to market digital versatile discs (DVD). With smaller pits and a narrower data track, the DVD has a data spiral twice as long as the same-sized CD and can store fourteen times more information. Future plans visualize a quadrupling of DVD capacity through recording on two layers.

Each major change in recording capacity has expanded the range of materials—music, movies, computer programs—that can efficiently be reproduced and has lowered the cost of reproduction. The information age ushered in by Thomas Edison's phonograph seems likely to continue its dramatic evolution in the twenty-first century.

Compact disc (IBM Corporation, Research Division, Almaden Research Center)

ronment and Technology: Compact Disc Technology). More widespread was communication over the Internet, a linkage of academic, government, and business computer networks. Developed originally for U.S. defense research in the 1960s, the Internet expanded to become a major cultural phenomenon with the proliferation of personal computers in the 1980s.

The new telecommunications and entertainment technologies did indeed derive disproportionately from American invention, industry, and cultural creativity (Japan became a powerful secondary factor on the industrial side in the 1970s). Thus they could be seen as portents of Western, especially American, cultural domination. But the American input was rather uneven, and the more widespread the new technologies became, the greater the opportunities they afforded to people around the world to adapt them to their own purposes.

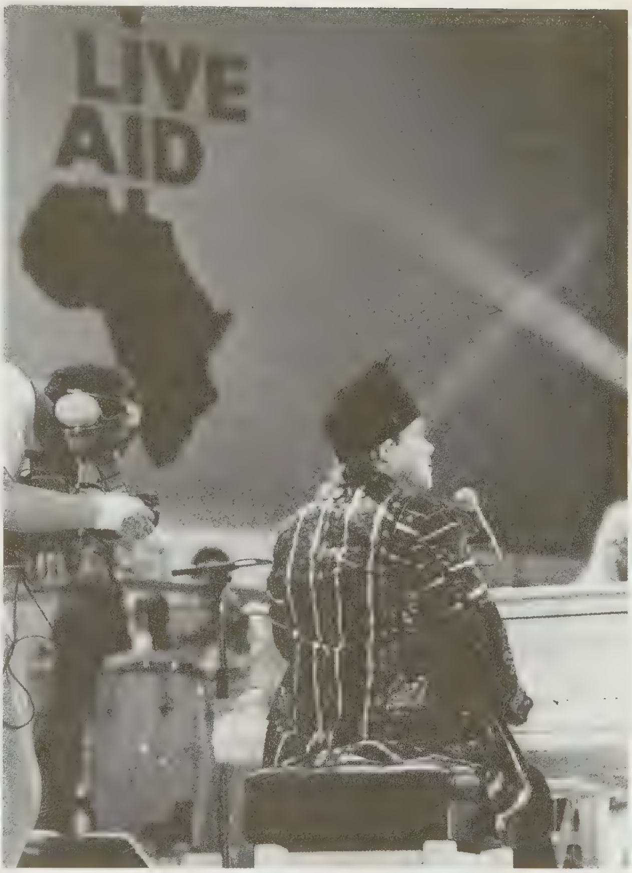
The Spread of Popular Culture

Influenced by the tastes of the European imperialist powers, in the nineteenth century modernizing elite groups around the world turned their backs on their own artistic traditions and built opera houses, established symphony orchestras, and experimented with European literary forms as extensions of their fascination with everything Western. A Europe-dominated concept of "high culture," with a canon of masterworks created exclusively by composers, artists, and thinkers of European descent, took root in many parts of the world.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, popular culture was becoming more and more visible. Modern writers, composers, and artists valued novelty and individuality of expression over classical structures and traditional formal narratives. Some were captivated by the sounds and images of Europe's new industrial society; others drew inspiration from popular culture. Spanish artist Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), for example, borrowed the imagery of African masks in some of his paintings, circuses and carnivals in others, and newspaper typography in still others. The invention of the phonograph by Thomas Edison in 1877–1878, however, was the key that opened popular culture to global audiences. In the twentieth century, inexpensive recordings spread American popular music—blues, jazz, and rock 'n' roll—around the world.

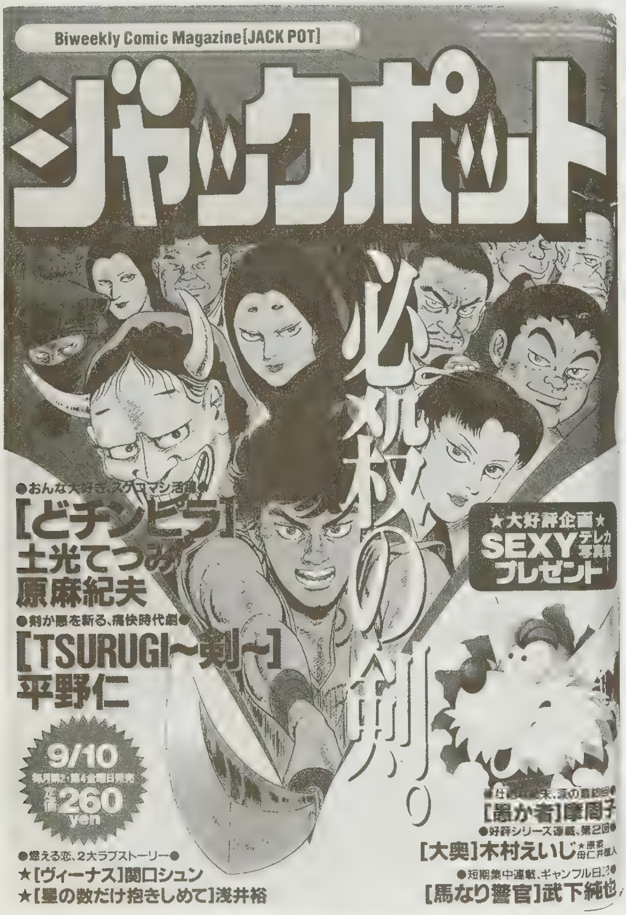
After World War II, mass production and advertising (the latter developed largely in the United States) opened another door to the worldwide spread of popular culture. American consumer products began to find international markets, and European, Japanese, and transnational companies soon became as aggressive as American companies in international marketing, making it harder and harder for homegrown industries in small or poor countries to hold their own without government protection.

In the 1970s and 1980s, critics around the world identified the United States as the chief propagator of a worldwide consumer culture. This judgment seemed to be confirmed by the international cachet of American brand names like Levi, Coca-Cola, and Kentucky Fried Chicken. But names blazoned in neon atop the skyscrapers of Tokyo—Hitachi, Sony, and Mitsubishi—also commanded instant recognition around the world, as did European names such as Nestlé, Mercedes, and Lacoste.



Rock concert for African famine relief Rock singer and pianist Elton John was one of many performers who donated their efforts to the Live Aid benefit concert. Staged in Britain, the concert was carried throughout the world via television and paved the way for later concerts of a similar nature. Radio, television, and inexpensive recordings multiplied the impact of popular music in the second half of the twentieth century. (J. Langevin/Sygma)

According to marxist theorists, the tendency of capitalist economies to produce too many goods compels industrialized nations to seek ever-larger markets and exploit the entire world for the benefit of corporate shareholders, and the spread of American products is simply another manifestation of imperialism, inevitably destroying local crafts, styles, and cultural traditions. But most young Turks, Nigerians, Taiwanese, and others who like to wear Levis jeans, drink


Biweekly Comic Magazine[JACK POT]
ジャックポット
必殺の剣
●おんな大好き、スケコマシ活劇●
[どチンピラ]
土光てつみ
原麻紀夫
●剣が悪を斬る、痛快時代劇●
[TSURUGI~剣~]
平野仁
★大好評企画★
SEXYテレカ写真集プレゼント
9/10
260
yen
●燃える恋、2大ラブストーリー●
★[ヴィーナス]関口シュン
★[星の数だけ抱きしめて]浅井裕
●好評シリーズ連載、第2回●
[大奥]木村えいじ
[馬なり警官]武下純也

Japanese adult male comic book After World War II comic magazines emerged as a popular type of publication in Japan and a distinctive product of Japanese culture. Different series are directed to different age and gender groups. Issued weekly and running to some 300 pages in black and white, the most popular magazines sell as many copies as major newsmagazines do in the United States. (Private Collection)

Coke, smoke Camels, and listen to Michael Jackson have little sense of being under the thumb of the imperialists. Although their economies may be in thrall to transnational business concerns, they themselves generally feel free to condemn American foreign policy and consider their personal style preferences simply a result of living within an increasingly global culture.

Global Connections and Elite Culture

While the globalization of popular culture became a subject of dispute, cultural links across national and ethnic boundaries at a more elite level generated little controversy. The end of the Cold War reopened intellectual and cultural contacts between the former adversaries, making possible such things as Russian-American collaboration on space missions and extensive business contacts among former rivals. European and American scientific laboratories benefited as well from the intellectual gifts of an increasing number of graduate students and researchers from China, India, Pakistan, Turkey, and elsewhere.

In this way, technical training helped contribute to the rising importance of English as a global second language. British imperialism had planted English on every continent by the beginning of the twentieth century (see Chapters 21 and 24). Spurred by American economic and political eminence in the second half of the century, as well as by American movies and television, the language spread even as the British Empire faded away. English became the most commonly taught second language in the world, and a number of technology-intensive industries, including air transportation and computers, used it extensively.

Architectural design and engineering afford another example of globalization at the higher cultural level. In the 1920s, the Swiss architect Charles Édouard Jeanneret (1887–1965), known as Le Corbusier, outlined a new approach to architecture that featured simplicity of form, absence of surface ornamentation, easy manufacture, and inexpensive materials. Other architects advanced his lines of thought and added ideas of their own to create what was known as the "International Style" after World War II.

Glass and steel skyscrapers in the International Style began to rise in world capitals in the

1960s. At the same time, people were traveling to those capitals along highways that followed limited-access designs pioneered by the German autobahns. The new underground rail systems in Cairo and Mexico City similarly reflected the internationalization of engineering and design. It became commonplace for a project in one country to be designed by an architectural firm in another and built by a construction firm from a third.

The International Style was criticized, however, for neglecting local architectural traditions. In the United States, this criticism formed the foundation of "postmodernism," a movement that called for greater sensitivity to history and local context, and for allowing diverse voices, such as those of minorities, to be heard. Some architects, including a growing number from non-Western countries, responded to the postmodern critique. Conventional glass and steel skyscrapers continued to be built, but liberation from Le Corbusier's vision permitted architects in different countries to follow their own inclinations.

Architecture stands out as the counterpart of rock music in fostering local diversity within the context of overall global change. But it was not unique. Among the ten winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature between 1982 and 1991 were writers from Colombia, Nigeria, Egypt, Mexico, and the West Indies. By contrast, the previous decade's winners had included only one non-European. The prize committee thus helped the world recognize the growing strength of its cultural diversity.

The West, for good or ill, dominated the immediate postimperialist era. However, the web of international contact made possible by advanced technologies had not yet reached its full extent or become accessible to most people. At the end of the twentieth century, according to one estimate, half of the world's people had never spoken on a telephone. The cultural changes spurred by technology seemed to be only in midcourse. Technology still seemed likely to become a means of releasing profound creative energies in unexpected locales.

TOWARD A GLOBAL GOVERNMENT?

Economic and technological forces had the side effect of fostering a global culture. The globalization of political and social behavior, in contrast, was an expected outcome of institution building. Many global organizations evolved from initial agreements among a small group of nations. For example, the International Committee of the Red Cross included fewer than twenty countries at its outset in 1880. At the end of the 1990s it had over one hundred national members in all parts of the world.

The most ambitious attempt to create an international institution was undoubtedly the formation in 1945 of the United Nations, the successor to the League of Nations (see Chapter 25). Most political leaders remained reluctant to surrender national sovereignty or permit outsiders to intervene in national affairs. But the widespread desire to avert future wars, address international problems collectively, and allow voices from all over the world to be heard induced most countries to participate actively in the United Nations.

The United Nations

U.S. president Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1933–1945) first used the term "United Nations" in 1941 to describe the countries allied in the war against Germany and Italy. In 1942, twenty-six governments agreed not to make peace separately. Two years later, representatives from the United States, Great Britain, the USSR, and China met and drafted specific charter proposals that finally bore fruit in the treaty called the United Nations Charter, ratified by fifty-one original member nations on October 24, 1945.

Like the League of Nations, the United Nations had two main bodies: the General Assembly, with representatives from all member states, and the Security Council, with five permanent members—China, France, Great Britain, the United States, and the USSR—and seven temporary members. A full-time bureaucracy headed by a secretary general carried out the day-to-day business of both bodies. Various agencies focused on specialized international problems—for example, UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization). Unlike the League of Nations, which required unanimous agreement in both its deliberative bodies, the United Nations operated by majority rule, except that the five permanent members of the Security Council had veto power in that chamber. (Until 1971, the China seat on the Security Council was held by the government of Taiwan. That year, the United States agreed to oust Taiwan from the United Nations and seat the People's Republic of China in its place; see Chapter 27.)

The decolonization of Africa and Asia greatly swelled the size of the General Assembly but not the Security Council. Many of these new nations looked to the United Nations, with its internationalist and egalitarian philosophy, for assistance and access to a wider political world. While the vetoes of the Security Council's permanent members often stymied action touching even indirectly on Cold War concerns, the General Assembly became the arena for expressing opinions on many issues involving decolonization. In the early years of the United Nations, General Assembly resolutions carried great weight. An example is the 1947 order that divided Palestine into sovereign Jewish and Arab states. Gradually, though, the flood of new members produced a voting majority concerned more with poverty and racial discrimination than with the Cold War. As a result, the superpowers and their allies increasingly disregarded the General Assembly, allowing the new nations of the world to have their say but not to act collectively.

All signatories to the United Nations Charter renounced war and territorial conquest. Nevertheless, peacekeeping, the sole preserve of the Security Council, became a particularly vexing problem. The permanent members exercised their veto when necessary to protect their friends and interests. Throughout the Cold War, the United Nations was seldom able to deploy forces to forestall or quell international conflicts, though from time to time it did send observers to monitor truces or agreements otherwise arrived at. This failure to act ended dramatically in 1990 when the organization authorized creation of a multinational military coalition to oppose Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. Iraqi troops were expelled from Kuwait in the Gulf War of 1991. Afterward, a serious debate arose as to whether this outcome was a fluke occurrence or the harbinger of new forcefulness by the United Nations.

Human Rights

In addition to maintaining peaceful relations between states, the United Nations also aimed to protect the rights of individuals. A General Assembly resolution passed on December 10, 1948—the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights"—condemned slavery, torture, cruel and inhuman punishment, and arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile. It called for freedom of movement, assembly, and thought. It asserted rights to life, liberty, and security of person; to impartial public trials; and to education, employment, and leisure. The declaration ringingly asserted the principle of equality.

The roots of the declaration lay mostly in European and American history. Religious tolerance emerged from Europe's bloody religious wars between Catholics and Protestants (see Chapter 15). The U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man contributed Enlightenment ideas of inalienable rights (see Chapter 20). The struggle against slavery and the women's suffrage movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries extended the concept of tolerance to all races and both sexes (see Chapters 20 and 23). The concept of social justice steadily advanced with the recognition of labor unions, the spread of universal education, and the establishment of government programs to care for the needy and ensure adequate standards of living.

Not all the countries that voted for the declaration in 1948 shared this European heritage, but its principles dovetailed with humanitarian concerns in a variety of non-European cultures and nations. Most countries later joining the United Nations willingly signed the declaration because it implicitly condemned the persistence of discriminatory European colonial regimes. Despite this apparent agreement, however, some people had philosophical reservations about the declaration's formulation of human rights. Did the declaration's assertion of total equality mean that the traditional social distinctions represented by the Hindu castes were unacceptable? Was the declaration breached by nations that used religion, language, skin color, or membership in a particular ethnic group to distinguish more privileged from less privileged citizens—a group of nations that included Israel, the United States, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia, among many others? Did the section declaring that "everyone has a right to a nationality" implicitly condemn the suppression of ethnic minorities—as Turkey, Iraq, and Iran did with their Kurdish populations; China did with Tibetans; and France did with immigrant Muslims from North Africa?

In practice, human rights activists took a practical approach and ignored these troubling issues. They focused on easily agreed-upon violations of human decency, such as torture, imprisonment without trial, summary execution by government death squads, and famine and refugee relief. International organizations devoted to relieving hunger and oppression and bringing human rights abuses to world attention proliferated in the 1970s.

They raised the prominence of human rights as a global concern and put pressure on governments to consider human rights when making foreign policy decisions. But increasing concern did not answer the skeptics who observed that when a Western country prodded a non-Western country to improve its human rights performance—for example, by barring the government from cutting off a thief's hand as stipulated by Islamic law—reverse criticism of the Western country—for example, condemnation of persistent racial discrimination in the United States—often fell on deaf ears. Thus the human rights movement was sometimes seen not as an effort to make the world as a whole more humane, but as another form of Western cultural imperialism.

Women's Rights

No issue exemplified this dichotomy of views so clearly as women's rights. The feminist movement that peaked in the early twentieth century had concentrated on acquiring voting rights. Feminist activism revived in the United States in the 1960s inspired by parallel efforts to combat racial discrimination and end the war in Vietnam. Spread subsequently to Europe and then around the world, feminism focused on equal access to education and jobs as well as on quality-of-life matters such as ending sexual exploitation and abandoning confining clothing styles. Ironically, the decades in which the feminist movement (followed by movements for gay and lesbian rights in the United States and Europe) became a major force also saw sexuality become a more explicit and prominent aspect of commercial, artistic, and social life.

Feminists in the West decried the oppression of women in other parts of the world. At the same time, some non-Western women complained about the deterioration of morality and family life in the West and a misplaced feminist concern with matters such as clothing. As with human rights, non-Western peoples disputed the West's definition of priorities. Some African women saw their real problems as deteriorating economic conditions, AIDS, and the custom of genital mutilation.

Efforts to coordinate the struggle for women's rights internationally gained momentum in the 1970s with a series of highly publicized international conferences. But the search for a universally accepted women's rights agenda proved elusive because of local concerns and strong disagreement about issues like abortion. A rising

United Nations Women's Conference, 1995 Women from every part of the world gathered in Beijing to focus attention on women's search for equality. The Chinese government, accustomed to suppressing dissent and closely regulating social life, tried to limit press access to the conference. These efforts to silence or control women's voices on issues like abortion and family planning proved ineffective. (Alexandra Boulat/Sipa Press)

global tide of women's education, access to employment, political participation, and control of fertility augured well for the eventual achievement of gender equality. Nevertheless, culturally shaped disagreement on women's rights and other philosophical and social issues persisted at the end of the twentieth century. And with world developmental patterns pointing to worsening social and economic problems in Africa and growing economic power in Asia (see Chapter 28), the appeal of standards too closely identified with European and American values seemed to be in doubt.

TOWARD A FRAGMENTED WORLD?

Running counter to the various trends toward globalization, political and social division along religious, ethnic, and racial lines increased during the final decades of the twentieth century. While the world economy became more integrated (see Chapter 28), diversity came increasingly to be valued. Indeed, in a significant number of countries, the call for diversity evolved into militant movements for separation or secession.

Challenges to the Nation-State

A frequently invoked image of the latter part of the twentieth century was that some place or other might become "like Beirut." Many new states experienced conflicts similar to the prolonged period of civil war and anarchy that Lebanon endured between 1975 and 1991. The Tamil-speaking Hindu population in Sri Lanka fought a prolonged and merciless guerrilla struggle against the dominant Singhalese-speaking Buddhists. Yugoslavia's postcommunist dissolution in 1991 and 1992 into five independent states led to a bewildering and intractable war among Eastern Orthodox Serbs, Muslim Bosnians, and Roman Catholic Croatians, all of whom shared the same ethnic and linguistic identity. Basque separatists in northern Spain pursued their political goals through terrorist bombings. Eritrea fought successfully for independence from religiously and linguistically different Ethiopia. And ethnic hatreds wracked Rwanda and Burundi.

In other instances, large-scale violence was avoided. The linguistically dissimilar Czechs and Slovaks agreed to divide postcommunist Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. A brief uprising among the Maya population of southern Mexico drew needed government attention and aid to that part of the country. And Malay-Chinese animosities in Malaysia were largely submerged in economic prosperity.

Compared with nineteenth-century nationalist movements, a hallmark of these and other instances of ethnic, linguistic, or religious autonomy was the comparative unimportance of ideology. The primary stress was on social differentiation rather than a group's destiny or god's will. As a consequence, there was a good deal of bewilderment worldwide about where people's desires to cling together and resist assimilation might lead.

Religion in the Contemporary World

No one could doubt the enhanced global role of religion in the closing decades of the twentieth century (see Map 29.1). Heightened religiosity did not necessarily lead to conflict, however. Essentially peaceful missionary and revival movements made headway in many areas. Examples include evangelical Protestantism in the United States, Central and South America, and the former Soviet Union, and Mormonism in American Samoa and Chile.

Appeals for a return to family-based moral uprightness found enthusiastic audiences whether made to African-Americans by the Nation of Islam or to secular Jews by the Lubavitcher sect. Pope John Paul II traveled tirelessly to visit Roman Catholics in every part of the world and spoke forcefully on behalf of the moral teachings of the church. He counseled peace and social justice and the setting aside of historical animosities by the world's religions. Polish by origin, he also played an important role in encouraging Catholics in eastern Europe to confront and bring down their atheistic communist regimes. Yet he also met disagreement when he reiterated the church's opposition to birth control, abortion, and the ordination of women.

In the late twentieth century many people again looked to religion as a basis for moral life in a world where political ideologies seemed to have failed. Others viewed this heightened religiosity with foreboding. They believed the ultimate goal of religious revival groups was to impose their moral standards, educational curricula, lifestyles, artistic vision, and political systems on everyone.

Threats to Order

The mixture of ethnic and religious tensions with technology gave extremist groups and nations powerful tools of destruction, such as violent terrorist attacks. By no means a new force in world affairs, terrorism thrived in the late twentieth century. Its effectiveness derived from the same technology that in other instances brought the world closer together: television. Global dissemination of news gave terrorist acts widespread publicity. Political groups around the world staged innumerable terrorist acts, from countless bombings in the British Isles by the Irish Republican Army to the assassinations in India of prime ministers Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi to the release of nerve gas in the Tokyo subway system by an apocalyptic Buddhist sect in 1995. Terrorists could strike anywhere—including the World Trade Center in New York and a federal office building in Oklahoma City.

Nuclear proliferation offered a greater threat to world peace than did terrorist attacks, and fear that nuclear devices would fall into the wrong hands was especially strong in government circles. During the Cold War, the world had lived with a sense of impending nuclear doom. This feeling quickly evaporated after communism collapsed in Europe in 1991. Yet thousands of nuclear weapons remained. Despite safeguards to keep them from being sold or stolen, the possibility of nuclear weapons falling into the hands of terrorists or states interested in blackmailing their neighbors could not be discounted. Nor was there adequate assurance that radioactive materials could be disposed of safely without environmental contamination.

THE ENDURANCE OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Diverse cultural traditions persisted at the twentieth century's end despite the globalization of industrial society and the integration of economic markets. Japan demonstrated that a country with a non-Western culture could perform at a high economic level. From a Western point of view, Japanese customs seemed to discourage individual initiative and to preserve traditional hierarchies. But the efficiency, pride in workmanship, and group solidarity of Japanese workers, and Japanese government and corporate policies, played a major role in transforming Japan from a defeated nation with a demolished industrial base in 1945 to an economic power by the 1980s.

As awareness of the economic impact of Japanese culture and society began to spread, it became apparent that Taiwan and South Korea, along with Singapore and Hong Kong, were developing dynamic industrial economies of their own. In the 1990s, Muslim Malaysia and Buddhist Thailand appeared to follow the same pattern. Had Japan been unique, or would cultural variety prove fully compatible with industrial growth and prosperity? Clearly, the long-standing Western assumption of European and American exceptionalism—the belief that all of world history culminated in the exceptional convergence of political freedom, secularism, and industrialism in the West—needed to be abandoned. So, too, did the corollary that the twenty-first century would be as thoroughly dominated by Western culture and economic and political power as had the previous two centuries.

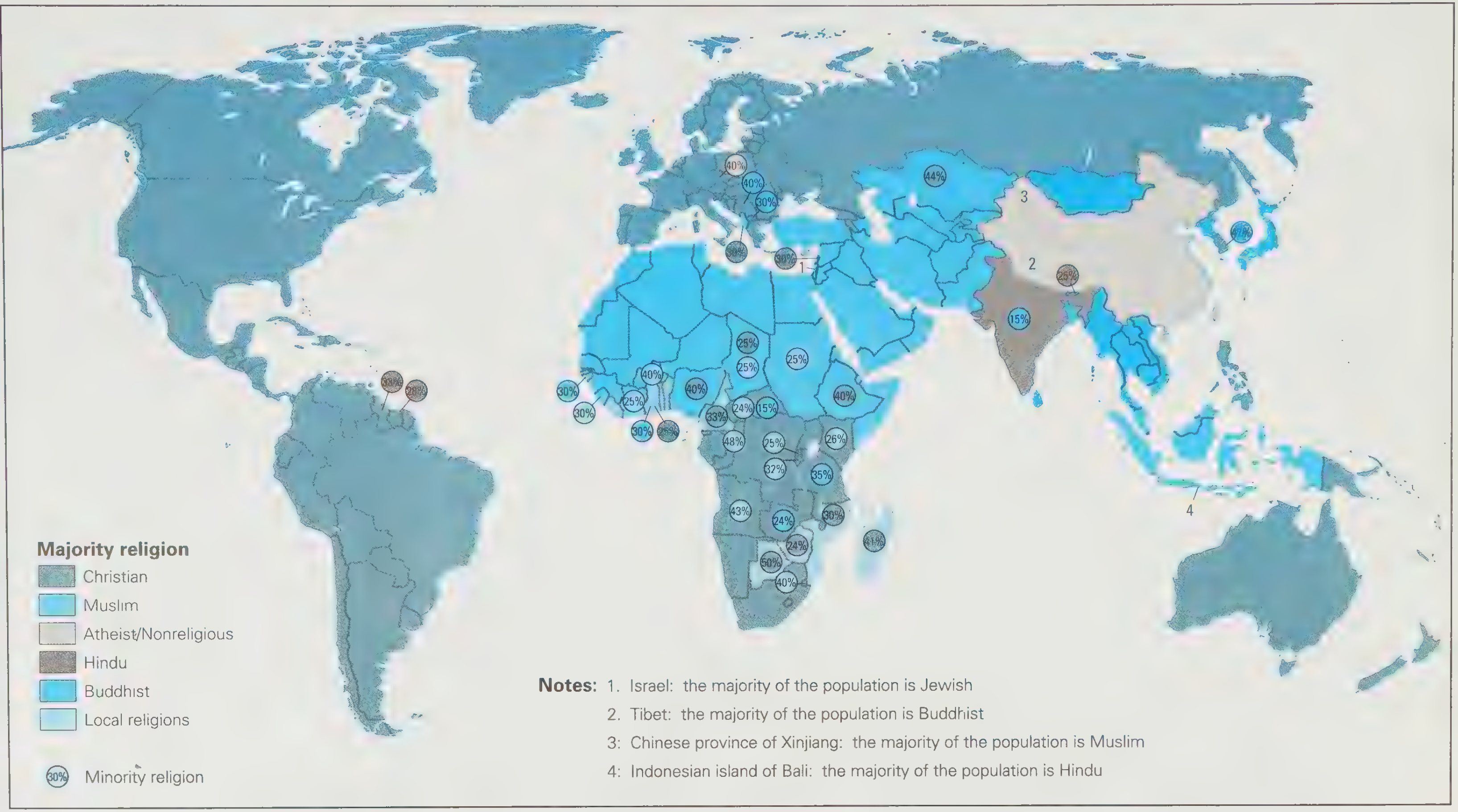
Also coming into question, however, was whether industrialization offered the only viable route to prosperity. As computer technology continued to change almost all aspects of life, perhaps in the twenty-first century countries could achieve prosperity primarily from their control of information and telecommunications.

The lesson to be drawn from the success of Japan and the other rising economic powers of Asia was not that Western technology points the way to universal well-being, but rather that human ingenuity and adaptability are endlessly fertile and creative. Human cultural achievement has historically followed unpredictable paths, reaching one sort of climax in one time and place and another in another. In the same spirit, the future locus of spiritual and cultural achievement remained essentially unpredictable at the start of a new millennium.

CONCLUSION

Throughout history, the human species has been marked by cultural diversity. Languages, foods, costumes, customs, social organization, artistic expression, and spiritual beliefs have developed locally—both shaped by and shaping available technologies and local environmental constraints. Over the millennia, political entities have grown greatly in scale, as has the size of the human population. Consequently

Map 29.1 World Religions Believers in Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism make up large percentages of the population in many countries. Differing forms of these religions seldom coincide with national boundaries. As religion revives as a focus of social identity, political assertion, or mass mobilization, the possibility of religious activism spreading across broad geographic regions becomes greater, as does the likelihood of domestic discord in multireligious states.



Notes: 1. Israel: the majority of the population is Jewish

2. Tibet: the majority of the population is Buddhist

3: Chinese province of Xinjiang: the majority of the population is Muslim

4: Indonesian island of Bali: the majority of the population is Hindu isolation has diminished and increasing contact has produced cultural and technological cross-fertilization. Unfortunately, it also led from time to time to conflict and the total disappearance of peoples, languages, and cultural traditions.

Yet a rich diversity of human experience has always persisted beneath the changing patterns of domination. People have repeatedly shown strong yearnings to be distinctly themselves, either as individuals or as part of social groups. Even within today's highly integrated and media-saturated societies, many groups take justifiable pride in their ancestry, language, religion, and culture. The world today, as it always has been, is multicultural and pluralistic.

But today's world is also home to a growing sense of global culture. A Coke, a Big Mac, and a pair of Levis jeans are basic—perhaps simplistic—artifacts of an almost universal culture. The question is whether these artifacts, which economic integration seems destined to make worldwide, will gradually push out manifestations of indigenous culture that have survived for centuries, such as Malaysian kite flying, African dancing, and Mexican cooking. Or will humans' ability to interact ever more closely within a common global culture foster greater respect for the earth and its peoples?

SUGGESTED READING

Two very readable books by James B. Twitchell, *Carnival Culture: The Trashing of Taste in America* (1992) and *Adcult USA: The Triumph of Advertising in American Culture* (1996), detail the rise of popular culture in the United States and present various reactions to this phenomenon.

Thomas P. Hughes, *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm, 1870–1970* (1989), is a far-ranging account of the American role in twentieth-century technological change by an outstanding historian of technology.

Books on films and the film industry around the world are legion. A good place to start is George Mast, *A Short History of the Movies* (1986). For the rock video phenomenon see E. Ann Kaplan, *Rocking Around the Clock: Music Television, Postmodernism, and Consumer Culture* (1987).

A good, if optimistic, starting point for studying the United Nations is Leland M. Goodrich, *The United Nations in a Changing World* (1974). The broad range of transnational forces affecting international relations is covered by Werner J. Feld, *Nongovernmental Forces and World Politics: A Study of Business, Labor, and Political Groups* (1972).

A seminal book in the awakening of the feminist movement in the 1970s is Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (1974). For non-Western perspectives see Phyllis Andors, *The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women, 1949–1980* (1983); Nermin Abadan-Unat, Deniz Kandiyoti, and Mübeccel R. Kiray, eds., *Women in Turkish Society* (1981); and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (1991).

Gilles Kepel, *The Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism in the Modern World* (1994), deals with recent religio-political movements.

Two noteworthy novels that attempt to visualize the near future from the vantage point of current perceptions of technological change, environmental deterioration, and the growth of transnational corporations are David Brin, *Earth* (1990), and Bruce Sterling, *Islands in the Net* (1988).

PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

This guide provides pronunciation information for words in *The Earth and Its Peoples* that may be unfamiliar to you. Using this guide to pronounce proper names and other terms in the text should both aid your understanding of the material and build your confidence in speaking (and listening) in class.

To make the guide easy to read, the pronunciation for each word is spelled by syllable, with pronunciation symbols used for vowel sounds, as shown in the key below. The primary stress syllable in each word is capitalized, this shows which syllable should be emphasized in pronunciation.

Pronunciation Key:

a	h**a**t	ā	d**a**te	âr	d**are**	ah	f**a**ther
e	p**e**t	ē	f**ee**d	îr	p**ier**	ou	h**ou**se
i	s**i**t	ī	f**i**ne	ô	s**aw**	uh	**a**lone, h**er**
o	n**o**t	ō	s**o**	ûr	b**ur**n	œ	as in French, p**eu**
u	b**u**t	oo	n**oo**n	o͝o	f**oo**t		

The following references were used in compiling the pronunciations:

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A'isha AH-ē-shah
Abbasa ah-BAS-uh
Abbasid ah-BA-sid
'Abd al-Qadir AHB-d al—KAH-dēr
Abd al-Rahman AHB-d al—ruh-MAHN
Abd al-Wahhab ABD uhl—wuh-HAHB
Abu Bakr a-BOO BAK-uhr
Achaean uh-KĒ-uhn
Achaemenid a-KĒ-muh-nid
Acheh ah-CHE
Achilles uh-KIL-ēz
adat AH-daht
Adena ah-DAY-nah
Adowa AH-dŏŏ-wah
Aegean i-JĒ-uhn
Afrikaner af-ri-KAH-nuhr
Agamemnon ag-uh-MEM-non
Agincourt AJ-in-kort
Aguinaldo ah-gē-NAHL-dō
Agung of Mataram AH-gŏŏng ŭv mah-tah-RAHM
Ahaggar uh-HAG-uhr
Ahasuerus uh-HAZ-yoo-ēr-uhs
Ahhijawa uh-kē-YÔ-wuh
ahimsa uh-HIM-sah
Ahl al-Sunra wa'l-Jama'a AHL as—SUUN-uh wel—jah-MAH-uh
Ahmadabad AH-muhd-ah-bahd
Ahmose AH-mōs
Ahuramazda ah-HŎŎR-uh-MAZ-duh
Ain Jalut YYN jah-LOOL
Akkad AH-kahd
Akkadian uh-KĀ-dē-uhn
Aksum AHK-soom
al-Andalus al—AN-duh-lus
al-Ghaba al—GAH-buh
Ala-ud-din Khaliji uh-LAH—uh-DĒN KAL-jee
Alalakh UH-luh-luhk
Aleutian uh-LOO-shuhn
Algonquin al-GONG-kwin
Alighieri, Dante ah-lē-GYE-rē, DAHN-tā
alkali AL-kuh-lī
Allah AH-luh
alluvial uh-LOO-vē-uhl
Almoravid al-muh-RAH-vid
Alsace-Lorraine al-SAHS—lô-REN
Altai AL-tī
Amarna uh-MAHR-nuh
Amaterasu ah-mah-te-RAH-sŏŏ
ambergris AM-buhr-grēs
Ambon AHM-bôn
Amenhotep ah-muhn-HŌ-tep
Amitabha u-mi-TAH-buh
Amon AH-muhn
Amorite AM-uh-rīt
Anasazi ah-nuh-SAH-zē
Andalusian an-duh-LOO-zhuhn
anderun ahn-duh-ROON
Angra Mainyu ANG-ruh MĪN-yoo
Anjou AN-joo
Ankara ANG-kuhr-uh
Annam uh-NAHM
anthropomorphic an-thruh-puh-MÔR-fik
Antigonid an-TIG-uh-nid
Antioch AN-tē-ok
Anyang AHN YAHNG
Apache uh-PACH-ē
apartheid uh-PAHRT-hāt
apiru uh-PĒ-roo
Aquinas, Thomas a-KWĪ-nuhs, tō-MAHS
Aquitaine AK-wi-tān
Arafat AR-uh-fat
Aramaic ar-uh-MĀ-ik
Araucanian ahr-ô-KĀ-nē-uhn
Arawak AR-uh-wahk
Archangel AHRK-ān-juhl
Archilochus ahr-KIL-uh-kuhs
archipelago ahr-kuh-PEL-uh-gō
Ardashir ahr-dah-SHĒR
Argentina ahr-juhn-TĒ-nuh
Arianism ÂR-ē-uh-niz-uhm
Aristophanes ar-uh-STOF-uh-nēz
Arjuna AHR-joo-nuh
armillary AR-muh-ler-ē
Aro AH-rō
Arochukwu AH-rō-CHOO-kwoo
Asante uh-SHAHN-tē
Ashdod ASH-dod
Ashikaga ah-shē-KAH-gah
Ashurbanipal ah-shŏŏr-BAH-nuh-pahl
askeri AS-kuh-rē
Assiniboine uh-SIN-uh-boin
Astarte uh-STAHR-tē
Astrakhan AS-truh-kan
astrolabe AS-truh-lāb
Aswan AS-wahn
Atacama at-uh-KAM-uh
Atahualpa ah-tuh-WAHL-puh
Aten AHT-n
Athanasius ath-uh-NĀ-shuhs
atlatl aht-LAHT-l
auqaf OU-kahf
Aurangzeb OR-uhng-zeb
australopithecine ô-strā-lō-PITH-uh-sēn
Australopithecus africanus ô-strā-lō-PITH-uh-kuhs af-ri-KAH-nuhs
Avar AH-vahr
Averroës uh-VER-ō-ēz
Avicenna av-uh-SEN-uh
Avignon ah-vē-NYŌN
Awdaghost OU-duh-gust
awilum uh-WĒ-loom
Axum AHK-soom
ayatollah ī-uh-TŌ-luh
ayllu ī-LYOO
Azambuja, Diogo da ah-zahm-BOO-yah
Azcapotzalco ahs-kah-pô-TSAHL-kô
Azerbaijan ah-zuhr-bī-JAHN
Azores Ā-zorz

Babur BAH-buhr
Bactria BAK-tre-uh
Bahia buh-HĒ-uh
Bahrain bah-RĀN
Bajio bah-Ē-oh
Bal Tilak BAHL tē-LAHK
balam BAH-lam
Balboa, Vasco Núñez de bal-BŌ-uh
Balkh BAHLK
Baluchistan buh-loo-chi-STAN
Bani Hilal BAH-nē hē-LAHL
Baoyu BOU-yoo
Barbados bahr-BĀ-dōz
Barmakids BAHR-muh-kidz
bas-relief bah—ri-LĒF
Basque BASK
Bastille ba-STĒL
Batavia buh-TĀ-vē-uh
batik buh-TĒK
Batista, Fulgencio bah-TĒS-tah, fool-HEN-syō
Bayazid BAH-yah-zēd
Bayeux bah-YOO
Beauvais bō-VĀ
Begin, Menachem BĀ-gin, muh-NAH-kem
Behistun bā-hi-STOON
Beijing bā-JING
Bektashi bek-TAH-shē
Beltaine BEL-tān
Benguela ben-GĀ-luh
Berytus buh-RĪ-tus
biblion bi-BLE-ahn
Bight of Biafra BĪT of bē-AH-fruh
bilad al-Sudan bi-LAD uhs—soo-DAN
Bis im Pharrhof BĒS ēm FAHR-hôf
Blaise Diagne BLĀZ dē-AHN-yuh
blitzkrieg BLITS-krēg
Boccaccio, Giovanni bō-KAH-chē-ō, jē-uh-VAH-nē
bodhisattva bō-di-SUT-vuh

Bohai BŌ-HĪ
Bolívar, Simón bō-LĒ-vahr
Bologna buh-LŌN-yuh
Boniface BON-uh-fās
Bordeaux bor-DŌ
Bosch, Hieronymus BOSH, hī-RON-uh-muhs
Bosnia-Herzegovina BOZ-nē-uh—her-tsuh-gō-VĒ-nuh
Bosporus BOS-puhr-uhs
bourgeoisie bo͝or-zhwah-ZĒ
Brahe, Tycho BRAH-hē, TĒ-kō
Brazza, Savorgnan de brah-ZAH, sa-vor-NYAHN
Brescia BRE-shah
Bruges BROOZH
Brunei broo-NĪ
Buenos Aires BWE-nôs Ī-res
Bukhara boo-KAHR-uh
burgess BÛR-jis
burgh BÛRG
Burgoyne, "Gentleman Johnny" buhr-GOIN
Burma BÛR-muh
Buyid BOO-yid
Byblos BIB-los
Byrsa BÛR-suh
Byzantine BIZ-uhn-tēn

Cabral, Pedro Alvares KA-brahl
cacao kuh-KĀ-ō
Caesar SĒ-zuhr
caesaropapism sē-zuh-rō-PĀ-piz-uhm
Caffa KAH-fah
Cahokia kuh-HŌ-kē-uh
Cakchiquel kahk-chē-KEL
caliphal KAL-uh-fuhl
Calixtus kuh-LIK-stuhs
Cambyses kam-BĪ-sēz
Camões, Luís de kuh-MOINSH
Cao Cao TSOU TSOU
Cao Xueqin TSOU SHOO-EH-CHIN
Caramansa kah-rah-MAHN-sah
caravel KAR-uh-vel
Cárdenas, Lázaro KAHR-dn-ahs, LAH-sah-rō
Carnelian kahr-NĒL-yuhn
Carolingian kar-uh-LIN-juhn
Carranza, Venustiano kah-RAHN-sah
Carthaginian kahr-thuh-JIN-ē-uhn
Cartier, Jacques KAHR-tē-ā
Casas, Bartolomé de las KAH-sahs
cassia KASH-uh
castas KAH-stahs
Castiglione, Giuseppe kah-stē-LYÔ-nē
Castillo kahs-TĒ-lyō
Çatal Huyuk cha-TAHL hoo-YOOK
Catalan KAT-l-an
Caucasian kô-KĀ-zhuhn
Caucasus KÔ-kuh-suhs
caudillo kô-DĒL-yō
Ceausescu, Nicolae chou-SHES-koo, nē-kô-LĪ
celadon SEL-uh-don
Celt KELT
Cernunnos KÛRN-yoo-nuhs
Cervantes, Miguel de suhr-VAN-tes
Cetshwayo ke-CHWĪ-ō
Ceuta sā-OO-tuh
Champagne shahm-PAHN-yuh
Champlain, Samuel de shahm-PLĀN
Chan CHAHN
Chandigarh CHUN-dē-guhr
Chang´an CHAHNG AHN
Charlemagne SHAHR-luh-mān
Cheka CHĀ-kuh
cheque CHEK
Chiang Kai-shek CHANG KĪ-SHEK
Chiapas chē-AH-pahs
Chihuahua chuh-WAH-wah
Chile CHĒ-le
chinoiserie shēn-wah-zuh-RĒ
Chishti CHISH-tē
Choctaw CHOK-tô
cinchona sing-KŌ-nuh
Circassian suhr-KASH-ē-uhn
Clairvaux klār-VŌ
Clemenceau, Georges klem-uhn-SŌ
cloisonné kloi-zuh-NĀ
Cluny KLOO-nē
Cnossus KNOS-uhs
Coeur, Jacques KÛR
Colbert, Jean Baptiste kôl-BÂR
Comanche kuh-MAN-chē
Comnenus, Alexius kom-NĒ-nuhs, uh-LEK-sē-uhs
Condorcanqui kon-dor-KAHN-kē
conquistadore kon-KĒ-stuh-dor
Constantinople kon-stan-tuh-NŌ-puhl
Le Corbusier luh kor-boo-ZYĀ
Cortés, Hernán kor-TEZ, âr-NAHN
costaria coh-STAH-rē-uh
Costilla, Hidalgo y Ē kōs-TĒ-yah
Coucacou koo-KAH-koo
courtiers KOR-tē-uhr
Creditanstalt crā-DĒT-ahn-shtahlt
creole KRĒ-ōl
Crimea krī-MĒ-uh
Crimean krī-MĒ-uhn
cruzado kroo-ZAH-dō
Cugnot coo-NYŌ
cuneiform kyoo-NĒ-uh-form
curia KYO͝OR-ē-uh
Cuzco KOOS-kō
Cyclopes sī-KLŌ-pēz
Cyrillic si-RIL-ik
Czech CHEK

Daedalus DED-l-uhs
Dahomey duh-HŌ-mē
Daiyu DĪ-yoo
Dalai lama DAH-lī LAH-muh
Daoist DOU-ist
Dardanelles dahr-dn-ELZ
Darius duh-RĪ-uhs
Date Masamuni DAH-tā mah-sah-MOO-nē
Daulatabad dou-LAT-ah-bahd
Davar dah-VAHR
Deccan DEK-uhn
Dehua DUH-HWAH
Deir el-Bahri DYYR uhl—BAH-rē
Delft DELFT
Delhi DEL-ē
Deshima DE-shē-mah
Deuteronomic doo-tuhr-uh-NOM-ik
devshirme dev-shēr-MEE
dhikr DIK-uhr
dhow DOU
Dhuoda doo-WOH-duh
Diderot, Denis DĒ-duh-rō, duh-NĒ
Dido DĪ-dō
Dienbienphu dyen-byen-FOO
dinar di-NAHR
Diodorus dī-ō-DOR-uhs
Dionysia dī-uh-NIZH-ē-uh
diorite DĪ-uh-rīt
dirham di-RAM
Djoser JŌ-sûr
Donatism DON-uh-tiz-uhm
Dravidian druh-VID-ē-uhn
dromedary DROM-i-der-ē
Druids DROO-ids
Du Bois, Eugene doo-BWAH
Du Bois, W. E. B. doo-BOIS
ducat DUK-uht
duchy DUCH-ē
Dur DOOR
Durkheim, Émile DÛRK-hīm, ā-MĒL
Dyula DYO͝O-la

Ebla Ē-bluh
Eblaite Ē-bluh-īt
ecclesiastical i-klē-zē-AS-ti-kuhl
Ecuador EK-wuh-dor
Edessa i-DES-uh
Ekwesh EK-wesh
Elamites Ē-luh-mīt

emir i-MÎR
encomenderos en-kō-MĒN-der-ōs
encomienda en-kō-mē-EN-duh
Enkidu EN-kē-doo
ensete en-SE-tā
entente on-TONT
entrepôt ON-truh-pō
épée ā-PĀ
Epistle i-PIS-uhl
epoch EP-uhk
Epona e-PŌ-nuh
Equiano, Olaudah ā-kwē-AH-noo, ō-LOU-duh
Erasmus i-RAZ-muhs
Eritrea er-i-TRĒ-uh
Erythraean er-i-THRĒ-uhn
Eugenie œ-zhā-NĒ
eunuch YOO-nuhk
Euphrates yoo-FRĀ-tēz
Exchequer EKS-chek-uhr
Ezana ē-ZAH-nah

Faisal FĪ-suhl
Faiyum fī-YOOM
Falasha fuh-LAH-shuh
Faruq fuh-ROOK
fascisti fah-SHĒ-stē
Fatimid FAT-uh-mid
Ferghana fuhr-GAH-nuh
feudum FYOO-duhm
Fibonacci fē-bō-NAH-chē
fief FĒF
frater FRĀ-tuhr
Frumentius froo-MEN-shuhs
Fuggers FOOG-uhrz
Führer FYO͝OR-uhr
Fujiwara foo-jē-WAHR-uh
Fustat fus-TAHT

Gabriel, José gah-BRĒ-el
Gabriol GĀ-brē-uhl
Galilei, Galileo gal-uh-LĀ, gal-uh-LĒ-ō
Gallipoli guh-LIP-uh-lē
Gamal Abd al-Nasir gah-MAHL abd—uhn-NAH-suhr
Gandhi, Indira or Rajiv GAHN-dē
Ganges GAN-jēz
Gansu GAHN-SOO
Gath GATH
gaucho GOU-chō
Gaugemela GÔ-guh-mē-luh
Gdansk guh-DAHNSK
Ge Hong GUH HOONG
Gebel Barkal JEB-uhl BAHR-kahl
Genghis Khan JEN-gis KAHN
genista juh-NIS-tuh
Genoese JEN-ō-ēz
Gezer GE-zuhr
Ghana GAH-nuh
Ghat GAHT
Ghazan gah-ZAHN
Ghent GENT
Ghiyas al-Din GĒ-YAHS ad-DĒN
Ghurkhas GUHR-kuhz
Gila River HĒ-luh
Giotto JOT-ō
Girondist juh-RON-dist
Giza GĒ-zuh
glasnost GLAHS-nôst
Go-Daigo GŌ—DĪ-gō
Goa GO-uh
Gobi Desert GŌ-bē
Gomorrah guh-MOR-uh
Graeci GRĪ-kē
Gran, Ahmed GRAHN, AH-muhd
Guadeloupe GWOD-l-oop
Guangxu GWAHNG-JOO
Guangzhou GWAHNG-JŌ
Guangzi GWAHNG-SHĒ
Guatemala gwah-tuh-MAH-luh
guerrilla guh-RIL-uh
Guevara, Che guh-VAHR-uh, CHĀ
Guiana gē-AH-nuh
Guillaume gē-YŌM
guillotine GĒ-uh-tēn
Gujarat goo-juh-RAHT
gulag GOO-lahg
Guo Shijie GWŌ SHÛR-jē-yeh
Guomindang GWŌ-MIN-DAHNG
Guyuk GUH-YOOK

hadith hah-DĒTH
Hafiz HAH-fiz
Hagia Sophia HĀ-jē-uh SŌ-fē-uh
Hainan HĪ-NAHN
Hajj Bektash HAH-jee bek-TAHSH
Hakkas HAHK-kahz
Hakra River HAK-ruh
halal hah-LAHL
Halevi, Judah hah-LĀ-vē
Halicarnassus hal-i-kahr-NAS-uhs
Hamadan ham-uh-DAN
Hammurabi HAM-uh-rah-bē
Hangzhou HAHNG JŌ
Hanoverian han-ō-VÎR-ē-uhn
Hanseatic han-sē-AT-ik
harem HÂR-uhm
harijan HAH-rē-jahn
Harkhuf HAHR-koof
Harun al-Rashid hah-ROON al—rah-SHĒD
Hatshepsut hat-SHEP-so͝ot
Hattusha haht-to͝o-SHAH
hauberk HÔ-bûrk
Hausa HOU-suh
Havel, Vaclav hah-VEL
hectare HEK-târ
Heike HĀ-KEH
heknu HEK-noo
Heliopolis hē-lē-OP-uh-lis
Hellenes HE-lēnz
helot HEL-uht
Henan HŒ-NAHN
henequen HEN-i-kwin
Herat he-RAHT
Herero huh-RÂR-ō
heretical huh-RET-i-kuhl
Herodotus he-ROD-uh-tuhs
Heshen huh-SHUN
Heyerdhal, Thor HĀ-uhr-dahl
hieroglyphics hī-ruh-GLIF-iks
hijra HIJ-ruh
Himalaya HIM-uh-lā-uh
Himyar HIM-yuhr
Hippalus HIP-uh-luhs
Hittite HIT-īt
Ho Chi Minh HŌ CHĒ MIN
Hohenstaufen hō-uhn-SHTOU-fuhn
Hokulea hō-koo-LĀ-ah
hominid HOM-uh-nid
Homo erectus HŌ-mō I-REK-tuhs
Homo habilis HŌ-mō HAB-uh-luhs
Homo sapiens HŌ-mō SĀ-pē-enz
Hong Xiuquan HOONG SHĒ-Ō-choo-wan
Honglou Meng HOONG-lō MUNG
Houphouet-Boigny, Félix oo-FWĀ—bwah-NYĒ, fā-LĒKS
Huang Chao HWANG CHOU
Huang Da Po HWAHNG DAH PŌ
Huang He HWANG HUH
Huantar, Chavin de HWAHN-tahr, CHAH-vēn dā
Huaqing HWA-CHING
Huari HWAHR-ē
Huguenot HYOO-guh-not
Huitzilopochtli wē-tsē-lō-POCH-tlē
Hulegu HOO-luh-goo
Huna Capac WĪ-nah kah-PAHK
Husayn, Saddam hoo-SAYN, Sah-DAHM
Hwangnyang-sa HWAHNG-NYUHNG SAH
Hyksos HIK-sōs
Hystaspes his-TAS-pēz

Ibadan ē-BAH-dahn
Ibn al-Arabi IB-uhn ahl-AH-rah-bē
Ibn Battuta IB-uhn ba-TOOT-tuh
ibn Ezra, Abraham IB-uhn ĒZ-ruh

Ibn Khaldun IB-uhn khahl-DOON
Ibn Rushd IB-uhn RUSHD
Ibn Saud IB-uhn sah-OOD
Ibn Sina IB-uhn SĒ-nah
Ibn Tufayl IB-uhn too-FAYL
Ibn Tumart IB-uhn TOO-mahrt
Ibo Ē-bō
Il Duce il DOO-chā
Il-khan ĒL-KAHN
Iliad IL-ē-ad
indigénat in-di-jay-NOT
ingenio in-HĒN-yoh
Iolcus YOL-kuhs
Iona ī-Ō-nuh
iqta ik-TUH
Iranian i-RAH-nē-uhn
Iroquois IR-uh-kwoi
Isandhlwana ē-sahn-LWAHN-nuh
Isfahan is-fuh-HAHN
Ismail is-MAH-ēl
Iturbide, Augustín ē-tŏŏr-BĒ-dā
Ituri ē-TOO-rē
Izmir IZ-mēr

Ja'far JAH-far
Jacobin JAK-uh-bin
Jacquerie zhahk-uh-RĒ
Jagadai JAH-gah-dī
Jam'at-i Tabligh jam-AHT-uh tab-LĒG
Janissary JAN-i-ser-ē
Jeanneret, Charles Édouard Zhe-nuh-RAY
Jericho JER-i-kō
Jiang Qing JYAHN CHING
Jiménez hē-ME-nes
Jin JIN
Jingdezhen JING-DUH-JŒN
Jinnah jē-NAH
jizya JIZ-yuh
Juárez, Benito HWAH-res
Junta HO͝ON-tuh
Jurchen JUHR-CHEN
Juvaini JOO-VĪ-NĒ

Ka'ba KAH-buh
Kabul KAH-buhl
kaffiya kah-FĒ-uh
Kahlo, Frida KAH-lō, FRĒ-duh
Kaifeng kī-FUNG
Kaiser KĪ-zuhr
Kalahari kah-luh-HAHR-ē
Kalhu KAL-oo
Kamakura kah-mah-KOO-rah
Kanagawa kah-nah-GAH-wah
Kanem kah-NEHM
Kanem-Bornu KAH-nuhm—BOR-noo
Kangxi KAHNG-SHĒ
Kanishka ka-NISH-kuh
Kara-Khitai KARA—Kē-TĪ
Karakorum kahr-uh-KOR-uhm
Kashgar KASH-gahr
Kassite KAS-īt
Kathiawar kah-tē-uh-WAHR
Kazakh KAH-zahk
Kazakhstan KAH-zahk-stahn
Kepler, Johannes KEP-luhr, YO-hahn
Keraits KEH-RĪTS
Khadija ka-DĒ-juh
Khalifa kah-LĒ-fuh
Khan-balikh KAHN—BAH-lik
Khanate KAH-nāt
Kharijite KAHR-uh-jīt
Khartoum kahr-TOOM
Khayyam, Omar kī-YAM
Khedive kuh-DĒV
Khefren KEF ren
Khelat kuh-LAHT
Khitai kē-TĪ
Kho KŌ
Khoisan KOI-sahn
Khomeini, Ruhollah khoh-MAY-nee, ROO-hoh-luh
Khrushchev, Nikita KRUUSH-chyof
Khubilai KOO-buh-lī
Khufu KOO-foo
Khurasan kor-uh-SAHN
khuriltai KOO-ril-tī
Khwarasm KWAH-RAZ-um
Kiet Siel KAYT SEL
Kiev KĒ-ef
Kikuyu ki-KOO-yoo
Kitans KĒ-TANS
Kivas KĒ-vuhs
Kojiki KŌ-JĒ-kē
Kongjo KONG-JŌ
Koryo KOR-yō
Kosovo KÔ-sô-vô
Krac des Chevalliers KRAHK day shuh-vahl-YAY
Krishna KRISH-nuh
kulak KOO-lak
Kyrgyzstan KÎR-gē-stahn

Lab'ayu luh-BAH-yoo
labyrinth LAB-uh-rinth
Lahore luh-HOR
laissez-faire LES-ā FÂR
Lamaism LAH-muh-iz-uhm
Lambeyeque lam-bay-YAY-kay
Languedoc lahng-DÔK
Laos LOUS
lapis lazuli LAP-is LAZ-uh-lē
Lascaux la-SKŌ
Lebensraum LĀ-buhns-roum
legume LEG-yoom
Leiden LĪD-n
Leptis Magna LEP-tis MAG-nuh
Lesotho luh-SŌ-tō
Levant luh-VANT
Li Qingzhao LĒ CHING-JOU
Li Shizhen LĒ shûr-JEN
Liao LYOU
Liaodong LYOU-DONG
Liège lē-EZH
Liliuokalani lē-lē-oo-ō-kah-LAH-nē
Lima LĒ-muh
Lin Zexu LĒN zuh-SHOO
lineage LIN-ē-ij
Liuqiu lē-Ō-chē-ō
loess LES
Lucca LOOK-kah
Luddite LUD-īt
lugal LOO-guhl
Luo Guanzhong LÔ GWAHNG-JOONG
Luoyang LWŌ-yahng
Lusiads loo-SĒ-uds
Lusitania loo-si-TĀ-nē-uh
Lysistrata lis-uh-STRAH-tuh

ma'at muh-AHT
Ma Huan MAH HWAHN
Macao muh-KOU
Madeira muh-DĒR-uh
madrasa MA-dras-uh
Maharaja mah-huh-RAH-juh
Maharashtra mah-huh-RAHSH-truh
Mahayana mah-huh-YAH-nuh
Mainz MĪNTS
maize MĀZ
Malagasy mal-uh-GAS-ē
malam MAH-lahm
Malawi muh-LAH-wē
Malay muh-LĀ
Malinke muh-LING-kā
Mallia mahl-YAH
Manchukuo MAN-CHOO-KWŌ
manganese MANG-guh-nēs
Manichaean man-i-KĒ-uhn
Manichee MAN-i-kē
manikongo mah-NĒ-KÔNG-gō
manioc MAN-ē-ok
Mansa Kankan Musa MAHN-suh KAHN-kahn MOO-suh
mansab MAN-suhb
mansabdar man-suhb-DAHR
Mantua MAN-choo-uh
Manzikert MANZ-i-kuhrt
Mao Zedong MOU DZUH-DONG
Maori MAH-ô-rē
Maraga mah-rah-GAH

Maratha muh-RAH-tuh
mare librum MAH-rā LĒ-brum
mare nostrum MAH-rā NO-struhm
Mari MAH-rē
Marne MAHRN
Maronnage mah-ruh-NAHZH
Marquesas mahr-KĀ-suhs
Marquis mahr-KĒ
Marrakesh mar-uh-KESH
Martinique mahr-ti-NĒK
martyr MAHR-tuhr
Maruz muh-ROOZ
Mashhad mahsh-HAHD
matriarchy MĀ-trē-ahr-kē
matrilineal mat-ruh-LIN-ē-uhl
Maule MÔL
Mauritius mô-RISH-uhs
Maurya MORYA
Maya MAH-yuh
Mazzini, Giuseppe maht-SĒ-nē, joo-ZEP-pe
Mbuti uhm-BOO-tē
Mede MĒD
Medici MED-i-chē
Medoi MĀ-doy
Megara MEG-uh-ruh
Mehmed ME-met
Meiji MĀ-jē
Mein Kampf MĪN KAHMPF
Mejid, Abdul me-JĒD
Melanesia mel-uh-NĒ-zhuh
Melgart MEL-kahrt
Menes MĒ-nēz
Meroë MER-ō-ē
Merovingian mer-uh-VIN-juhn
mestizo mes-TĒ-zō
Metternich MET-uhr-nik
Mevlevi MEV-le-vē
Mexica MEK-si-kah
Michaelangelo mī-kuhl-AN-juh-lō
Michoacán MĒ-chô-ah-kahn
Minas Gerais MĒN-ahs JAYR-yys
Mindanao min-duh-NAH-ō
Minoan mi-NŌ-uhn
Minotaur MIN-uh-tor
Mitanni mi-TAH-nē
Mitsui mē-TSOO-yē
mitt'a MIT-uh
Moche MOK
Mochica mō-CHĒ-kuh
Moctezuma môk-ti-ZOO-muh
Mohenjo-Daro mō-hen-jō—DAHR-ō
monasticism muh-NAS-tuh-siz-uhm
Mongke MUHNG-KUH
monophysite muh-NOF-uh-sīt
Montpellier mōn-pel-YĀ
Mosul MOH-suhl
Mozambique mō-zam-BĒK
Mu'awiya moo-AH-wē-yuh
muezzin moo-EZ-in
Mughal MOO-guhl
muhtasib muh-TAH-sib
mulatto mo͝o-LAH-tō
Muscovite MUS-kuh-vīt
Musqat MUS-kat
Mutsuhito moo-tsoo-HĒ-tō
Myanmar myahn-MAH
Mycenae mī-SĒ-nē
Mycenaean mī-suh-NĒ-uhn
myrrh MÛR
Mysore mī-SOR

Nabataean nab-uh-TĒ-uhn
Nabopolassar NAB-ō-pō-las-uhr
Najaf NA-jaf
Nanking NAN-king
Nantes NAHNT
Nanzhao nahn-JOU
Napata na-PĀ-tuh
naphtha NAF-thuh
Naqshbandi naksh-BAN-dē
Nasir al-Din NAH-zuhr ad—DĒN
nawab nuh-WOB
Nazi NAHT-sē
nazir NA-zir
Ndebele nn-duh-BĀ-lā
Neanderthal nē-AN-duhr-thôl
Nebuchadnezzar NAB-oo-kuhd-nez-uhr
Nefertiti nef-uhr-TĒ-tē
Nehru, Jawaharlal NĀ-roo
New Guinea new GIN-ē
Ngo Dinh Diem NGŌ DĒN DYEM
Nguni nn-GOO-nē
Nian NYAHN
Nicaea nī-SĒ-uh
Nineveh NIN-uh-vuh
Nishapur ni-shah-PO͝OR
Nizam al-Mulk nee-ZAHM ulh—MOOLK
Nkrumah, Kwame nn-KROO-muh, KWAH-mee
Novgorod NOV-guh-rod
Nuer NOO-uhr
Nyamwezi nn-nyahm-WĀ-zē
Nyasaland NYAH-sah-land
Nyssa NĪ-suh

oba Ō-buh
ochre Ō-kuhr
Oduduwa o-DOO-doo-wah
Ogodei UH-GUH-DĀ
Olduvai ol-DOO-vī
oligarchy OL-i-gahr-kē
Omani ō-MAH-nē
Ophir ō-FĒR
ordu OR-doo
Orinoco or-uh-NŌ-kō
orthopraxy or-thuh-PRAK-sē
Osiris ō-SĪ-ris
Oudh OUD

Páez, José Antonio PAH-es
pagani pah-GAH-nē
Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza PAH-luh-vē
Palenque pah-LENG-ke
Palmares PAL-muh-ruhs
Palmyra pal-MĪ-ruh
Palmyrene pal-MĪ-rēn
Pamir pah-MĒR
Pampas PAM-puhz
Panathenaea pan-ath-uh-NĒ-uh
papacy PĀ-puh-sē
papyrus puh-PĪ-ruhs
Paraguay PAR-uh-gwī
Pasha, Ibrahim PAH-shuh, ib-rah-HĒM
patriarchate PĀ-trē-ahr-kit
patrie PAH-trē
patrilineal pat-ruh-LIN-ē-uhl
Peng Yu PUHNG YOO
perestroika per-i-STROI-kuh
Pericles PER-i-klēz
Pernambuco PÛR-nuhm-byoo-kō
Petrarch, Francesco PĒ-trahrk, fran-CHES-kō
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phalanx FĀ-langks
Phnom Penh puh-NOM PEN
Phoenician fi-NĒ-shuhn
Phoinikes FOY-nē-kes
Phosphoric fos-FOR-ik
Piccolomini PĒ-kuh-lō-MĒ-nē
piety PĪ-i-tē
Piraeus pi-RĀ-uhs
Pisistratus pī-SIS-truh-tuhs
Pizarro pi-ZAHR-ō
Plateau pla-TŌ
Pleistocene PLĪ-stuh-sēn
Po Zhuyi BŌ JOO-YĒ
pogrom PŌ-gruhm
polis PŌ-lis
Pondicherry pon-di-CHER-ē
pontifex maximus PON-tuh-feks MAK-suh-muhs
Prometheus pruh-MĒ-thē-uhs
Provençal prō-vuhn-SAHL
Ptah ptah
Ptolemy TOL-uh-mē
Pueblo Bonito PWEB-lō buh-NĒ-tō

Punt po͞ont
Pygmy PIG-mē
Pylos PĒ-lōs
pyre PĪR
Pyrenees PIR-uh-nēz
Pythagoras pi-THAG-uhr-uhs
Pythia PITH-ē-uh

Qadiri KAH-duh-rē
Qairawan kyyr-ah-WAHN
qanat Kah-NAHT
Qatabah KA-tuh-buh
Qatar KAH-tar
Qianlong CHĒ-EN-LONG
Qiantang CHĒ-EN-TAHNG
Qin CHIN
Qing CHING
Qinghai CHING-HĪ
qizilbash ki-zil-BAHSH
Québec kā-BEK
Québecois kā-be-KWAH
Querétaro ke-RE-tah-rō
Quetzalcoatl ket-sahl-kō-AHT-l
quilombos kē-LŌM-bōs
quinoa KĒN-wah
quipu KĒ-poo
Quixote ē-HŌ-tē
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Quraysh kuu-RYYSH

Rabban Sauma RAH-BAHN SOU-mah
Rabelais, François RAB-uh-lā
rah RAH
Rai RYY
Rajput RAHJ-poot
Ramesses ram-i-SĒZ
Rashid al-Din rah-SHĒD ad—DĒN
Ravenna ruh-VEN-uh
raya RAH-yuh
Rayy RĀ
Re RĀ
Reichstag RĪKS-tahg
Remarque ri-MAHRK
Ricci, Matteo RĒ-chē, mah-TĀ-ō
Richelieu rē-shuh-LYO͝O
rinji RIN-jē
Rio de Janeiro RĒ-ō dā zhuh-NÂR-ō
Rio de la Plata RĒ-ō dā lah PLAH-tah
Robespierre, Maximilien ROBZ-pē-âr
Roca, Julio RŌ-kuh
Romanesque rō-muh-NESK
ronin RŌ-nin
Rosas, Huan Manuel de duh RŌ-sahs
rouble ROO-buhl
Ruhr RO͝OR
Rwanda roo-AHN-duh

Saadi SAH-dē
Saarinen, Eero SAHR-uh-nuhn
Safavid SAH-fah-vid
Sahel SAH-hil
Said sah-ĒD
Sake SAH-kē
Salamis SAH-lah-mēs
Samaj, Brahmo suh-MAHJ, BRAH-mō
Samarkand SAM-uhr-kand
samorin SAH-muh-rin
samurai SAM-o͞o-rī
São Tomé SOU tō-MĀ
saqiya suh-KĒ-yuh
Saqqara suh-KAHR-uh
Saracen SAR-uh-suhn
Sarepta suh-REP-tuh
Sargon SAHR-gon
Sasanid suh-SAH-nid
sati su-TĒ
satrap SĀ-trap
satyagraha suh-TYAH-gruh-huh
sawahil suh-WAH-hil
Shechem SHĒ-kuhm
schism SKIZ-uhm
Schliemann SHLĒ-mahn
Scythian SITH-ē-uhn
Seine SEN
Sekigahara se-kē-GA-HAH-ra
Seleucid si-LOO-sid
Selim se-LEEM
Seljuk sel-JOOK
Semitic suh-MIT-ik
Senegalese sen-uh-gah-LĒZ
sepoy SĒ-poi
seppuku SE-poo-ko͞o
Sesshu ses-SHOO
Seville suh-VIL
Sèvres SEV-ruh
Shaanxi SHAHN-SHĒ
Shahansha SHAH-han-SHAH
shahid sha-HĒD
shaitan shī-TAHN
Shalmaneser shal-muh-NĒ-zuhr
Shamir, Yitzhak shah-MĒR
Shang SHAHNG
Shari´a shah-RĒ-ah
Sharrukin SHAH-roo-kēn
shawabti shuh-WAB-tē
Shechem shuh-KEM
Shephelah she-FE-luh
Shi'a SHĒ-uh
Shi'ism SHĒ-iz-uhm
Shi´ite SHĒ-īt
Shiraz shē-RAHZ
Shuwardata shoo-wuhr-DUH-tuh
sian SĒ-ahn
Sichuan SECH-WAHN
Sidon SĪD-n
Siena sē-EN-uh
Sierra Leone sē-ER-uh lē-ŌN
Sijilmasa si-jil-MA-suh
Sikh SĒK
Sind SIND
Singhalese sing-guh-LĒZ
Sinhalese sin-huh-LĒZ
Sioux SOO
Socotra suh-KŌ-truh
Sodom SOD-uhm
Sogdian SOG-dē-uhn
Sogdiana sog-dē-AN-uh
Solzhenitzyn, Alexander sōl-zhuh-NĒT-sin
Son SUN
sorghum SOR-guhm
Sousse SOOS
Sri Lanka SRĒ LAHNG-kuh
Srivijaya srē-VI-juh-yuh
Sry Darya SHRĒ DAHR-yah
Steppe STEP
Strabo STRĀ-bō
Strachey, John STRA-chē
styrax STĪ-raks
Subudei SUH-BUH-DĀ
suffetes SOO-fētz
Suhrawardi suh-ruh-WAHR-dē
Sui SWĒ
Suleiman SOO-lā-mahn
Sumanguru soo-muhn-GOO-roo
Summa Theologica SO͝OM-uh thē-uh-LOJ-i-kuh
Sundiata soon-JAH-tuh
Surat SO͝OR-uht
suzerainty SOO-zuh-rin-tē
Suzhou SOO-JŌ
Swahili swah-HĒ-lē
Swidden SWID-n
Sylvius, Aeneas SIL-vē-uhs, in-Ē-uhs

Tabriz tah-BRĒZ
Tahert TAH-huhrt
Tahmasp tah-MAHSP
Tahyast TAH-yast
Ta sety TUH-SE-tē
Taika TĪ-kah
Taiping TĪ-ping
Tajik tah-JIK
Takla Makan TAH-kluh muh-KAHN
Talmud TAHL-mo͝od
Tamburlaine TAM-buhr-lān
Tamerlane TAM-uhr-lān
Tang TAHNG
Tanganyika tahn-guh-NYĒ-kuh
Tangguts TAHNG-GOOTS
Tangier tan-JÎR

Tanit TAH-nit
Tarim TAH-rēm
Tashkent tahsh-KENT
Tassili ta-SEE-lee
Tawantinsuyu tah-wahn-teen-SOO-yoo
te TĀ
Techuacán te-choo-uh-KAHN
Tecumseh ti-KUM-suh
Temeh TĒM
Temüjin TEM-oo-chin
La Tene lah TEN
tenno TEN-NŌ
Tenochtitlán te-NÔCH-tē-tlahn
Tenskwatawa ten-SKWAHT-uh-wah
Teotihuacán tā-uh-tē-wah-KAHN
terik te-RĒK
Teutonic too-TON-ik
Téwodros tā-WŌ-druhs
Thar Desert TAHR
Theodosius thē-uh-DŌ-shuhs
Thermopylae thuhr-MOP-uh-lē
Theseus THĒ-sē-uhs
Thesmophoria thes-mō-FŌ-rē-uh
Thucydides thoo-SID-i-dēz
Tiahuanaco tē-uh-wuh-NAH-kō
Tiamat TYAH-maht
Tian TĒ-EN
Tibesti tē-BES-tē
Tien Shan TYEN SHAHN
Tiglathpileser TIG-lath-pi-LĒ-zuhr
Tigris TĪ-gris
Tikal tē-KAHL
Timur Lenk ti-MO͝OR LENK
Timur-i lang tē-MOOR—yē LAHNG
Timurid ti-MO͝OR-id
Tiryns TÎR-inz
Tito TĒ-tō
Tlaloc tlah-LŌK
Tlateloca tlah-tay-LOH-koh
Tlemcen tlem-SEN
Tocqueville, Alexis de TŌK-vil
Todaiji tō-DĪ-jē
Toghoril TŌ-guh-rul
Tokugawa Ieyasu tō-kō-GA-wa Ē-yeh-YAH-suh
Tongzhi toong-JÛR
tophets TŌ-fet
Topiltzin toh-PĒLT-seen
Tordesillas tor-duh-SĒ-yuhs
Toulouse too-LOOZ
Touré, Sékou too-RĀ, SĀ-koo
Transoxiana trans-ox-ē-AHN-ah
Trianon trē-ah-NŌ
Tripitaka tri-PIT-uh-kuh
Tripoli TRIP-uh-lē
trireme TRĪ-rēm
Trujillo troo-HĒ-ō
tsar ZAHR
Tsirinana, Philibert tsē-RAH-nah-nah
Tsushima TSOO-shē-mah
Tuareg TWAH-reg
Tughril TUUG-ruhl
Tunisia too-NĒ-zhuh
Tupac Amaru TOO-pahk ah-MAH-roo
Turkic TÛR-kik
Tuscany TUS-kuh-nē
Tutankhamun toot-ahng-KAH-muhn
Tuthmosis tuth-MŌ-sis
Tyre TĪR
Tyrolian Alps ti-RŌ-lē-uhn

Uaxactún wahsh-ahk-TOON
Ugarit OO-guh-rēt
Uigur WĒ-go͝or
ulamai OO-luh-mā
Umayyad oo-MĪ-ad
umma UM-uh
Upanishads oo-PAHN-i-shahds
Urartu o͝o-RAHR-too
Urdu O͝OR-doo
Urugu YO͝OR-uh-gwī
Uruk OO-ro͝ok
Usuman dan Fodio OO-soo-mahn duhn FŌD-yō
Uthman uuth-MAHN
Uzbekistan o͝oz-BEK-i-stan

Vairocana VĪ-rō-chah-nah
Vallon-Pont-d'Arc vah-LON—pon—DAHRK
van Eyck, Jan vahn ĪK, YAHN
Verde VÛRD
Versailles vuhr-SĪ
Vijayanagar vē-juh-yah-NAH-gahr
Vizier vi-ZÎR
Vladivostok vlad-uh-VOS-tok

Wafd WAHFT
Walesa, Lech wah-LEN-suh, LEK
Walpurga val-PO͝OR-gah
Wang Jinghong WAHNG JING-hong
Wazir wuh-ZĒR
Wehrmacht VĀR-mahkt
Wei WĀ
Weizmann, Chaim WĪTS-muhn, KHĪ-im
Whorl HWORL
Whydah HWĪ-duh
Wojtyla, Karol voy-TĒ-luh
Wu Cheng´en WOO CHUNG-UHN
Wu Jingzi WOO JING-zuh
Wu Zhao WOO JOU

Xanadu ZAN-uh-doo
Xavier, Francis ZĀ-vē-uhr
Xenophon ZĒN-uh-fuhn
Xhosa KŌ-suh
Xi´an SHĒ-AN
Xia SHYAH
Xiang SHYAHNG
Xinjiang SHIN-JYAHNG
Xiongnu SHĒ-OONG-noo
Xu Guangqi SOO GWAHNG-CHĒ
Xu Wei SOO WĀ
Xuan de SHOO-WEN-DEH
Xuanzang SHOO-WEN-ZAHNG

Yahweh YAH-wā
Yang Guifei YAHNG GWĀ-FĀ
Yangdi YAHNG-DĒ
Yangzi YANG-ZUH
Yaqui YAH-kē
Yazdigird YAZ-duh-guhrd
Yazid ya-ZĒD
Yelu Chucai YEH-LŌ CHOO-tsī
yeni cheri YEN-i CHE-rē
yerba YÂR-buh
Yi Son-sin YĒ SUN-shin
Yongle YOONG-LÔ
Ypres Ē-pruh
Yuan Shihkai yoo-AHN shē-KĪ
Yucatán yoo-kuh-TAN

Za-ar ZAH—ahr
Zagros ZAG-ruhs
Zaibatsu ZĪ-bah-tsoo
Zaire zah-ĒR
Zarathushtra zar-uh-THOO-struh
zealots ZEL-uht
Zeng Guofan TSUNG GWŌ-FAN
Zhang Qian JAHNG CHĒ-EN
Zhapu JAH-poo
Zheng He JUNG HUH
Zhou JŌ
Zhu Shijie JOO SHÛR-jē-yeh
Zhu Yuanzhang JOO YOO-WEN-JAHNG
ziggurat ZIG-uh-rat
Zimbabwe zim-BAHB-wā
Zin CHIN
Zollverein TSOL-fer-īn
Zoroastrianism zor-ō-AS-trē-uh-niz-uhm
Zumárraga zoo-MAH-rah-gah
Zworykin, Vladimir ZWOR-i-kin, VLAD-uh-mír

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ERA IX - The Twentieth Century Since 1945

Eastern Mediterranean Area 1945-1990 ..
The Korean and Vietnam Wars .....
Post War United States, Caribbean, and Central America .....
Political and Military Alliances-1990 .....
Economic Alliances-1990 .....
World Gross Domestic Product .....
World Literacy .....
World Languages .....
World Religions .....
The Physical World Today 10
The Political World Today 10

Introduction

Information about the past is compiled, stored, and made accessible in a variety of ways. One of these ways is historical maps. Historical maps provide a chronology of important events and show the impact these events had on the places where they occurred. Historical maps support and extend information from primary historical resources such as letters, treaties, and census data. Historical maps are summaries of past events presented in graphic form.

The maps in the Rand McNally *Historical Atlas of the World* portray the rich panoply of the world's history from preliterate times to the present. They show how cultures and civilizations were linked and how they interacted. These maps make it clear that history is not static. Rather, it is about change and movement across time. The maps in this atlas show change by presenting the dynamics of expansion, cooperation, and conflict.

Benefits of Using the Rand McNally *Historical Atlas of the World*

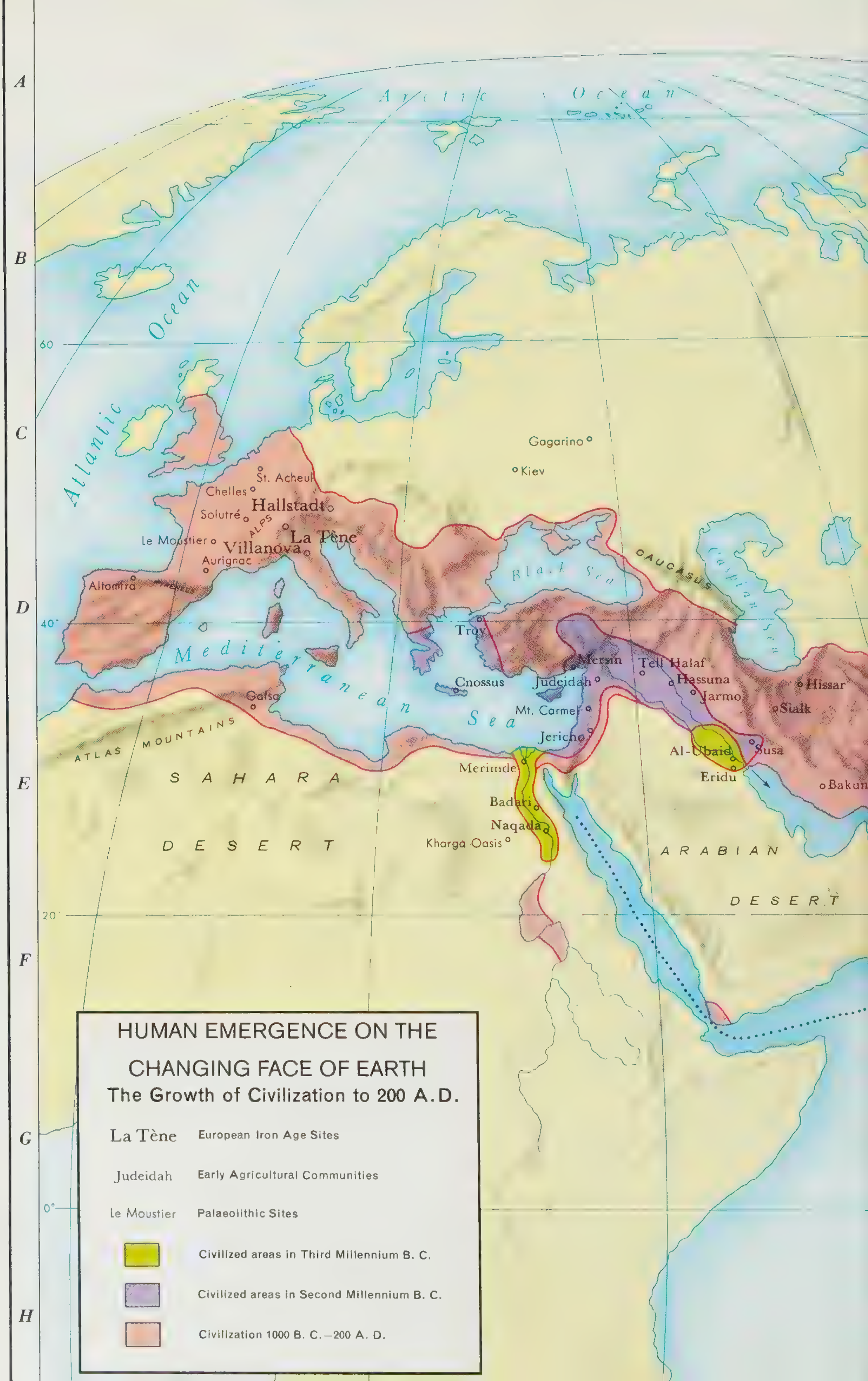
Events gain fuller meaning.
Knowing where events took place gives them fuller meaning and often explains causes and effects. For example, the map showing Russia's expansion in Europe clearly illustrates a major territorial goal of the czars was to access warm water ports that would connect their realm to the world's seas and oceans.

Connections among events are clarified.
Through the visual power of historical maps, the links between and among events become clearer. The maps showing diffusion of languages and religions are good illustrations of this, as is the map of Native Americans that details the rise and fall of indigenous peoples of North and South America.

Similarities and differences become apparent.
The maps in this historical atlas provide the opportunity to compare and contrast places over time. The maps of Africa in the 10th and 15th centuries present time capsules of human migrations. They also act as an inventory of the continent's resources in two specific time frames.

The influence of sense of place is conveyed.
Maps in this atlas can convey a people's sense of place at a particular time in history. The map of Europe's Age of Discovery is a good illustration. The cartographer has deliberately centered the continent so the map's projection reflects the extent and ambition of Europe's exploration at the end of the Renaissance.

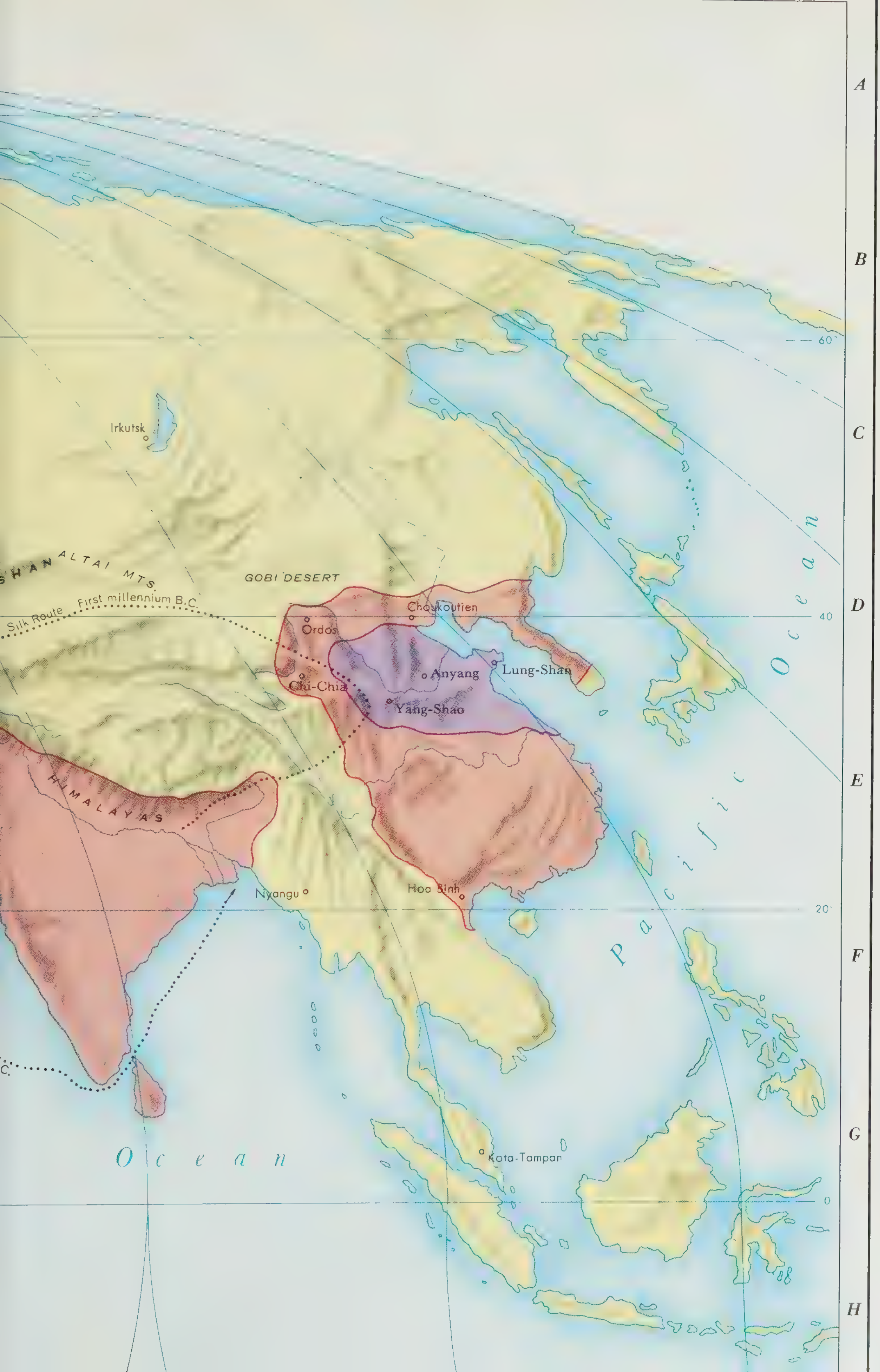
Trends emerge.
Another benefit of using this historical atlas is that trends emerge. Maps of the westward expansion of the United States show how the nation was settled, what technologies were used, who was displaced, and in what sequence. In another example, the map of the Mogul Empire in India under Aurangzeb reveals how a dynasty can become powerfully established in little more than a century.

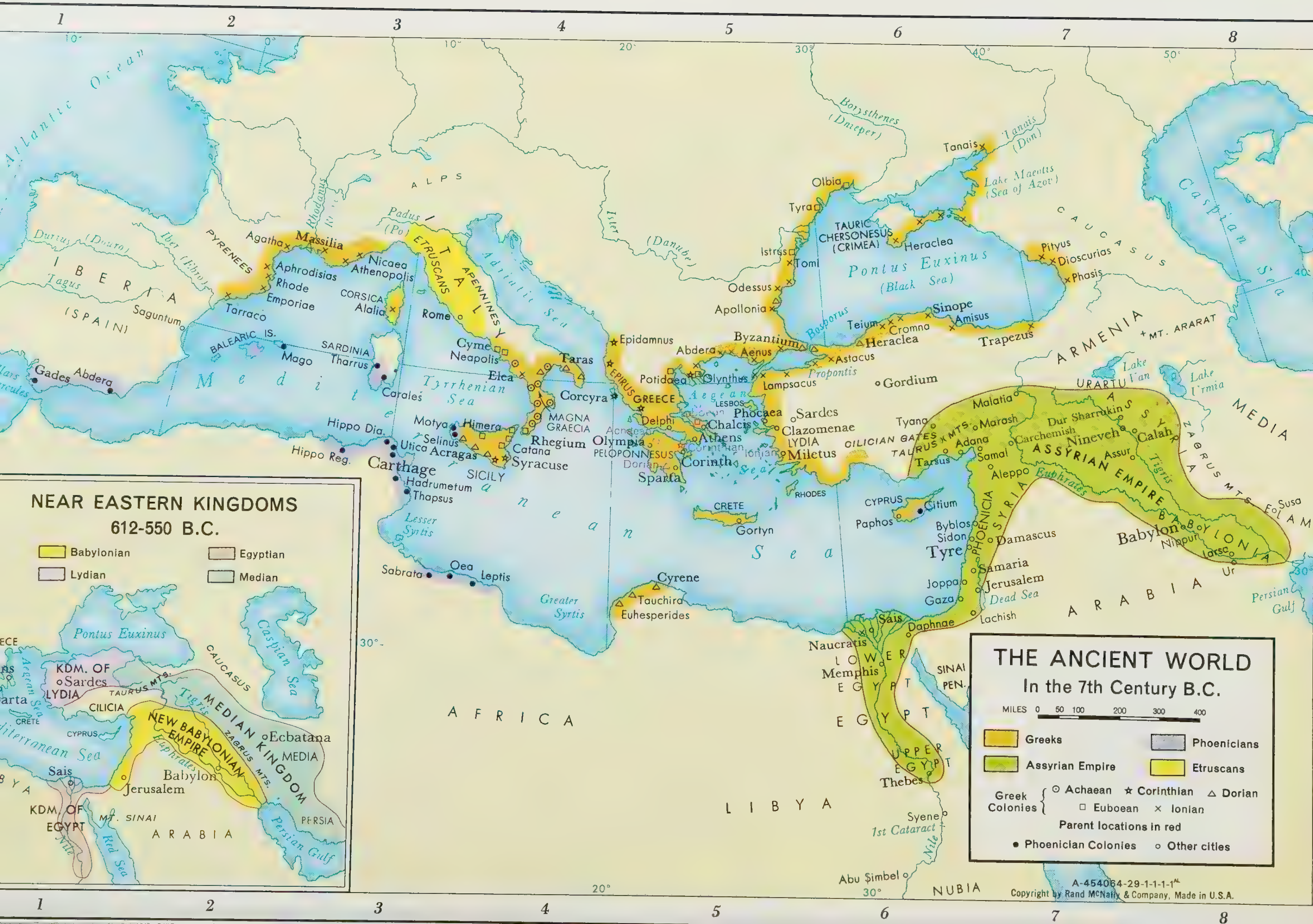


HUMAN EMERGENCE ON THE

CHANGING FACE OF EARTH

The Growth of Civilization to 200 A.D.


A
B
60°
C
Irkutsk
SHAN
ALTAI MTS
GOBI DESERT
D
40
Silk Route
First millennium B.C.
Choukoutien
Ordos
Anyang
Lung-Shan
Chi-Chia
Yang-Shao
HIMALAYAS
E
Pacific Ocean
Nyangu
Hoa Binh
20°
F
C.
G
Ocean
Kota-Tampan
0
H


THE ANCIENT WORLD
In the 7th Century B.C.
MILES 0 50 100 200 300 400
Greeks
Phoenicians
Assyrian Empire
Etruscans
Greek Colonies
⊙ Achaean
☆ Corinthian
△ Dorian
□ Euboean
× Ionian
Parent locations in red
● Phoenician Colonies
○ Other cities
NEAR EASTERN KINGDOMS
612-550 B.C.
Babylonian
Egyptian
Lydian
Median
NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE
MEDIAN KINGDOM
KDM. OF LYDIA
KDM. OF EGYPT
Atlantic Ocean
IBERIA (SPAIN)
Mediterranean Sea
Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea)
Caspian Sea
ITALY
GREECE
ASSYRIAN EMPIRE
BABYLONIA
ARMENIA
MEDIA
ARABIA
AFRICA
LIBYA
EGYPT
NUBIA
Carthage
Syracuse
Athens
Corinth
Sparta
Miletus
Byzantium
Rome
Massilia
Nineveh
Babylon
Tyre
Jerusalem
Thebes
Memphis
1
2
3
4
5
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7
8
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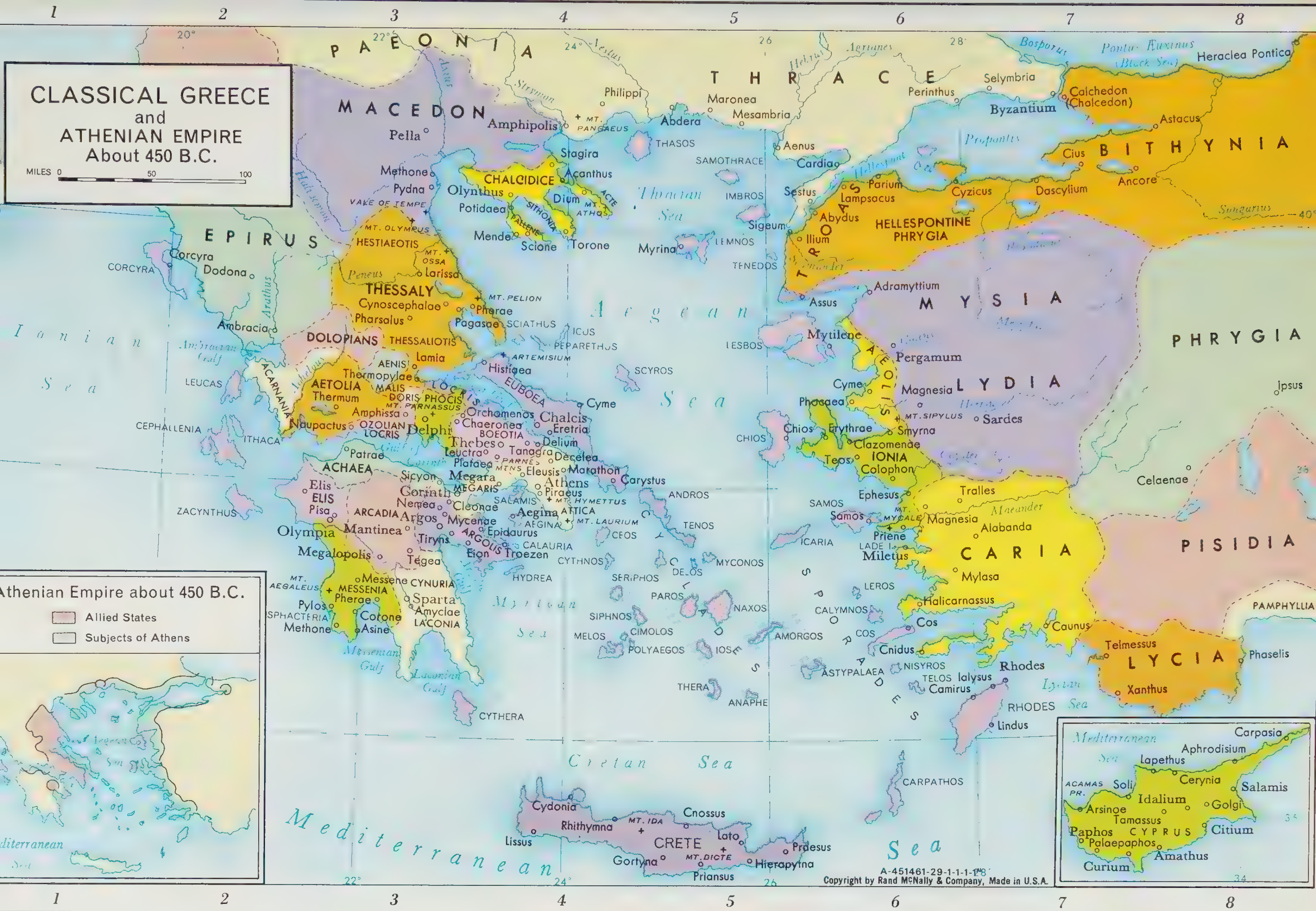
Copyright by Rand McNally & Company, Made in U.S.A.



CLASSICAL GREECE and ATHENIAN EMPIRE About 450 B.C.

MILES 0 50 100

Athenian Empire about 450 B.C.

▨ Allied States

☐ Subjects of Athens

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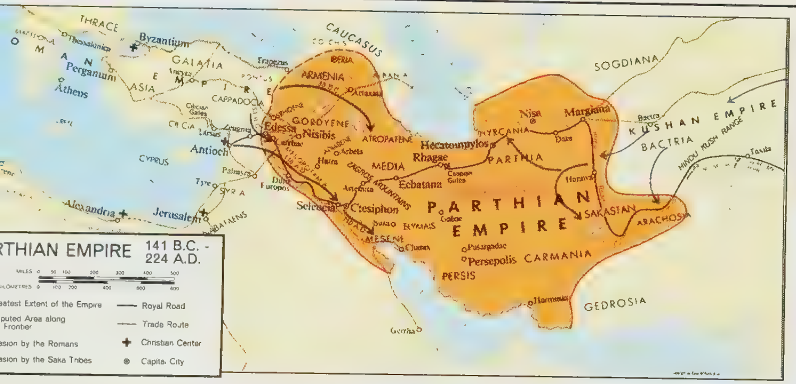
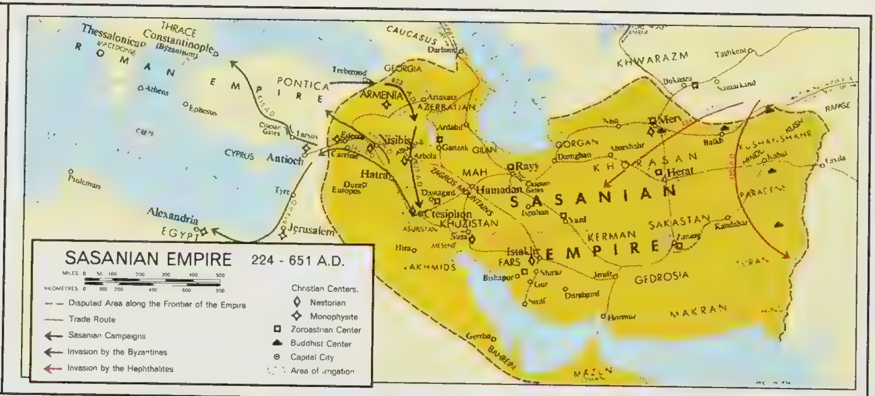
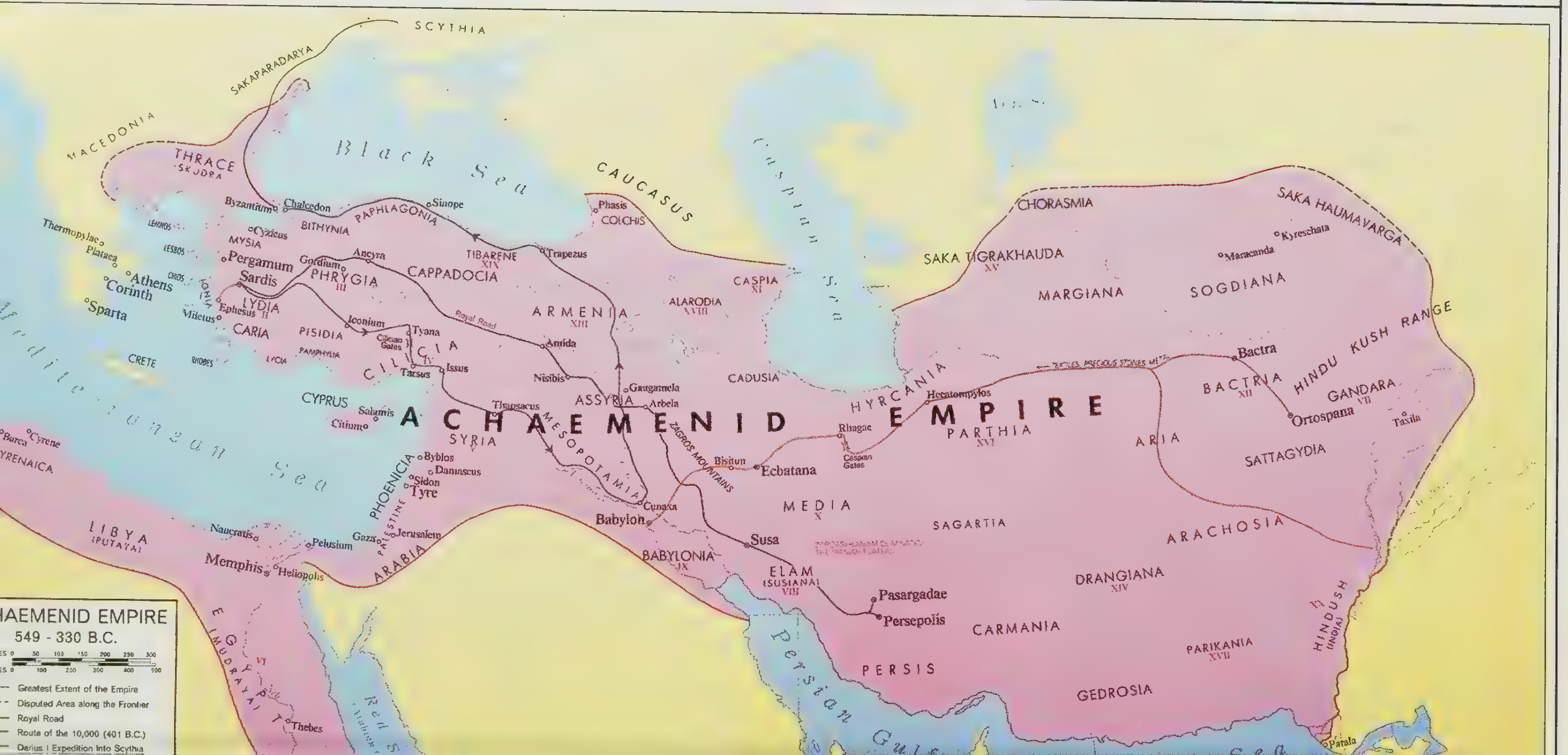
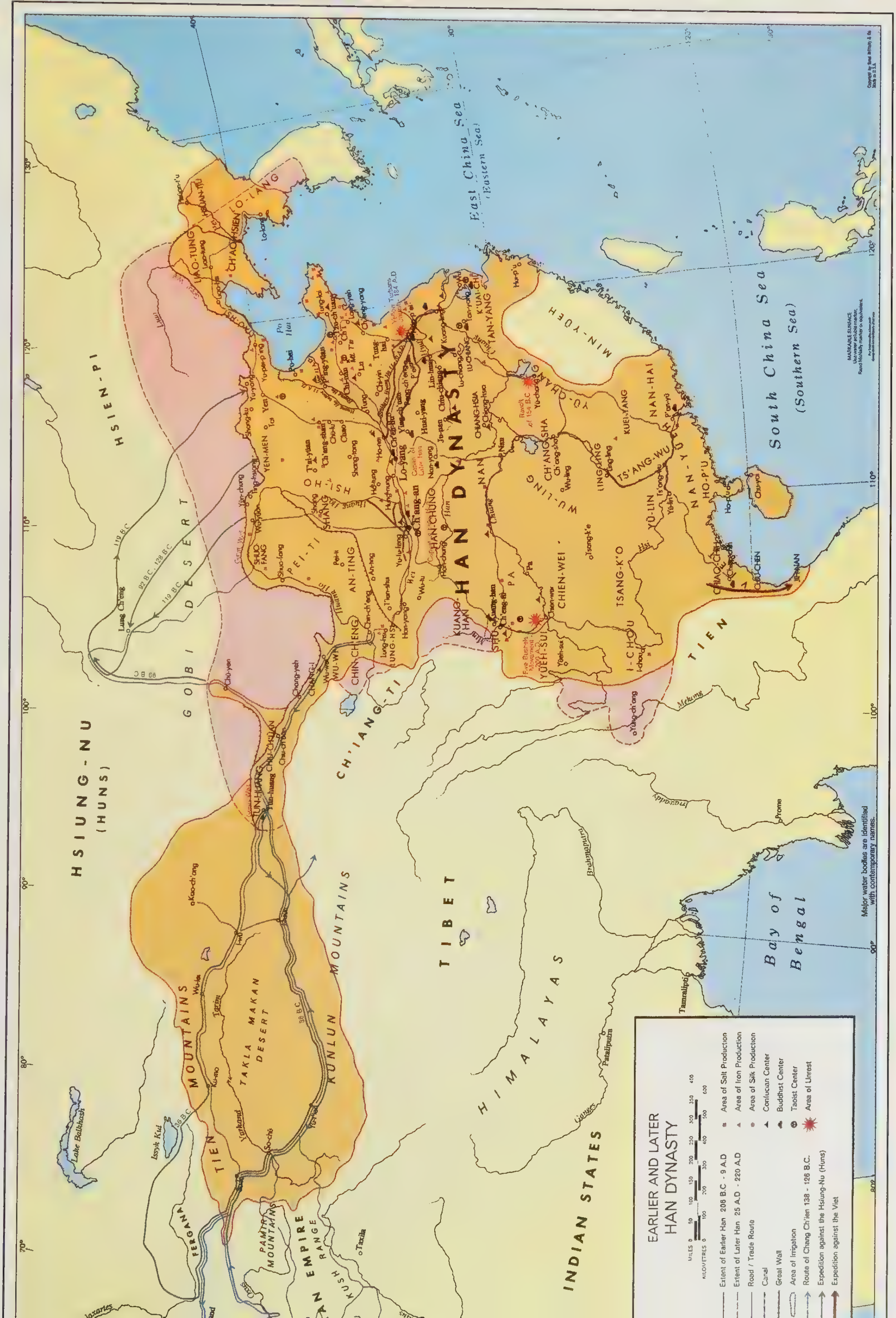
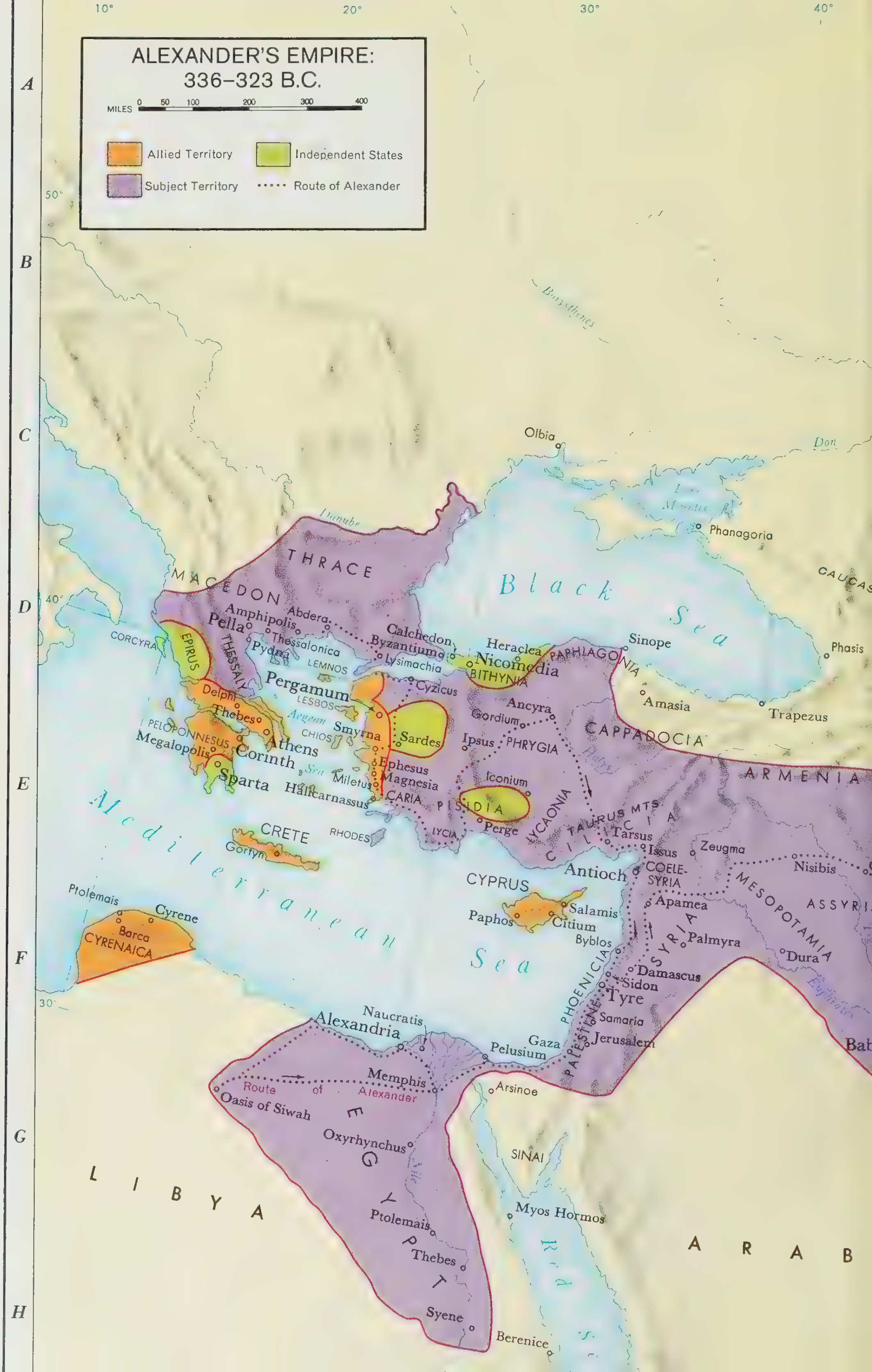
ANCIENT PERSIA 549 B.C. – 651 A.D.



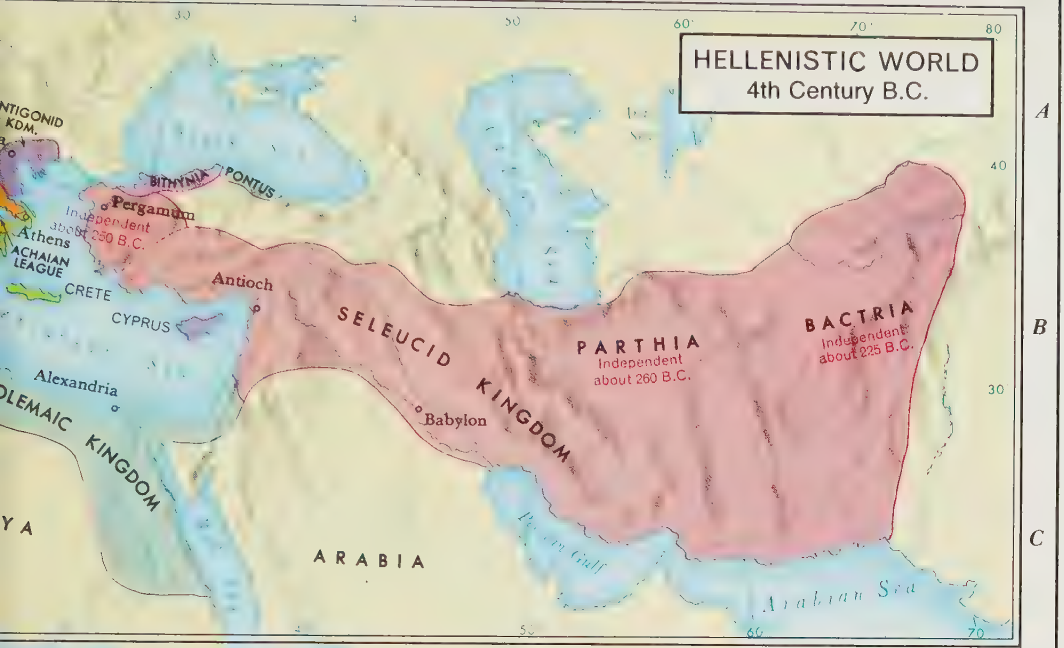


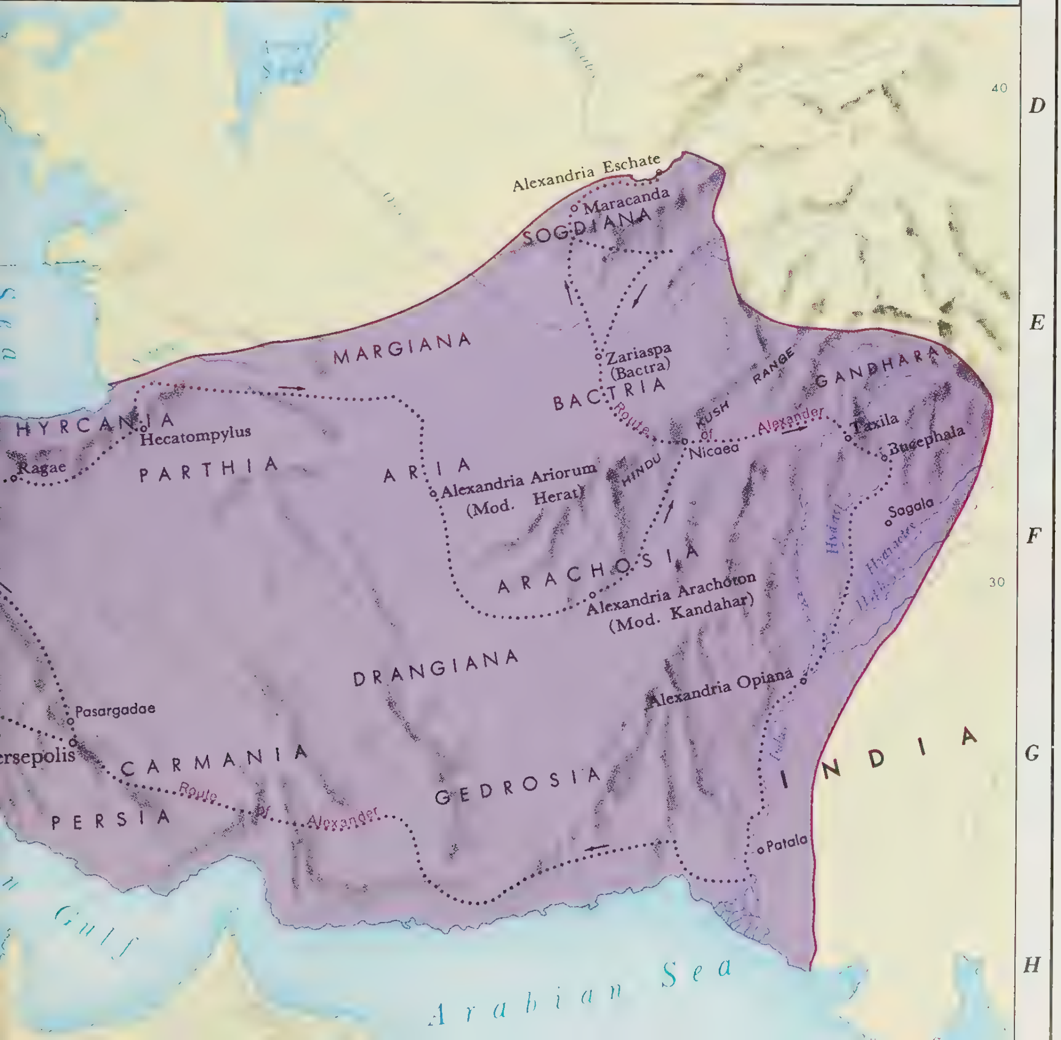




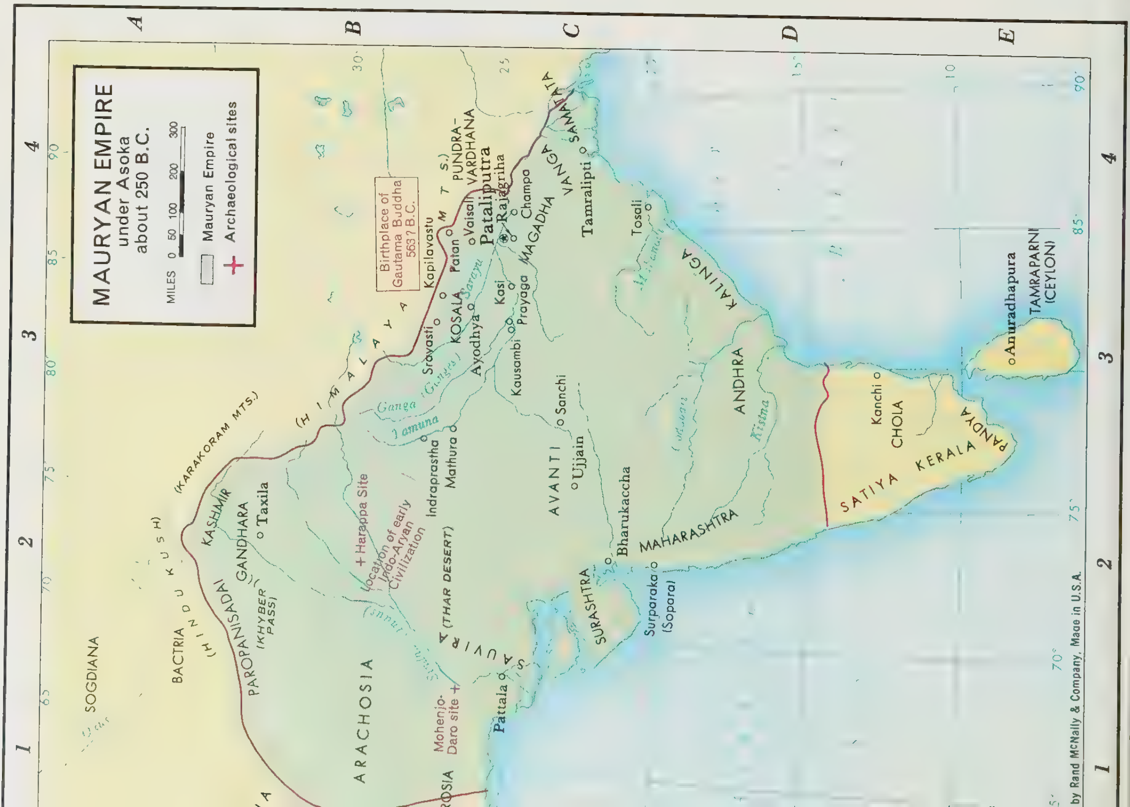


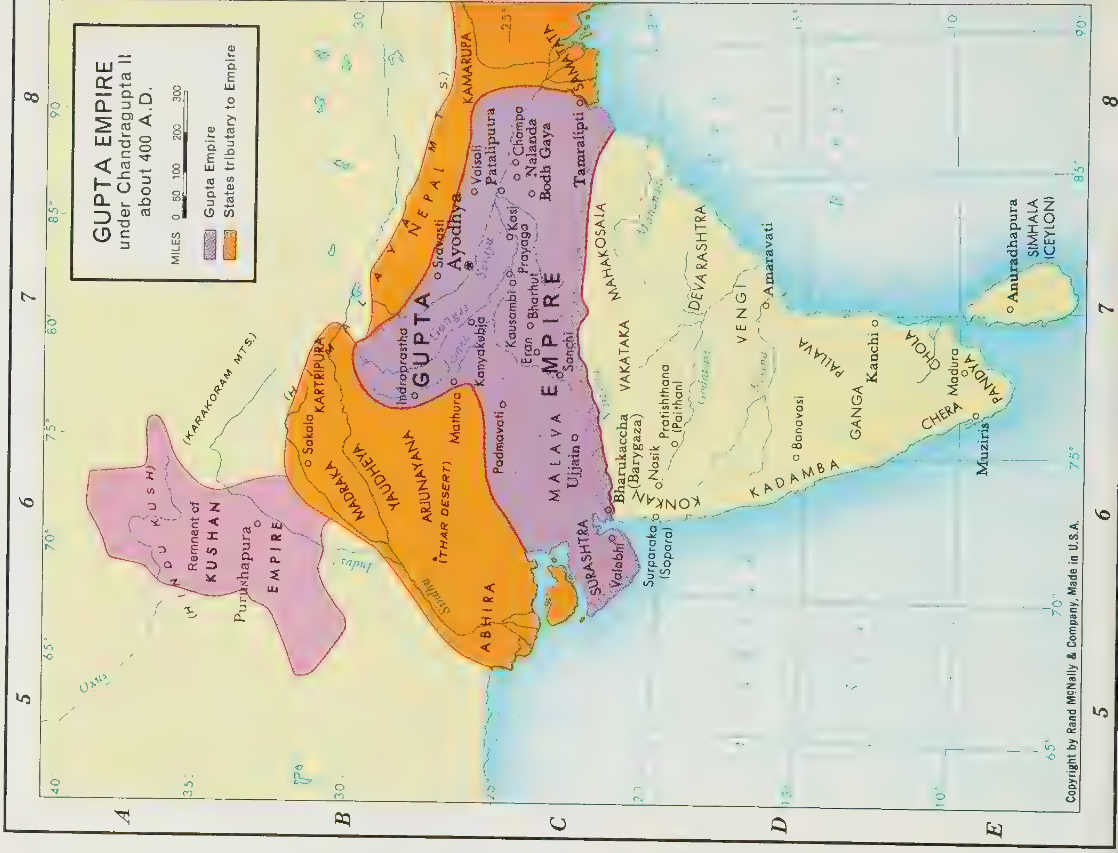
ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE: 336–323 B.C.

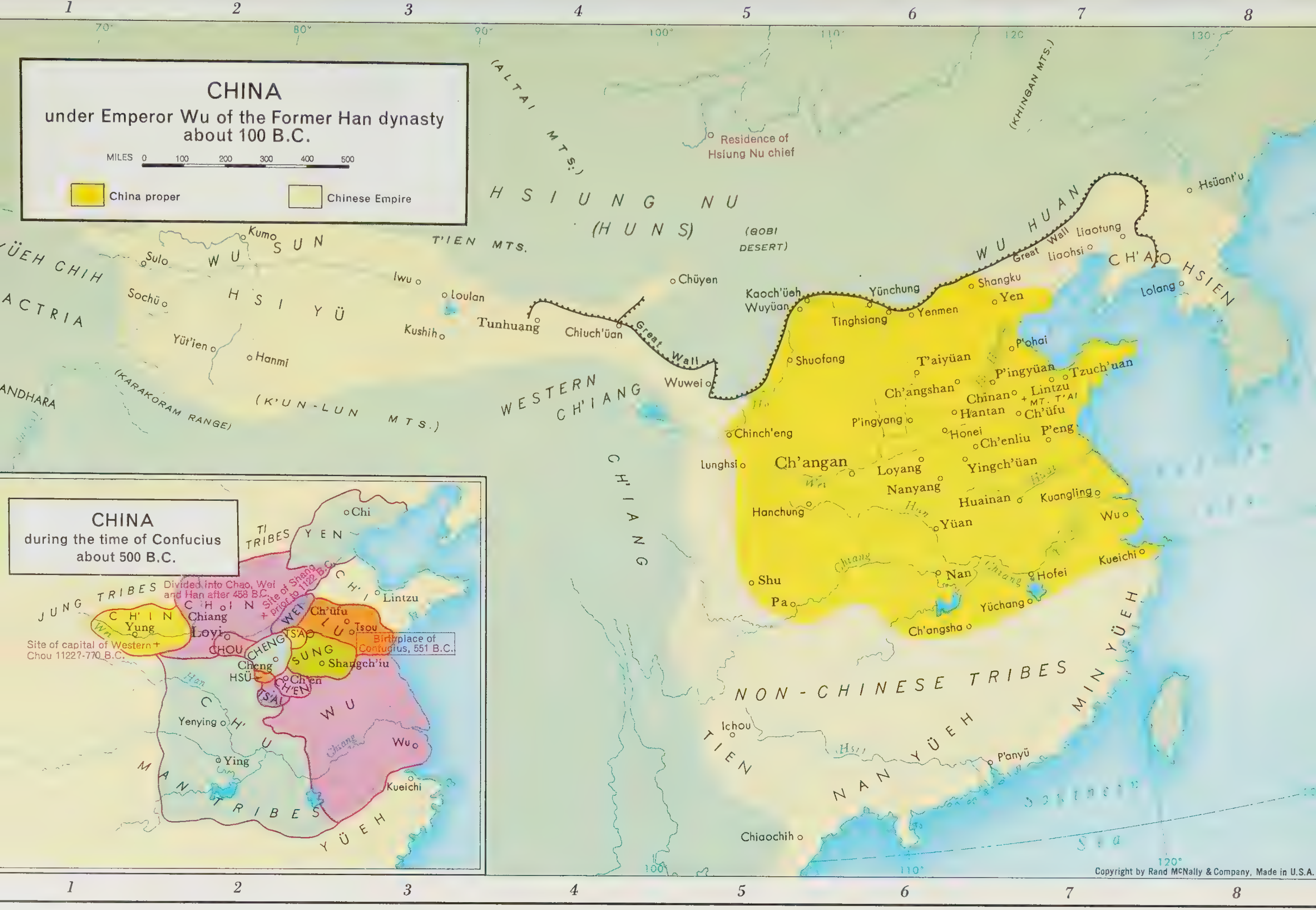

HELLENISTIC WORLD
4th Century B.C.



INDIA 250 B.C. AND 400 A.D.

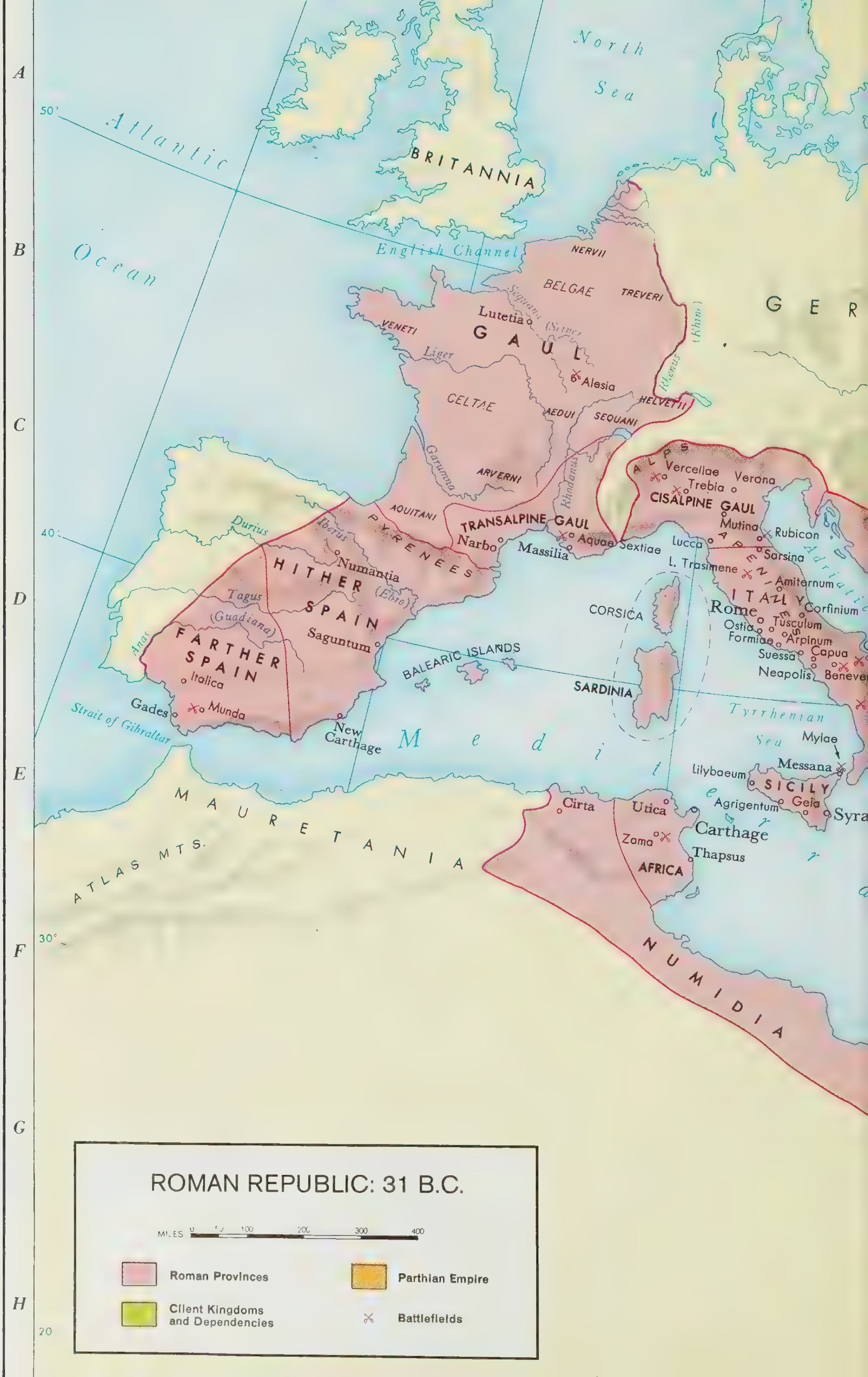




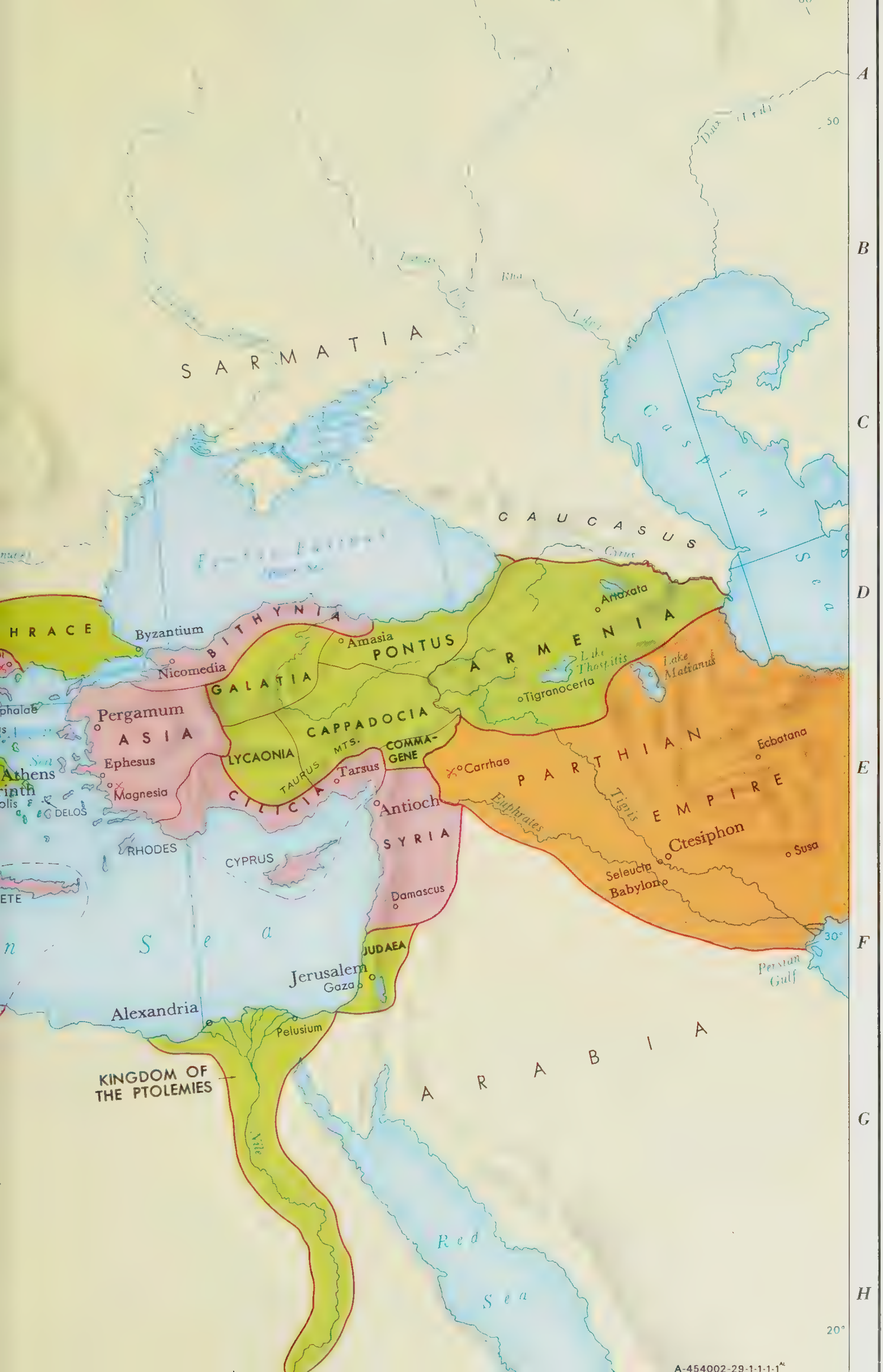


CHINA
under Emperor Wu of the Former Han dynasty
about 100 B.C.

CHINA
during the time of Confucius
about 500 B.C.



ROMAN REPUBLIC: 31 B.C.



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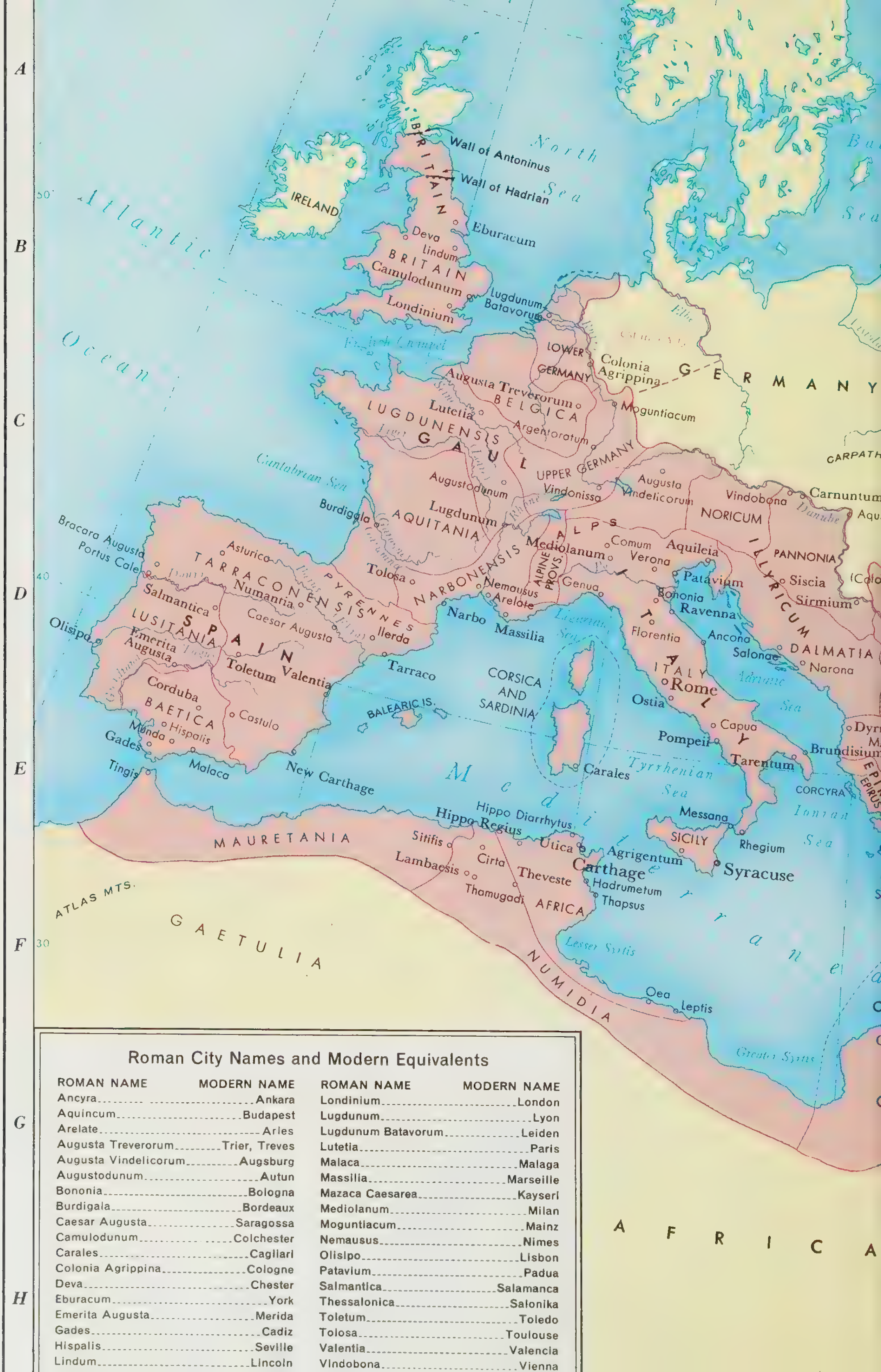
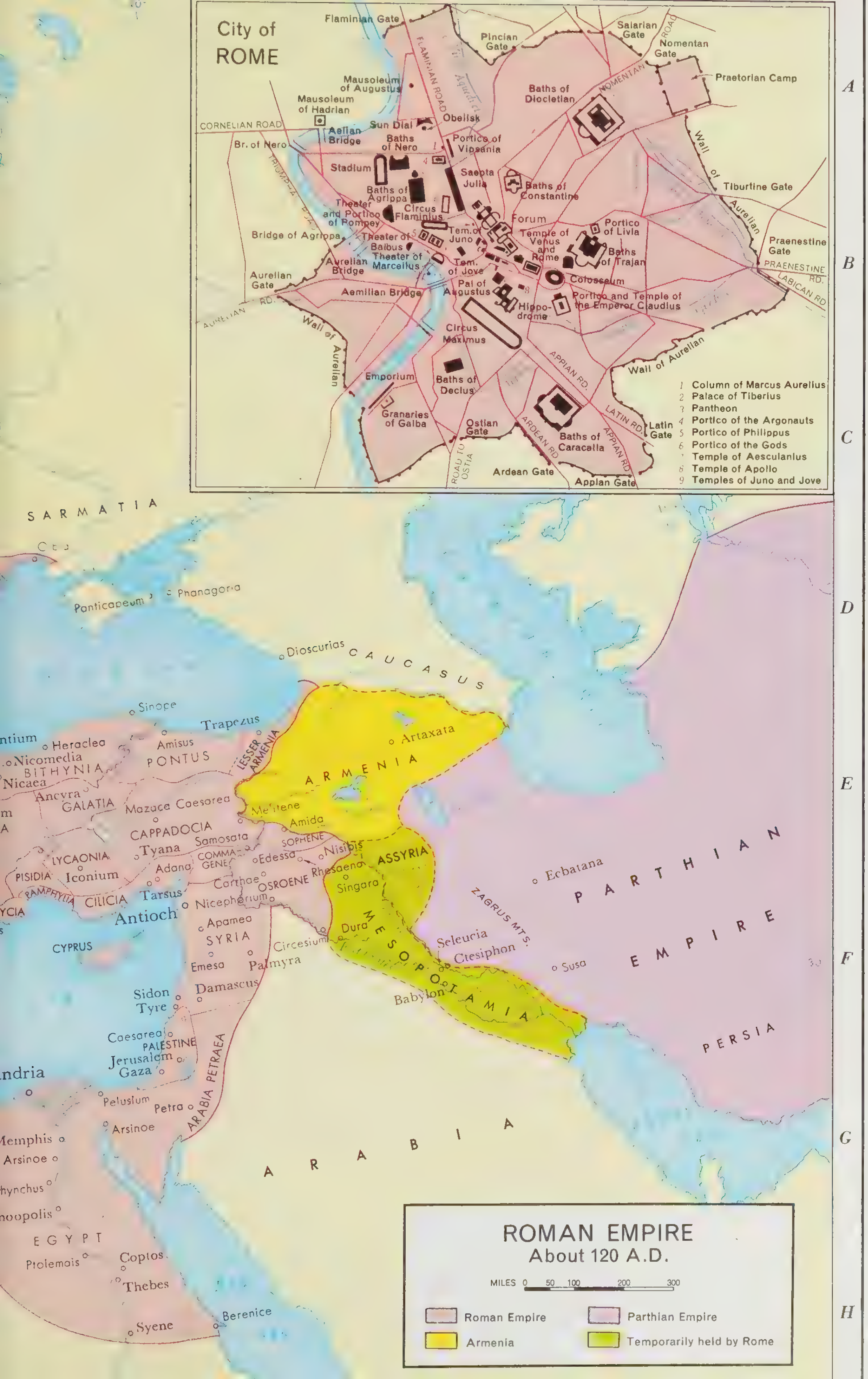
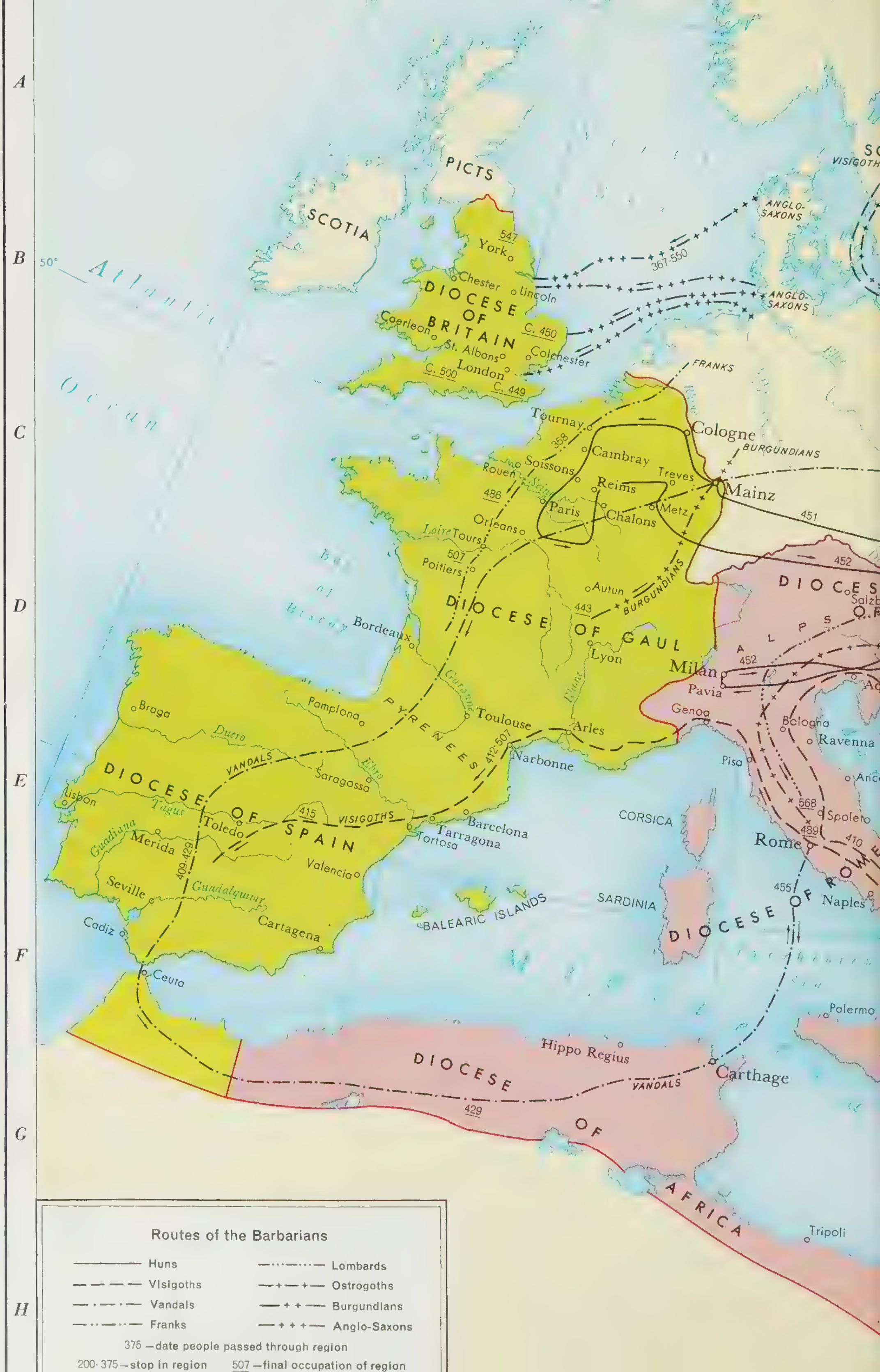


Roman City Names and Modern Equivalents

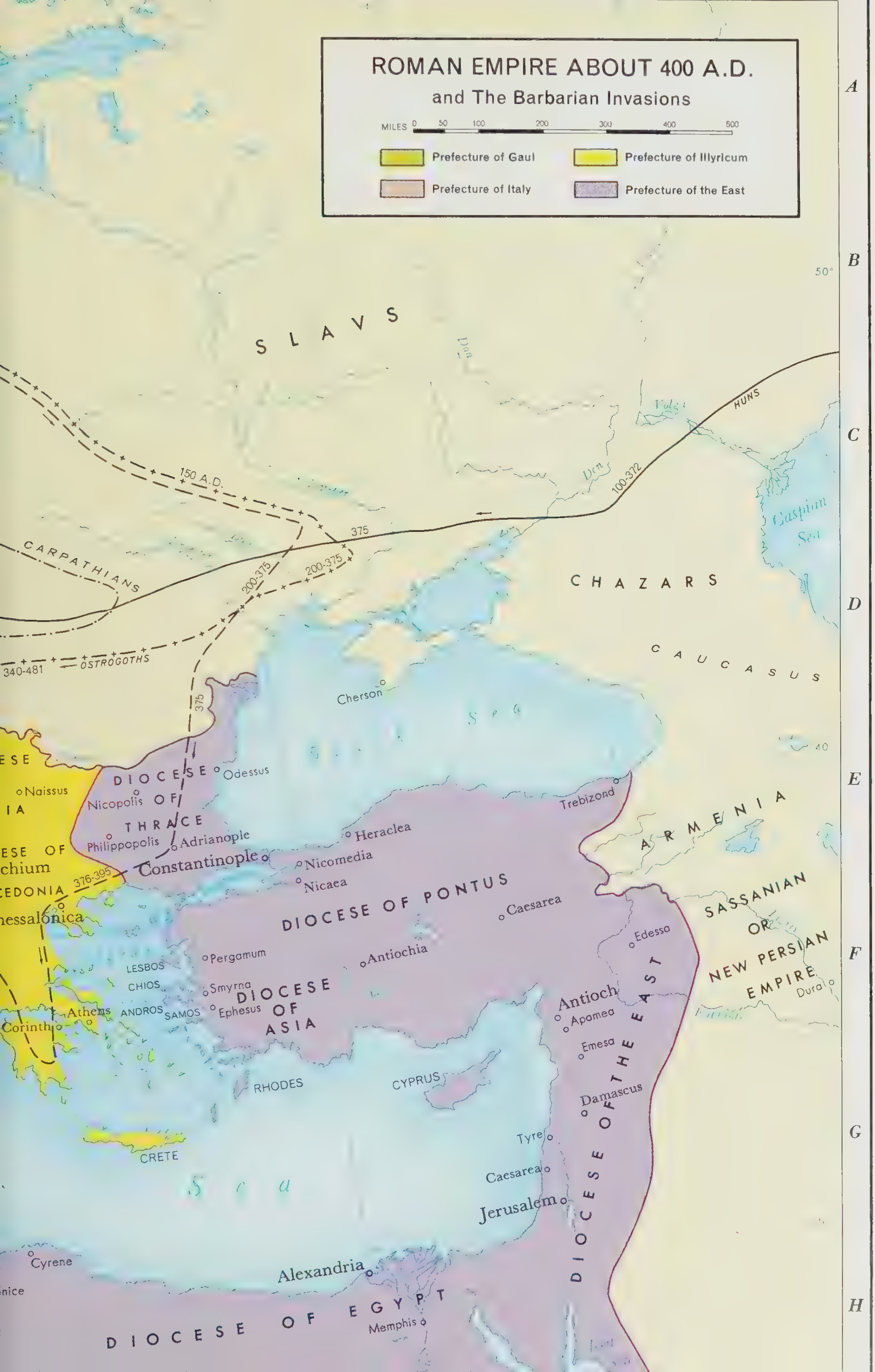
ROMAN NAME	MODERN NAME	ROMAN NAME	MODERN NAME
Ancyra	Ankara	Londinium	London
Aquincum	Budapest	Lugdunum	Lyon
Arelate	Arles	Lugdunum Batavorum	Leiden
Augusta Treverorum	Trier, Treves	Lutetia	Paris
Augusta Vindelicorum	Augsburg	Malaca	Malaga
Augustodunum	Autun	Massilia	Marseille
Bononia	Bologna	Mazaca Caesarea	Kayseri
Burdigala	Bordeaux	Mediolanum	Milan
Caesar Augusta	Saragossa	Moguntiacum	Mainz
Camulodunum	Colchester	Nemausus	Nimes
Carales	Cagliari	Olisipo	Lisbon
Colonia Agrippina	Cologne	Patavium	Padua
Deva	Chester	Salmantica	Salamanca
Eburacum	York	Thessalonica	Salonika
Emerita Augusta	Merida	Toletum	Toledo
Gades	Cadiz	Tolosa	Toulouse
Hispalis	Seville	Valentia	Valencia
Lindum	Lincoln	Vindobona	Vienna



ROMAN EMPIRE
About 120 A.D.

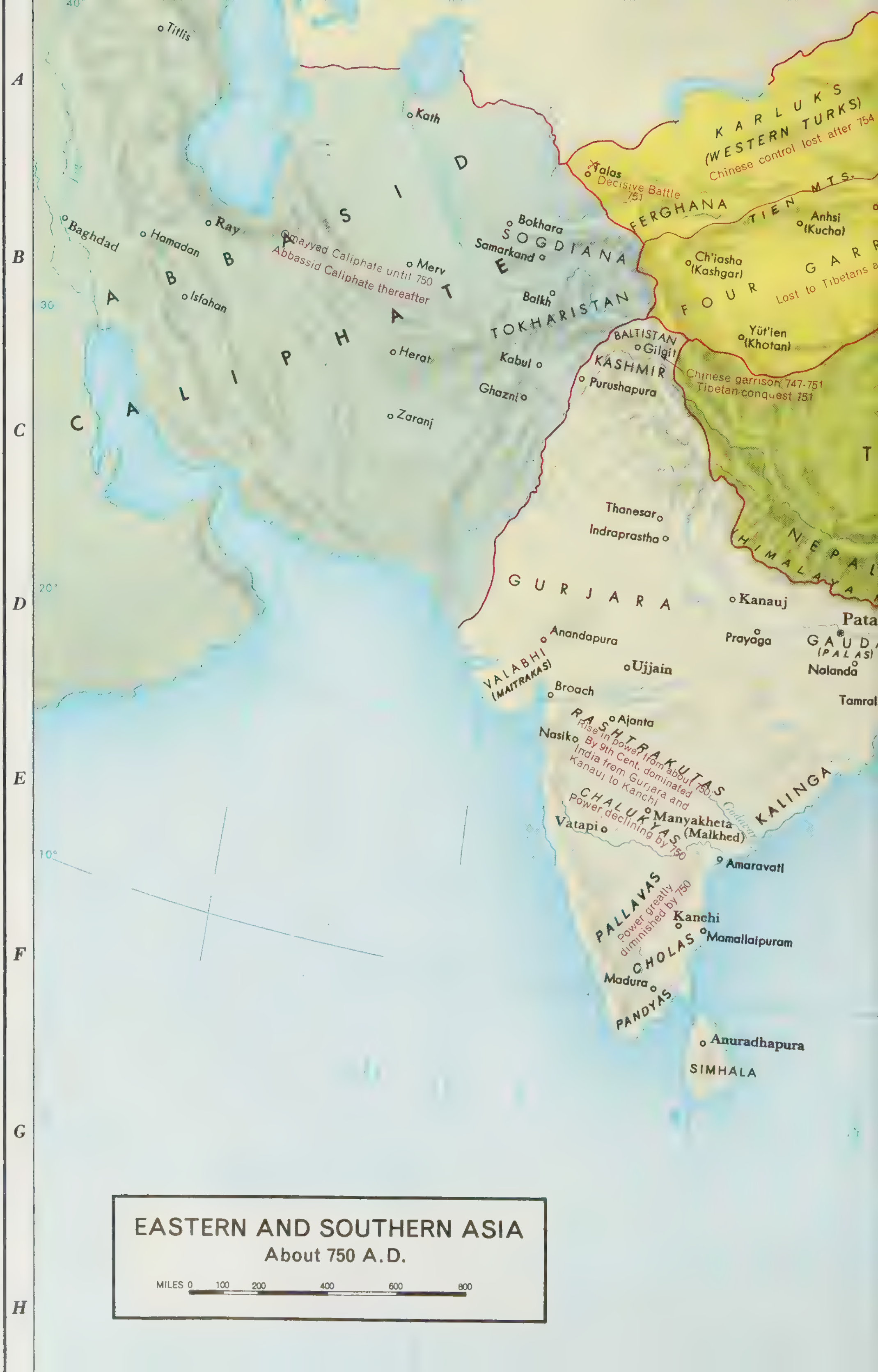


Routes of the Barbarians



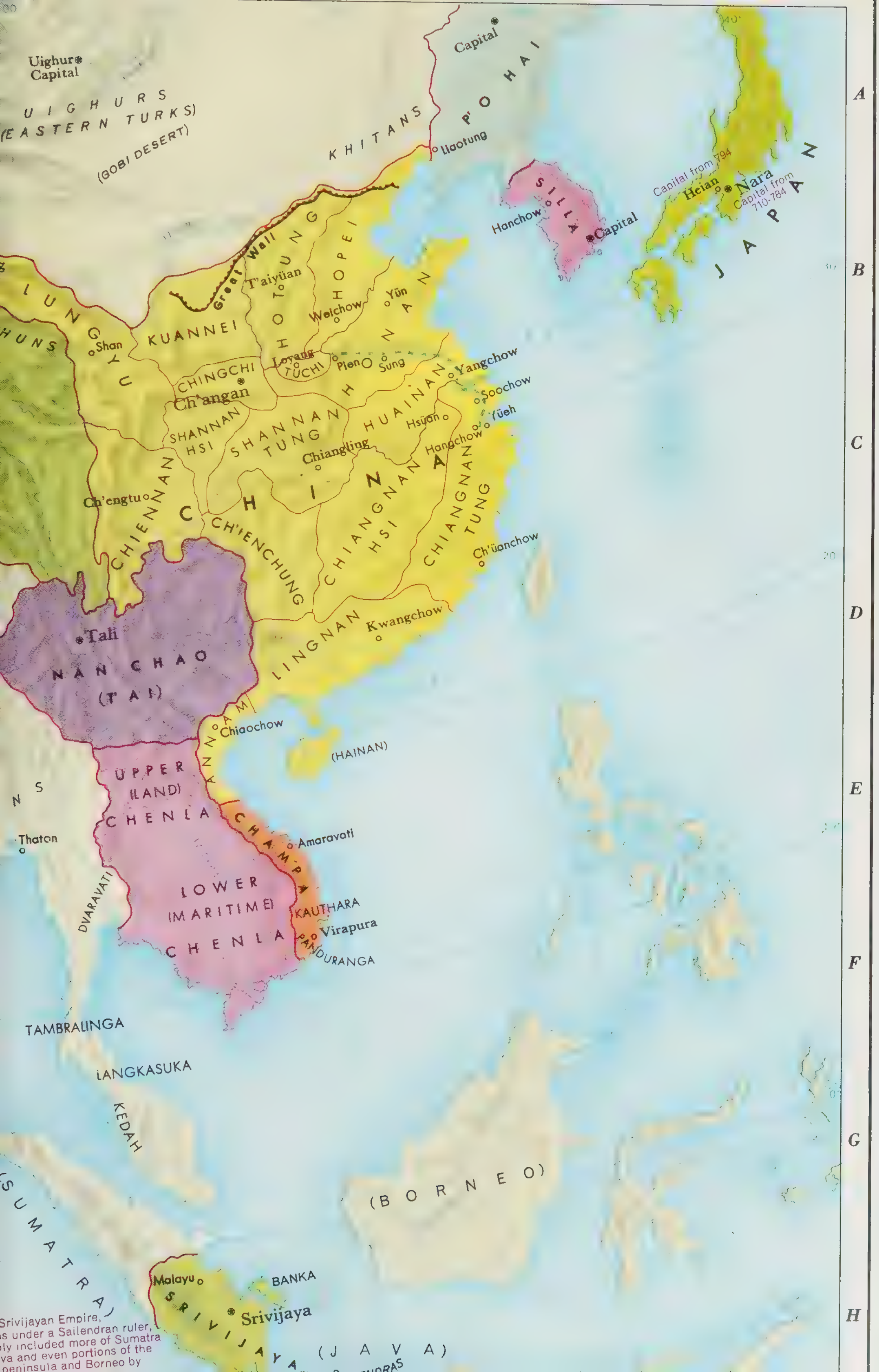
ROMAN EMPIRE ABOUT 400 A.D.

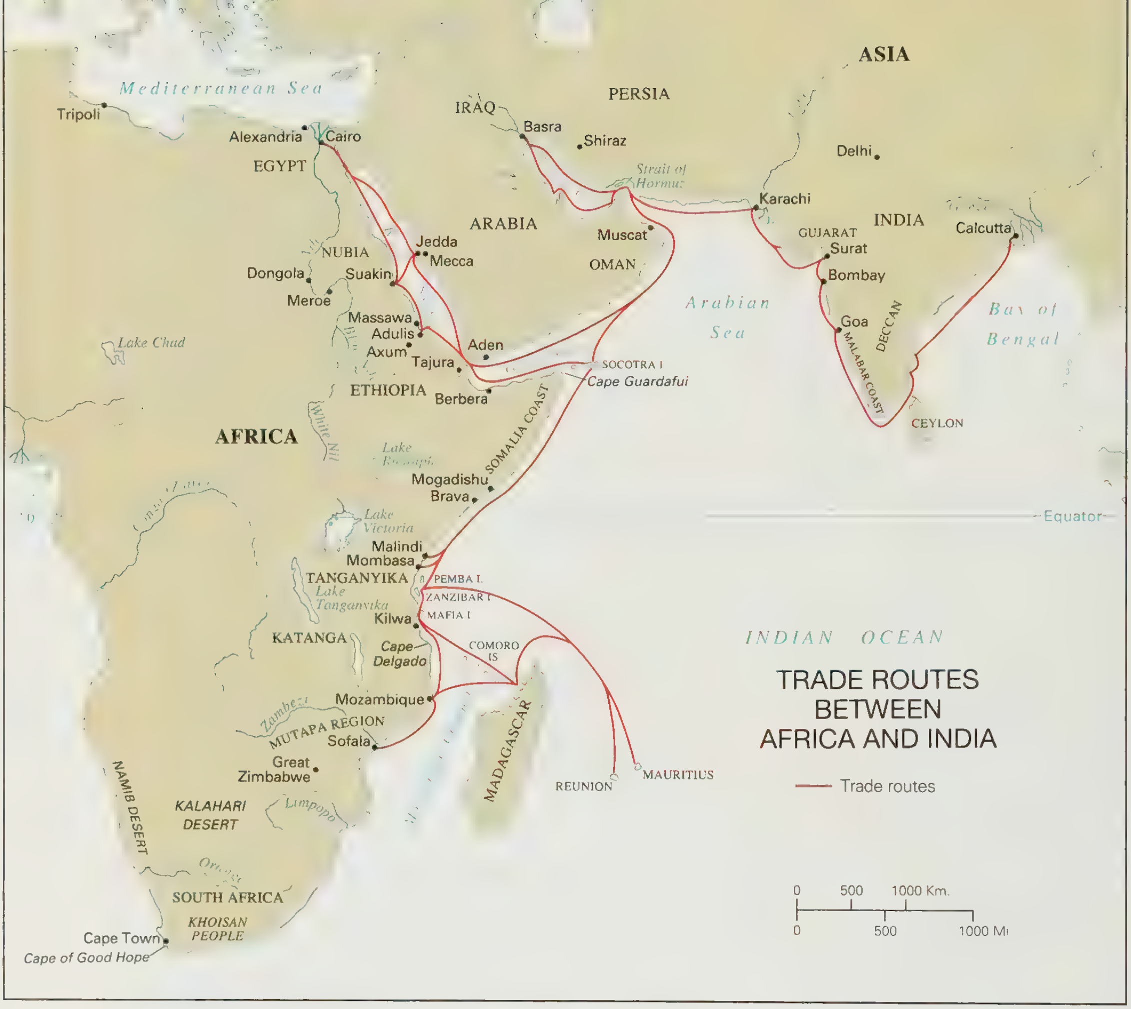
and The Barbarian Invasions



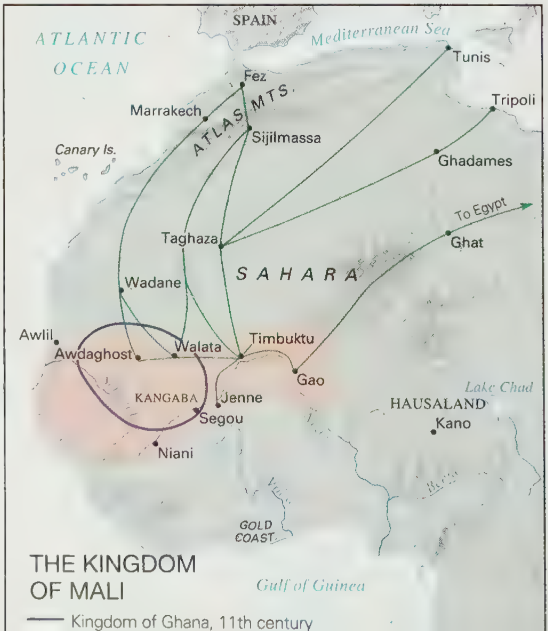
EASTERN AND SOUTHERN ASIA

About 750 A.D.

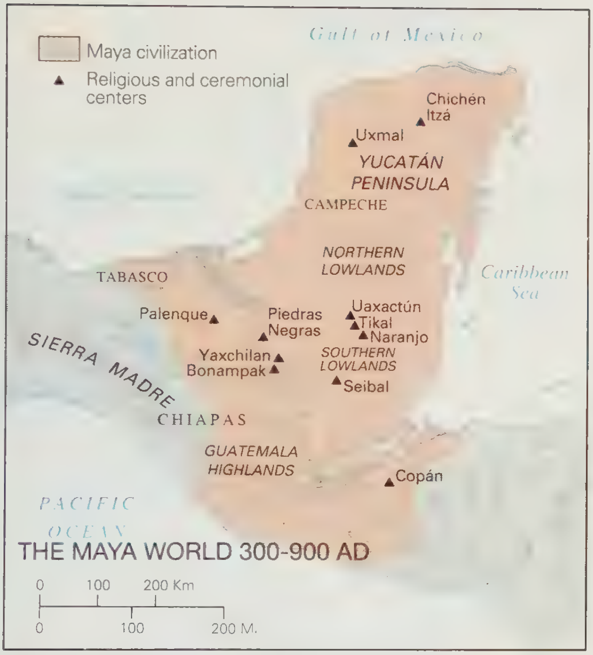

Uighur Capital
UIGHURS
(EASTERN TURKS)
(GOBI DESERT)
KHITANS
Capital
P'O HAI
Liaotung
SILLA
Hanchow
Capital
Capital from 794
Heian
Nara
Capital from 710-784
JAPAN
Great Wall
LUNG YU
Shan
KUANNEI
T'aiyüan
HOTUNG
HOPEI
Weichow
Yün
HONAN
CHINGCHI
Ch'angan
Loyang
TUCHI
Pien
Sung
Yangchow
Soochow
Yüeh
SHANNAN HSI
SHANNAN TUNG
HUAINAN
Hsüan
Hangchow
Chiangling
CHIENNAN
Ch'engtu
CHINA
CH'IENCHUNG
CHIANGNAN HSI
CHIANGNAN TUNG
Ch'üanchow
LINGNAN
Kwangchow
Tali
NAN CHAO (T'AI)
ANNAM
Chiaochow
(HAINAN)
UPPER (LAND) CHENLA
Thaton
CHAMPA
Amaravati
DVARAVATI
LOWER (MARITIME) CHENLA
KAUTHARA
Virapura
PANDURANGA
TAMBRALINGA
LANGKASUKA
KEDAH
(SUMATRA)
(BORNEO)
Malayu
SRIVIJAYA
Srivijaya
BANKA
(JAVA)
Srivijayan Empire,
s under a Sailendran ruler,
ly included more of Sumatra
va and even portions of the
peninsula and Borneo by
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H



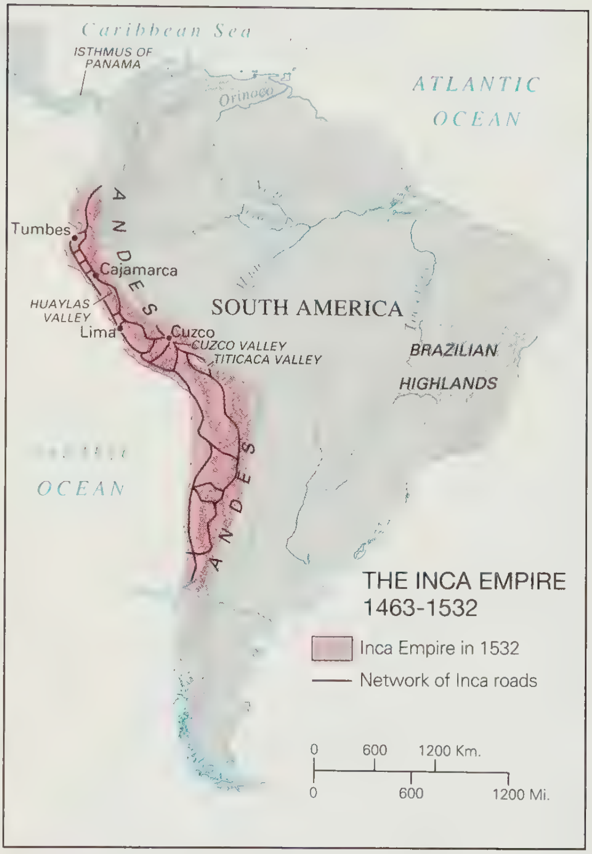
TRADE ROUTES BETWEEN AFRICA AND INDIA



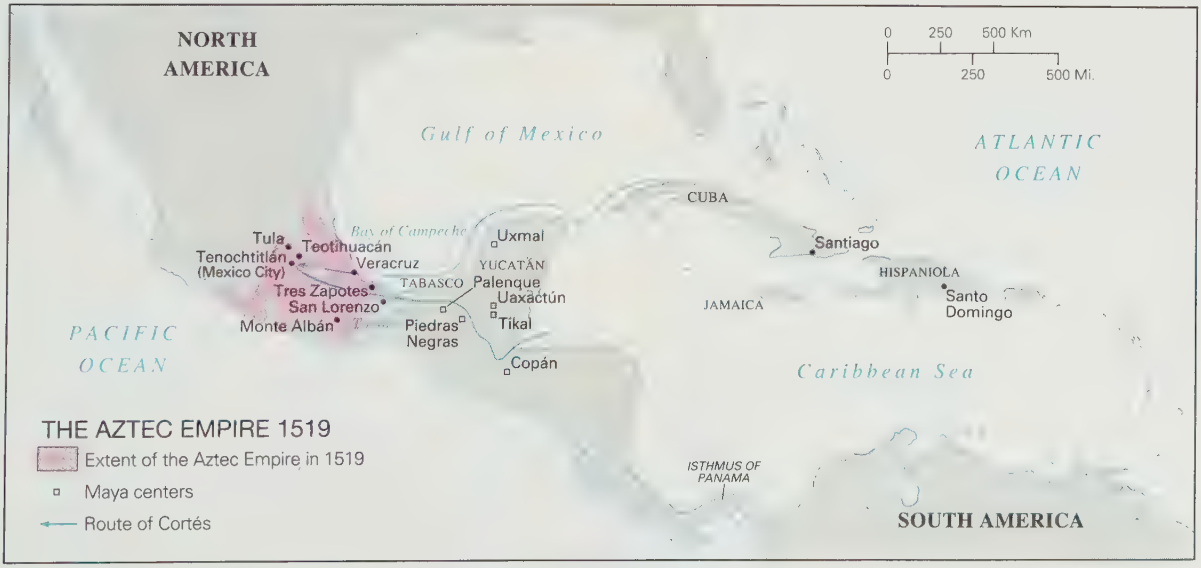
THE KINGDOM OF MALI



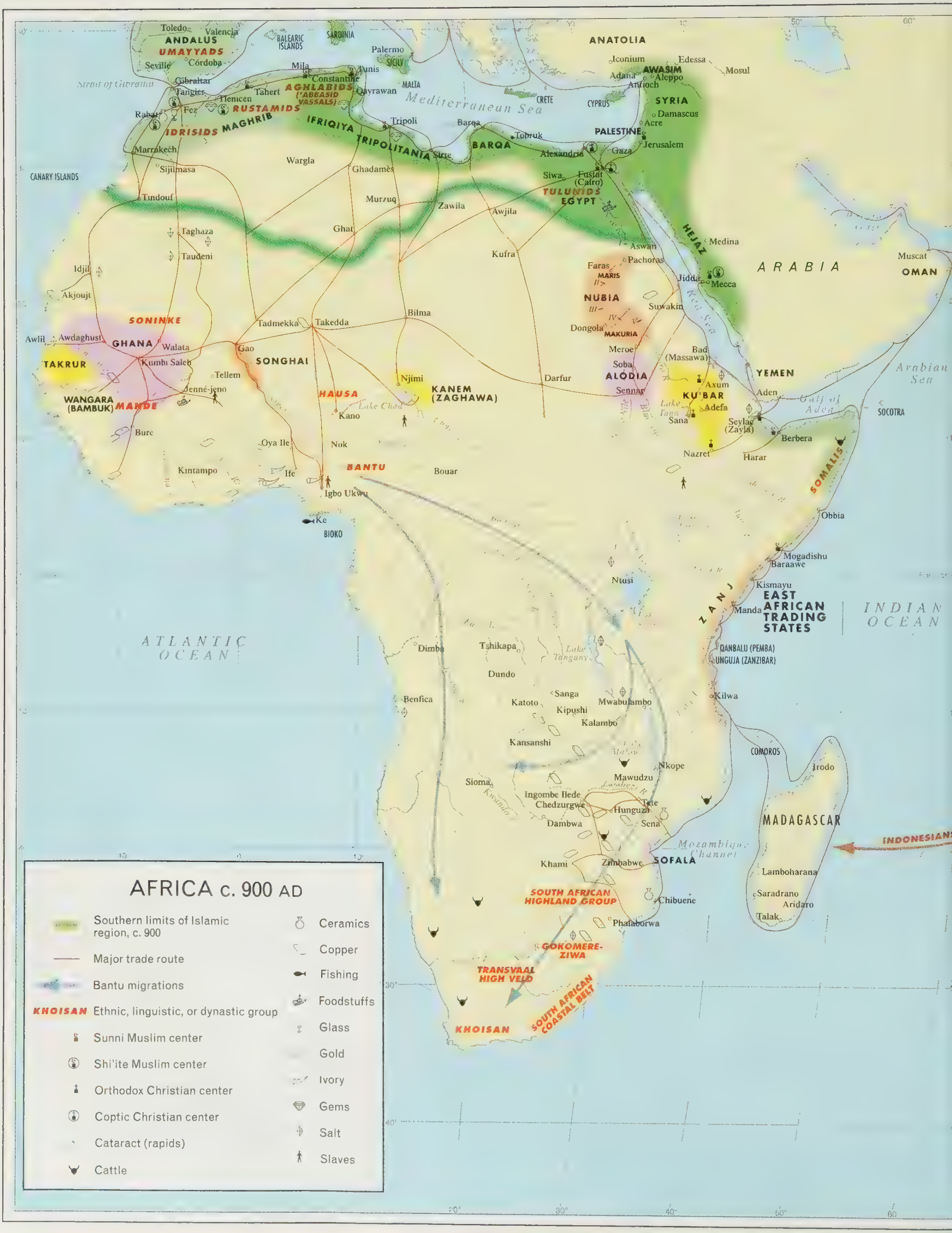
THE MAYA WORLD 300-900 AD



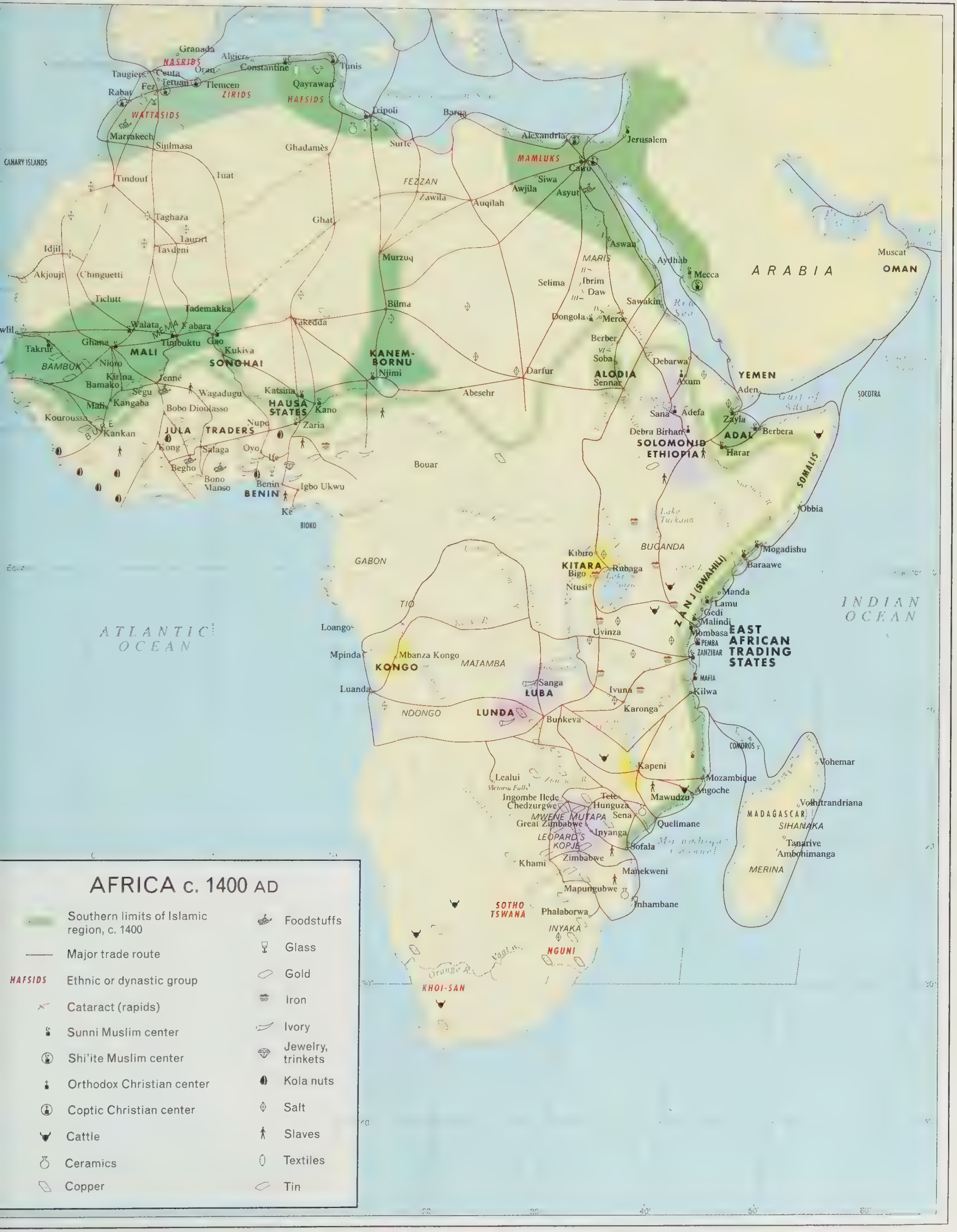
THE INCA EMPIRE 1463-1532

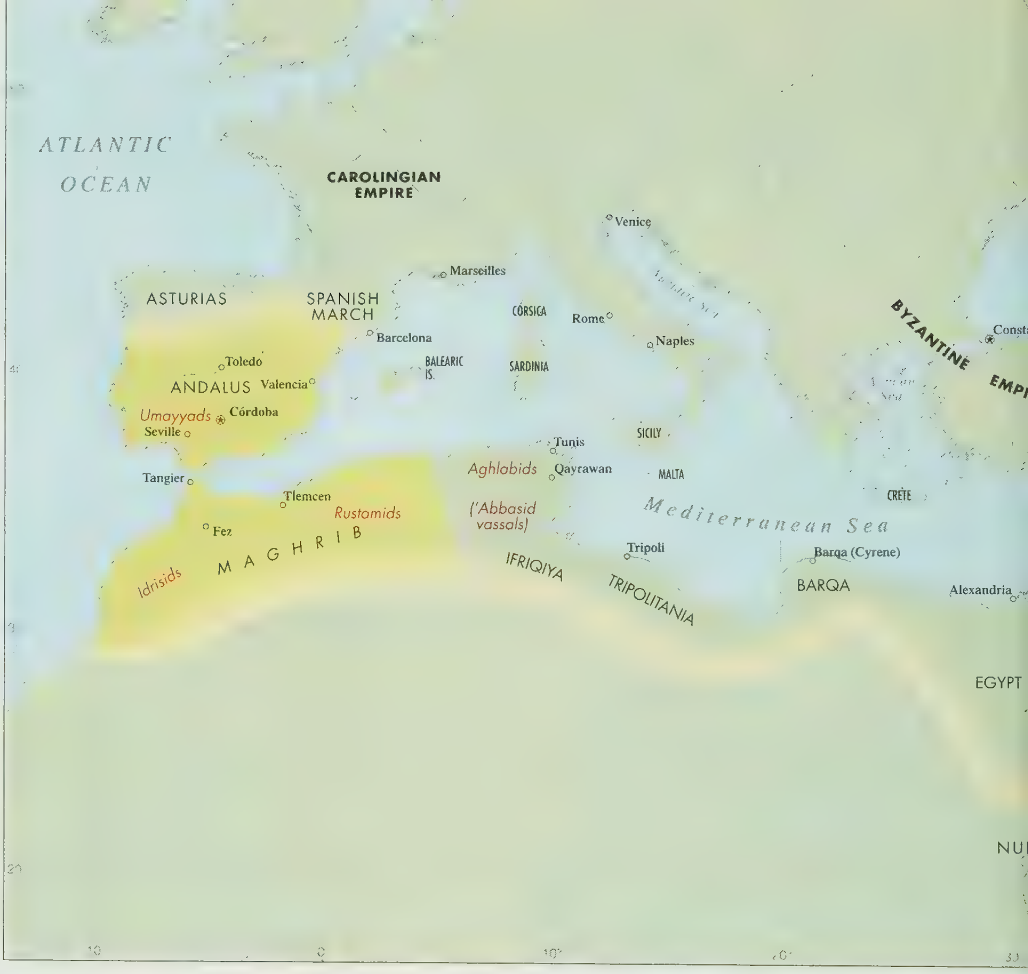


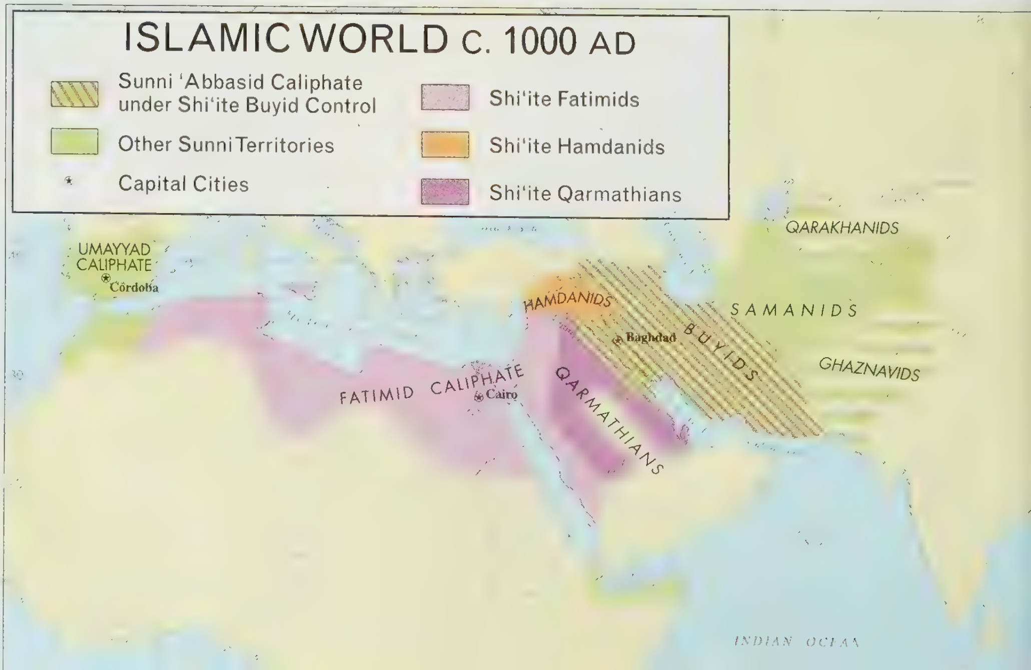
THE AZTEC EMPIRE 1519



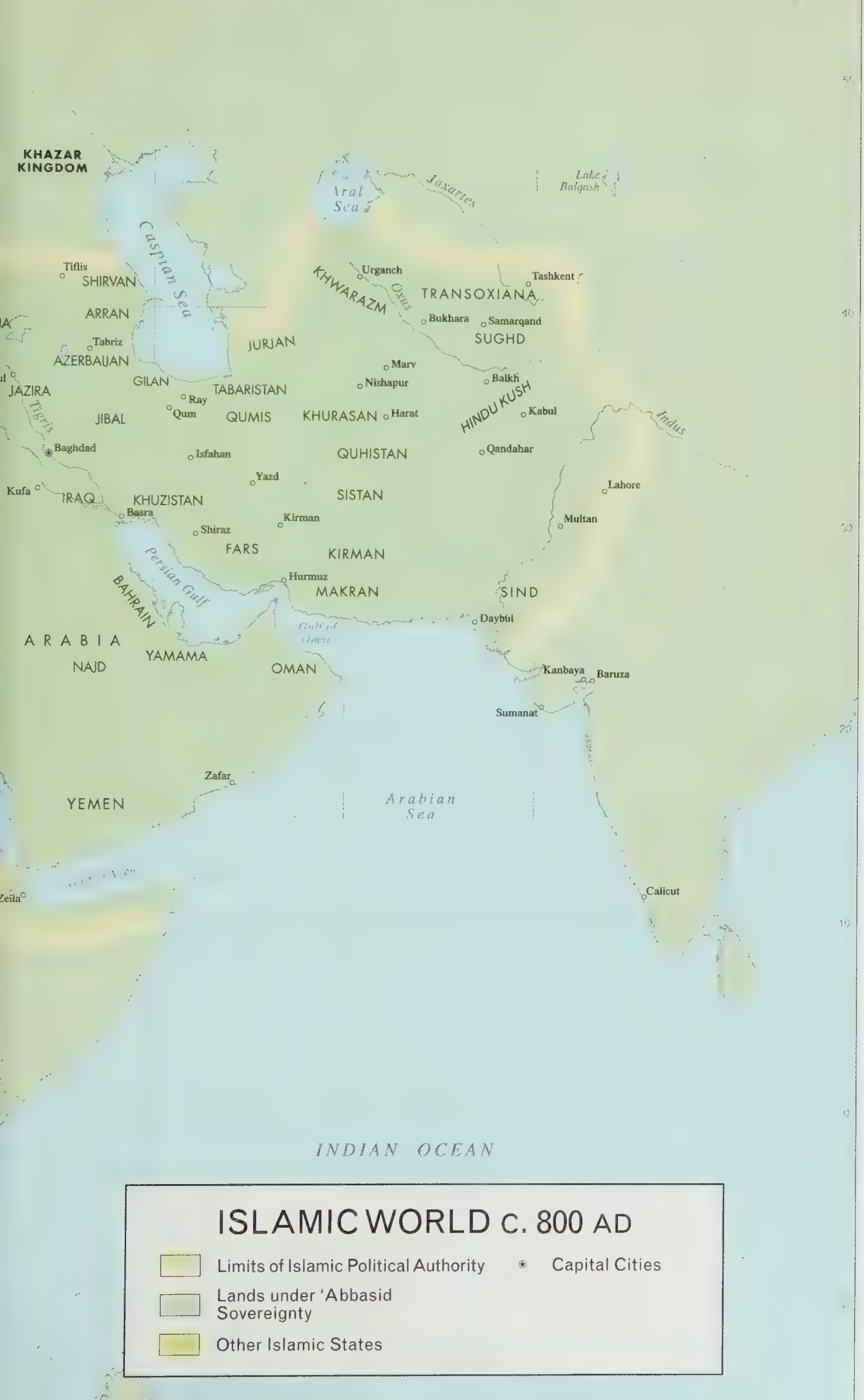
AFRICA c. 900 AD

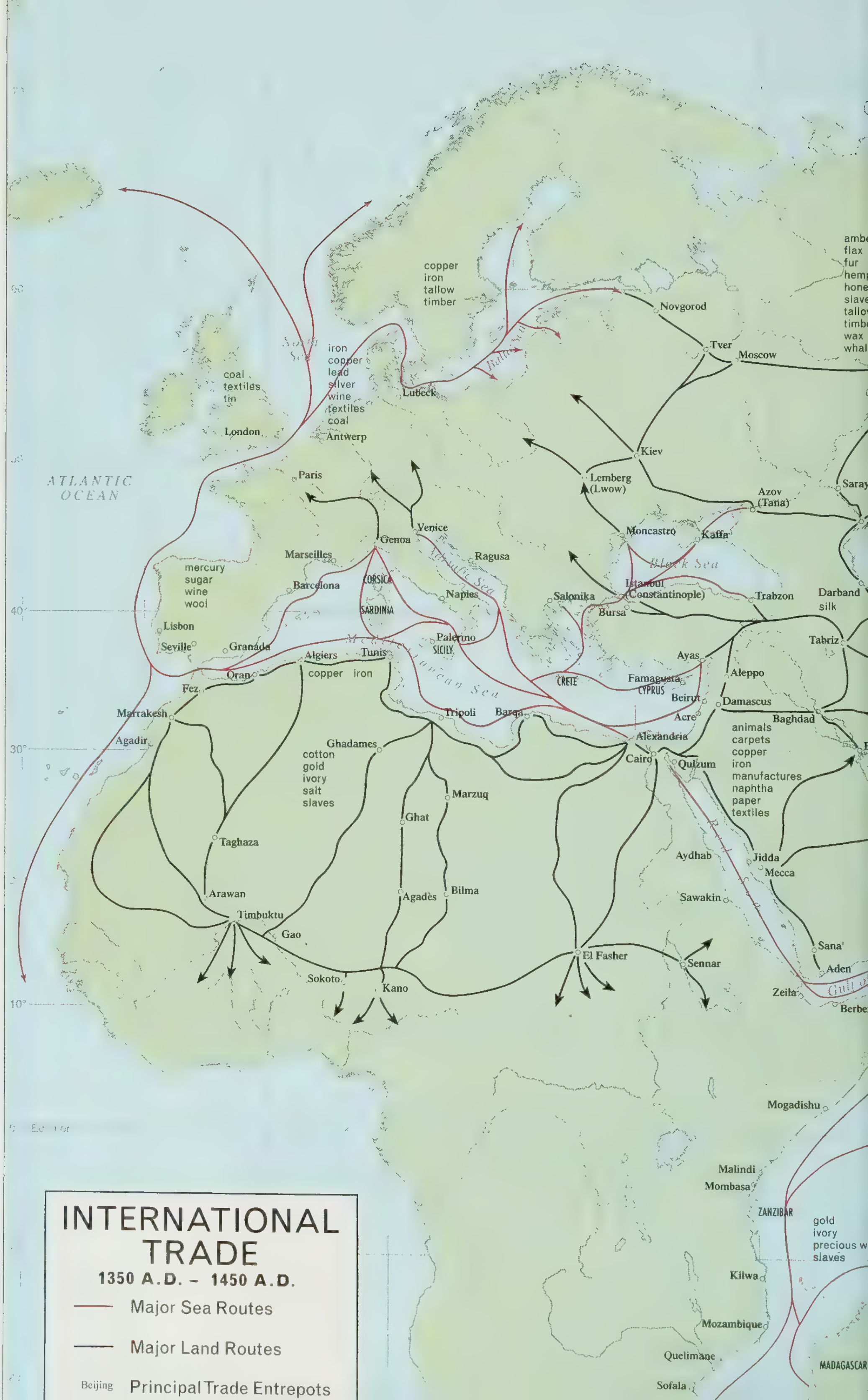

AFRICA c. 1400 AD
Southern limits of Islamic region, c. 1400
Major trade route
HAFSIDS
Ethnic or dynastic group
Cataract (rapids)
Sunni Muslim center
Shi'ite Muslim center
Orthodox Christian center
Coptic Christian center
Cattle
Ceramics
Copper
Foodstuffs
Glass
Gold
Iron
Ivory
Jewelry, trinkets
Kola nuts
Salt
Slaves
Textiles
Tin
Granada
NASRIDS
Algiers
Oran
Constantine
Tunis
Taugiers
Ceuta
Tetuan
Tlemcen
Fez
Rabat
ZIRIDS
Qayrawan
HAFSIDS
WATTASIDS
Tripoli
Barqa
Marrakech
Sijilmasa
Ghadamès
Surte
Alexandria
Jerusalem
CANARY ISLANDS
MAMLUKS
Cairo
Tindouf
Tuat
FEZZAN
Siwa
Awjila
Asyut
Zawila
Auqilah
Taghaza
Ghat
Taurirt
Tavdeni
Aswan
Idjil
Murzuq
MARIS
Aydhab
Mecca
ARABIA
Muscat
OMAN
Akjoujt
Chinguetti
Selima
Ibrim
Daw
Tichitt
Tademakka
Bilma
Sawakin
Red Sea
Walata
MEMA
Fabara
Takedda
Dongola
Meroe
Takrur
Ghana
Timbuktu
Gao
Kukiya
Berber
MALI
SONGHAI
KANEM-BORNU
Soba
Debarwa
BAMBUK
Niani
Njimi
Darfur
ALODIA
Sennar
YEMEN
Kirina
Jenne
Axum
Aden
Bamako
Segu
Wagadugu
Katsina
Abesehr
Gulf of Aden
SOCOTRA
Mali
Kangaba
Bobo Dioulasso
HAUSA STATES
Kano
Sana
Adefa
Zayla
Kouroussa
Nupe
Zaria
ADAL
Berbera
BURE
Kankan
JULA
TRADERS
Debra Birhan
SOLOMONID ETHIOPIA
Harar
Kong
Salaga
Oyo
Ife
Bouar
SOMALIS
Begho
Bono Manso
Benin
Igbo Ukwu
BENIN
Obbia
Ke
BIOKO
Lake Turkana
GABON
BUGANDA
Kibiro
Mogadishu
KITARA
Rubaga
Baraawe
Bigo
Ntusi
TIO
Manda
Lamu
Gedi
Malindi
INDIAN OCEAN
ZANJ (SWAHILI)
Loango
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Uvinza
Mombasa
PEMBA
ZANZIBAR
EAST AFRICAN TRADING STATES
Mpinda
Mbanza Kongo
KONGO
MATAMBA
Sanga
LUBA
MAFIA
Luanda
Ivuna
Kilwa
NDONGO
LUNDA
Karonga
Bunkeva
COMOROS
Kapeni
Vohemar
Lealui
Victoria Falls
Mozambique
Mawudzu
Angoche
Ingombe Ilede
Chedzurgwe
Tete
Hunguza
Vohitrandriana
MADAGASCAR
MWENE MUTAPA
Sena
Great Zimbabwe
Quelimane
SIHANAKA
Inyanga
LEOPARD'S KOPJE
Sofala
Mozambique Channel
Tanarive
Ambohimanga
Khami
Zimbabwe
Manekweni
MERINA
Mapungubwe
SOTHO TSWANA
Phalaborwa
Inhambane
INYAKA
NGUNI
Vaal R.
Orange R.
KHOI-SAN





ISLAMIC WORLD c. 1000 AD

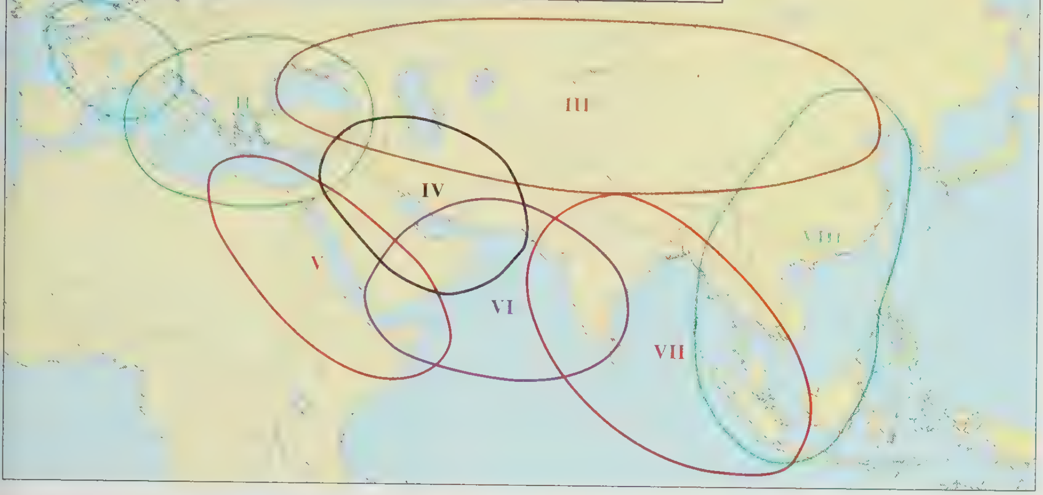

KHAZAR KINGDOM
Aral Sea
Jaxartes
Lake Balqash
Caspian Sea
Tiflis
SHIRVAN
ARRAN
Tabriz
AZERBAIJAN
GILAN
JAZIRA
Tigris
JIBAL
Ray
Qum
TABARISTAN
JURJAN
QUMIS
Baghdad
Isfahan
Kufa
IRAQ
KHUZISTAN
Basra
Shiraz
FARS
Yazd
Kirman
KHWARAZM
Urganch
Oxus
TRANSOXIANA
Tashkent
Bukhara
Samarqand
SUGHD
Marv
Nishapur
KHURASAN
Harat
Balkh
HINDU KUSH
Kabul
Indus
QUHISTAN
Qandahar
SISTAN
KIRMAN
Lahore
Multan
Persian Gulf
BAHRAIN
Hurmuz
MAKRAN
SIND
Daybul
Gulf of Oman
ARABIA
NAJD
YAMAMA
OMAN
Kanbaya
Baruza
Sumanat
Zafar
YEMEN
Arabian Sea
Calicut
Zeila
INDIAN OCEAN
50
40
30
20
10
0
ISLAMIC WORLD c. 800 AD
Limits of Islamic Political Authority
Capital Cities
Lands under 'Abbasid Sovereignty
Other Islamic States

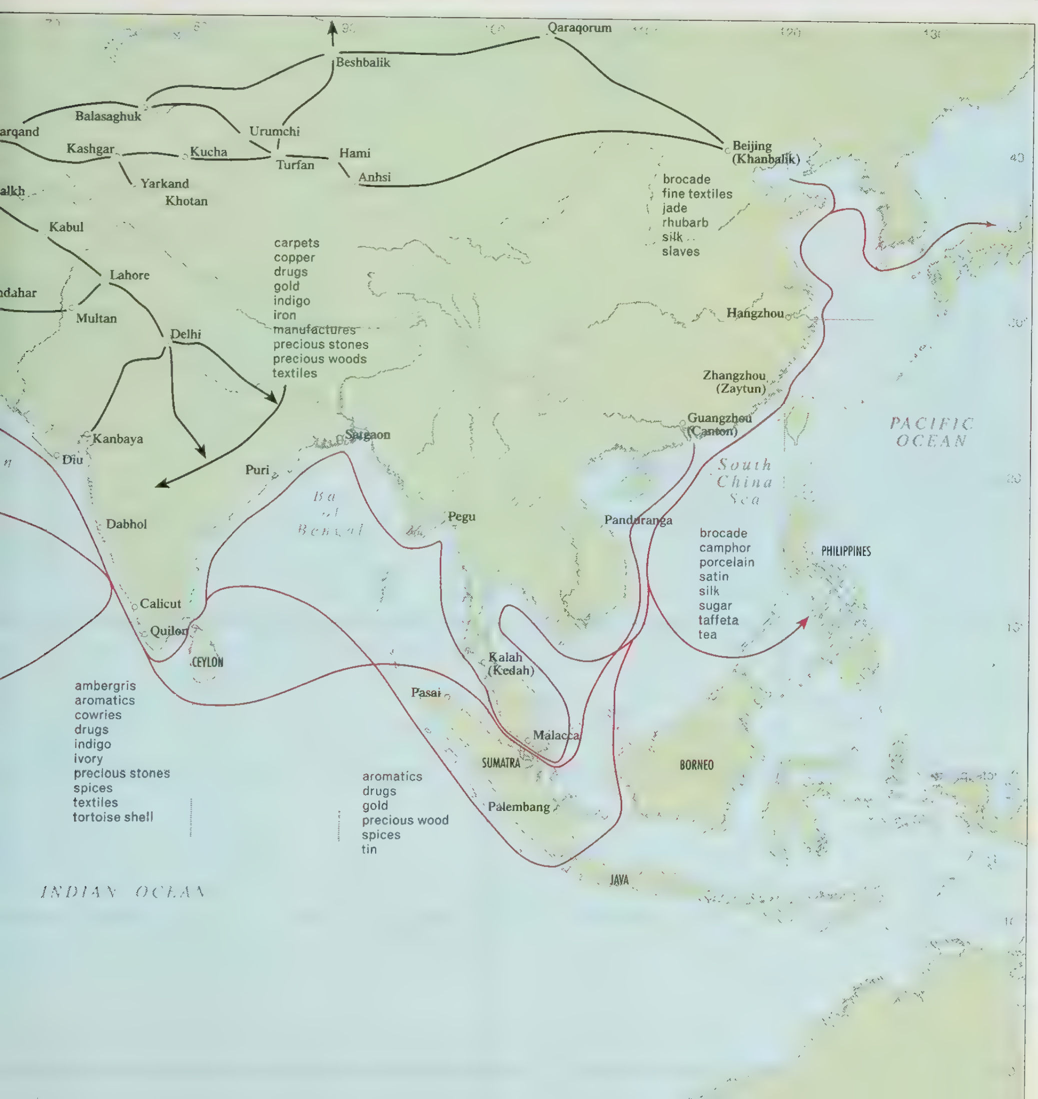


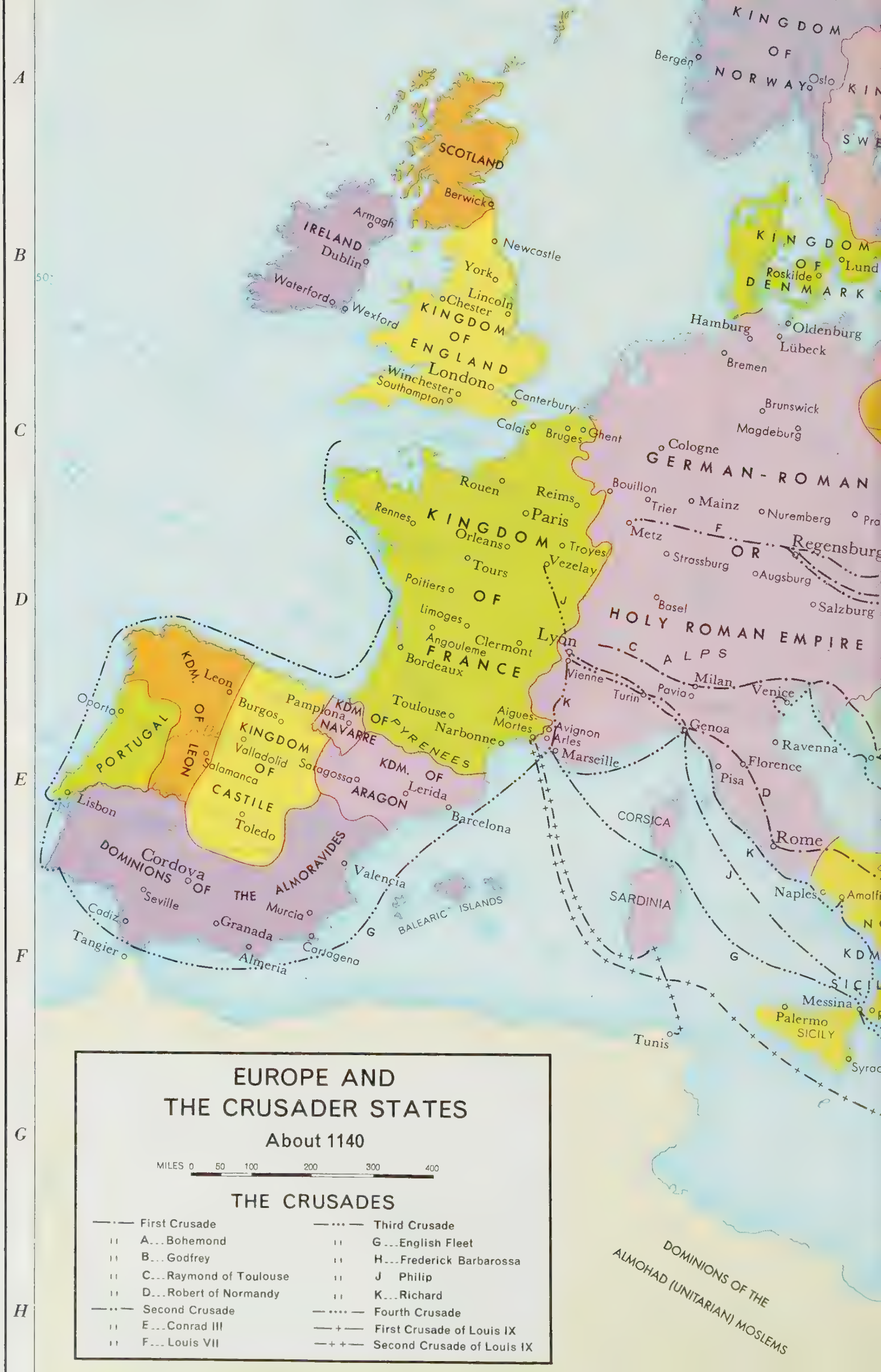
INTERNATIONAL TRADE

1350 A.D. – 1450 A.D.

AFRO-EURASIAN TRADE CIRCUITS

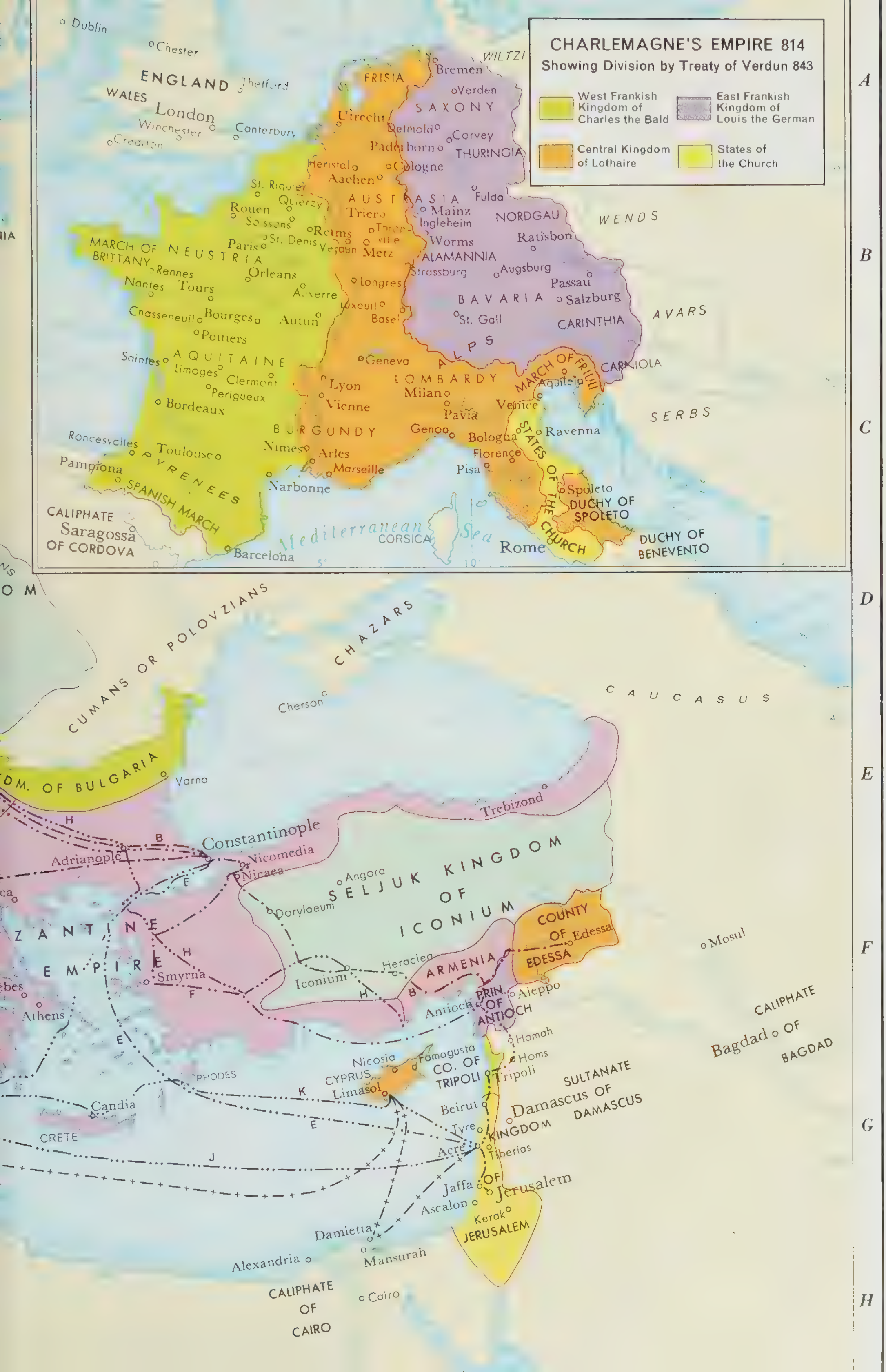




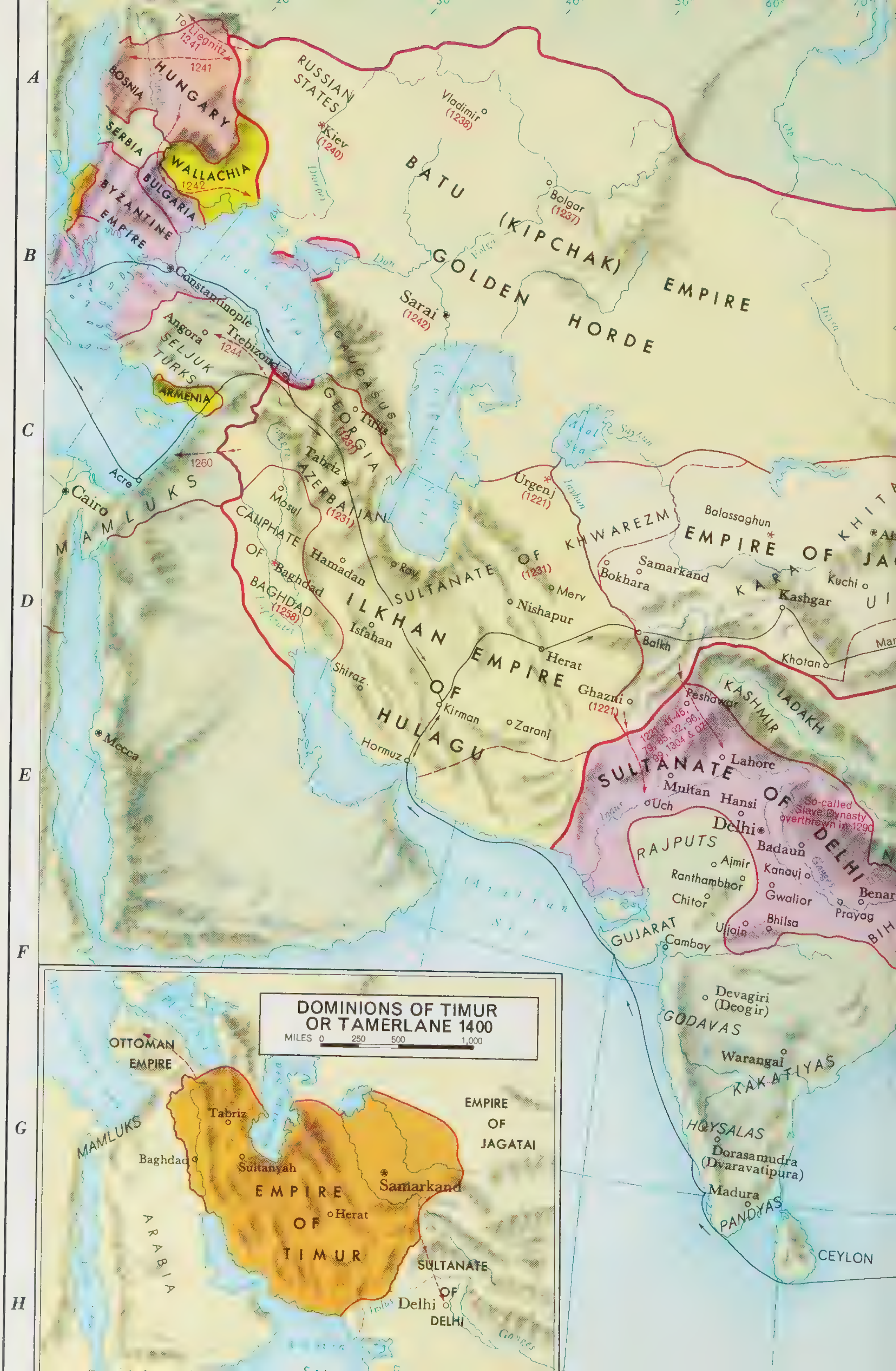


EUROPE AND THE CRUSADER STATES

About 1140


CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE 814

Showing Division by Treaty of Verdun 843


A
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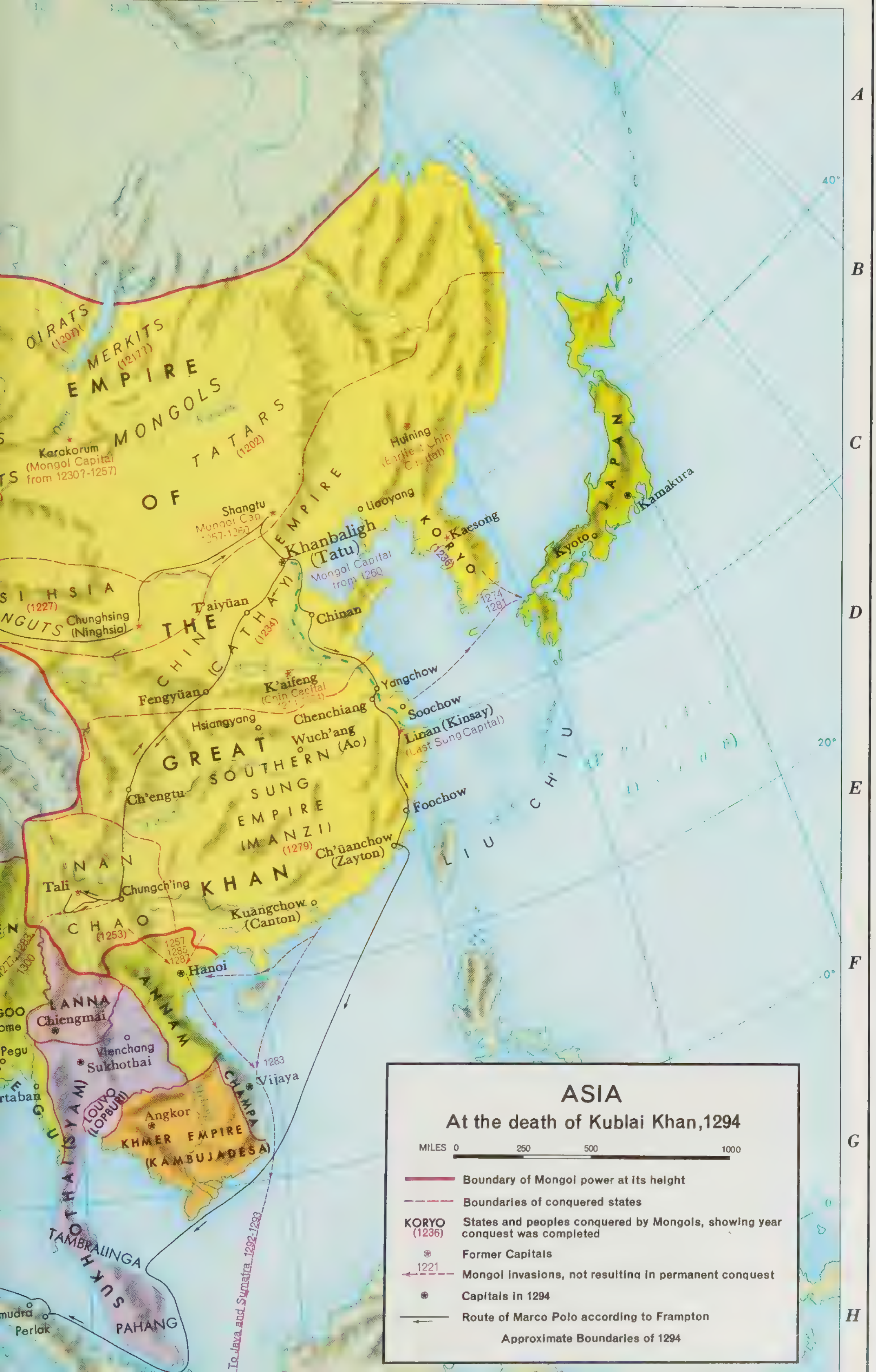
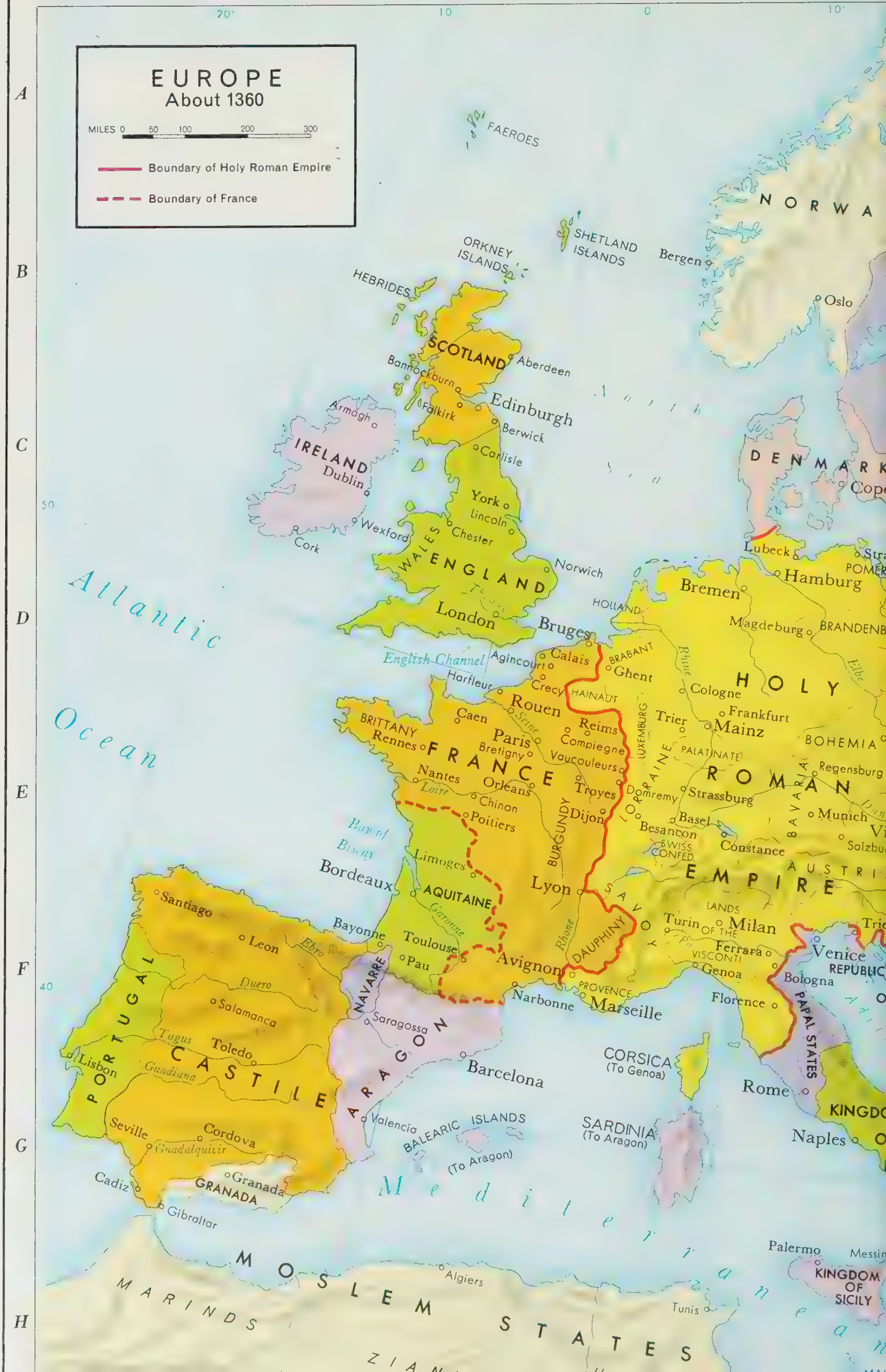
To Liegnitz 1241
1241
HUNGARY
BOSNIA
SERBIA
WALLACHIA
1242
BULGARIA
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
RUSSIAN STATES
Vladimir (1238)
Kiev (1240)
Dnieper
BATU (KIPCHAK) EMPIRE
GOLDEN HORDE
Bolgar (1237)
Volga
Don
Sarai (1242)
Black Sea
Constantinople
Trebizond
Angora
1244
SELJUK TURKS
ARMENIA
CAUCASUS
GEORGIA (1231)
Tiflis
Tabriz
AZERBAIJAN (1231)
1260
Acre
Cairo
MAMLUKS
Mosul
CALIPHATE OF BAGHDAD (1258)
Baghdad
Hamadan
Rey
Isfahan
Shiraz
Tigris
Euphrates
ILKHAN EMPIRE OF HULAGU
SULTANATE OF KHWAREZM (1231)
Aral Sea
Urgenj (1221)
Jaxartes
Merv
Nishapur
Herat
Balkh
Bokhara
Samarkand
Balassaghun
EMPIRE OF KARA KHITAI
Kuchi
Kashgar
Khotan
Ghazni (1221)
Kirman
Zaranj
Hormuz
Mecca
Peshawar
KASHMIR
LADAKH
1221, 41-45, 79, 85, 92, 96, 99, 1304 & 07
SULTANATE OF DELHI
So-called Slave Dynasty overthrown in 1290
Lahore
Multan
Hansi
Uch
Indus
Delhi
Badaun
Ganges
RAJPUTS
Ajmir
Ranthambhor
Chitor
Kanauj
Gwalior
Bhilsa
Ujjain
Prayag
Benares
GUJARAT
Cambay
Arabian Sea
Devagiri (Deogir)
GODAVAS
Warangal
KAKATIYAS
HOYSALAS
Dorasamudra (Dvaravatipura)
Madura
PANDYAS
CEYLON
DOMINIONS OF TIMUR OR TAMERLANE 1400
MILES 0 250 500 1,000
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MAMLUKS
Tabriz
Baghdad
Sultanyah
EMPIRE OF TIMUR
Samarkand
Herat
EMPIRE OF JAGATAI
ARABIA
SULTANATE OF DELHI
Delhi
Indus
Ganges

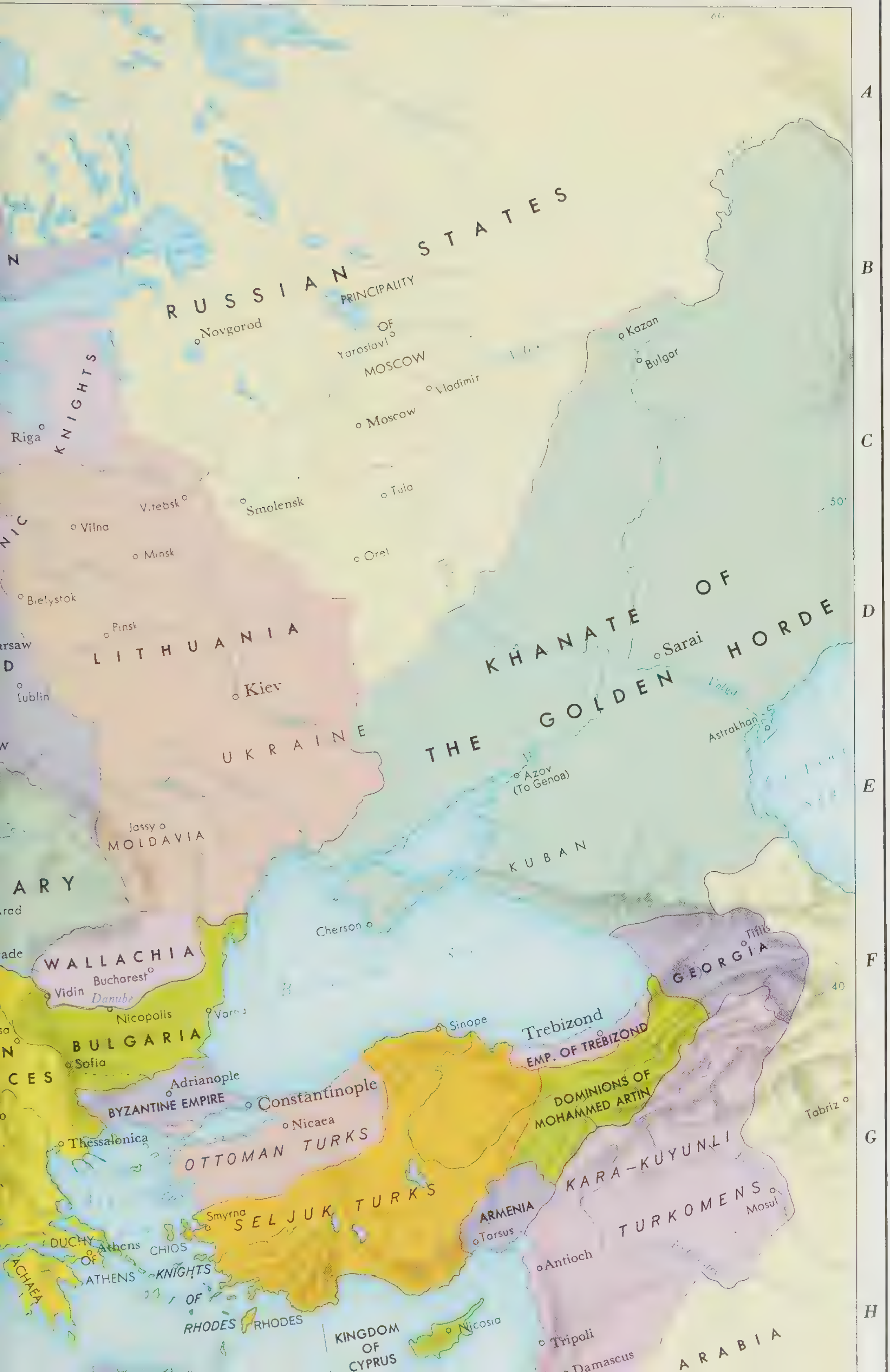


ASIA

At the death of Kublai Khan, 1294



EUROPE
About 1360


A
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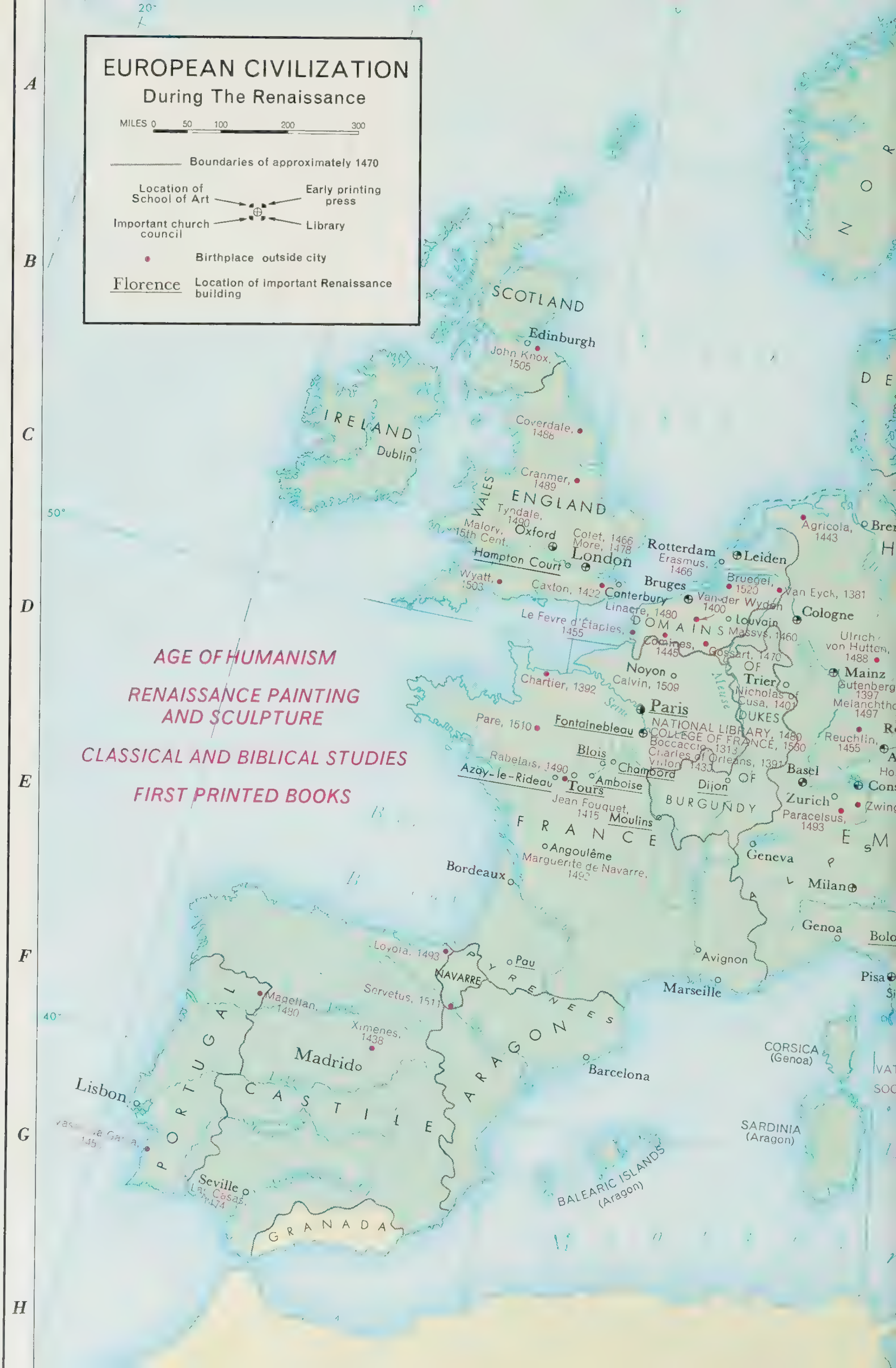
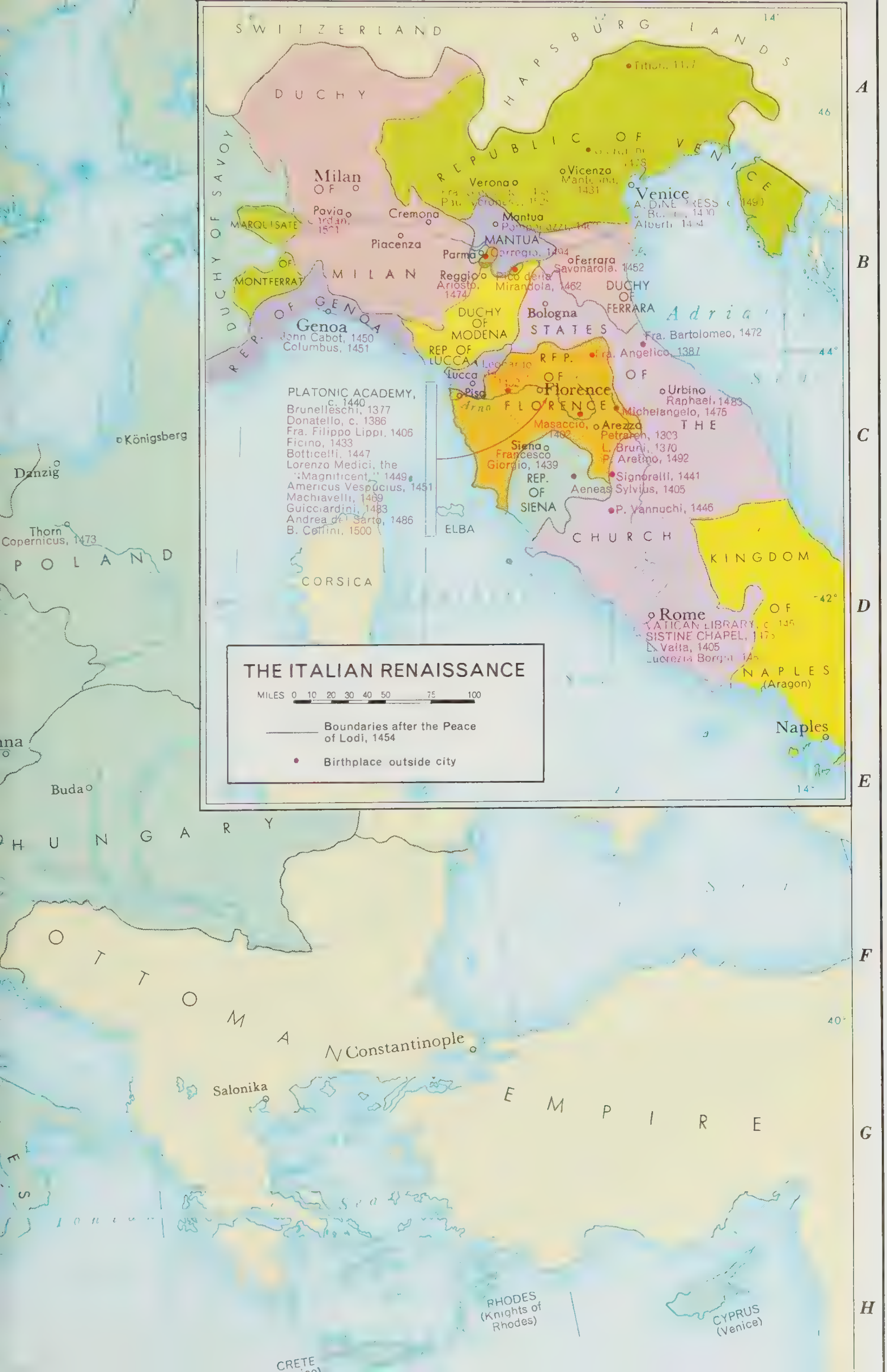
RUSSIAN STATES
PRINCIPALITY OF MOSCOW
Novgorod
Yaroslavl
Vladimir
Moscow
Kazan
Bulgar
KNIGHTS
Riga
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Tula
Vilna
Minsk
Orel
Bielystok
Pinsk
LITHUANIA
Kiev
UKRAINE
Lublin
KHANATE OF THE GOLDEN HORDE
Sarai
Volga
Astrakhan
Azov (To Genoa)
KUBAN
50
Jassy
MOLDAVIA
ARY
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
Vidin
Danube
Nicopolis
Varna
BULGARIA
Sofia
Cherson
Sinope
Trebizond
EMP. OF TREBIZOND
GEORGIA
Tiflis
40
Adrianople
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Constantinople
Nicaea
DOMINIONS OF MOHAMMED ARTIN
Tabriz
Thessalonica
OTTOMAN TURKS
KARA-KUYUNLI
SELJUK TURKS
Smyrna
ARMENIA
Tarsus
TURKOMENS
Mosul
DUCHY OF ATHENS
Athens
CHIOS
KNIGHTS OF RHODES
RHODES
ACHAEA
Antioch
KINGDOM OF CYPRUS
Nicosia
Tripoli
Damascus
ARABIA

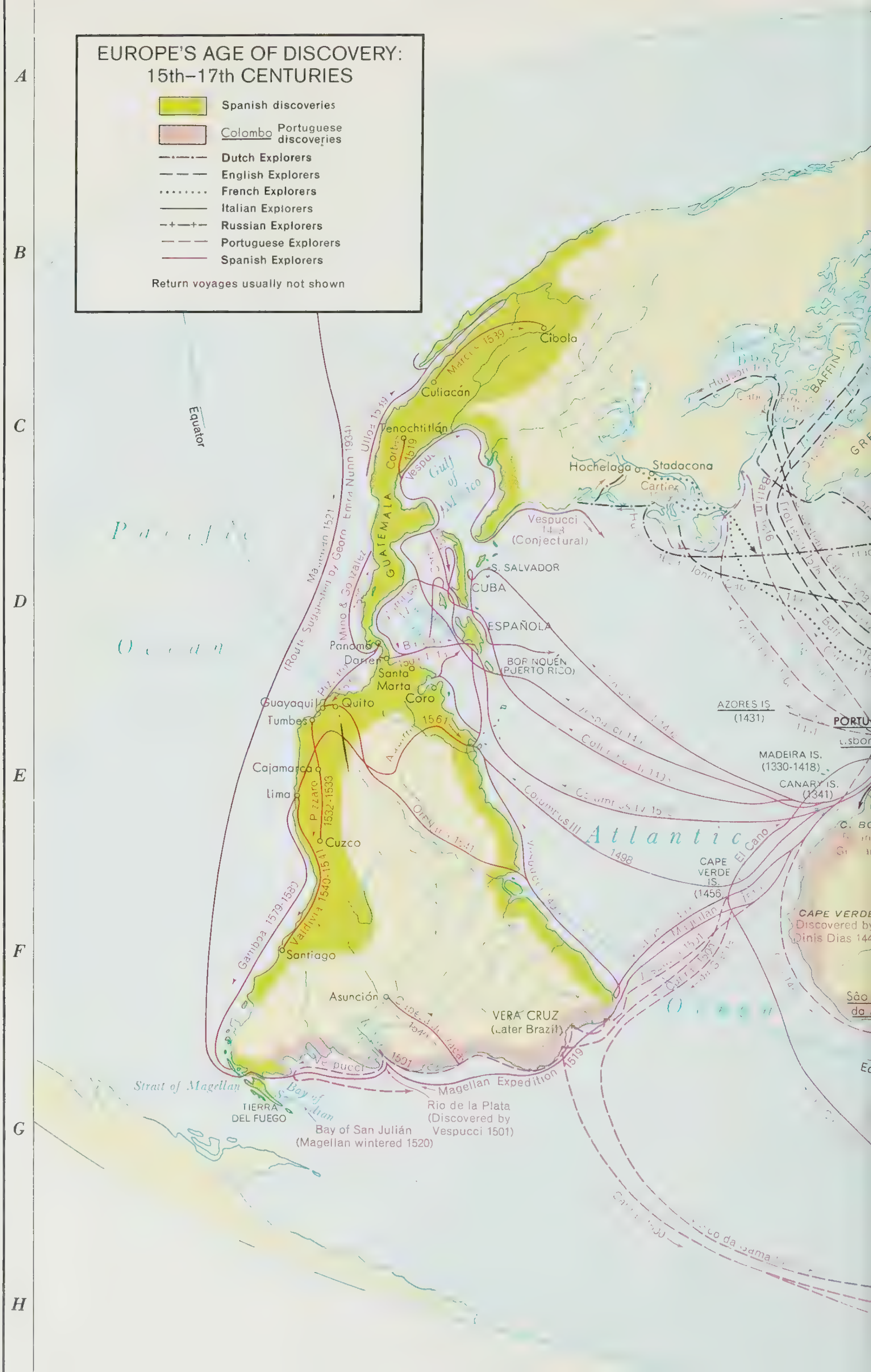


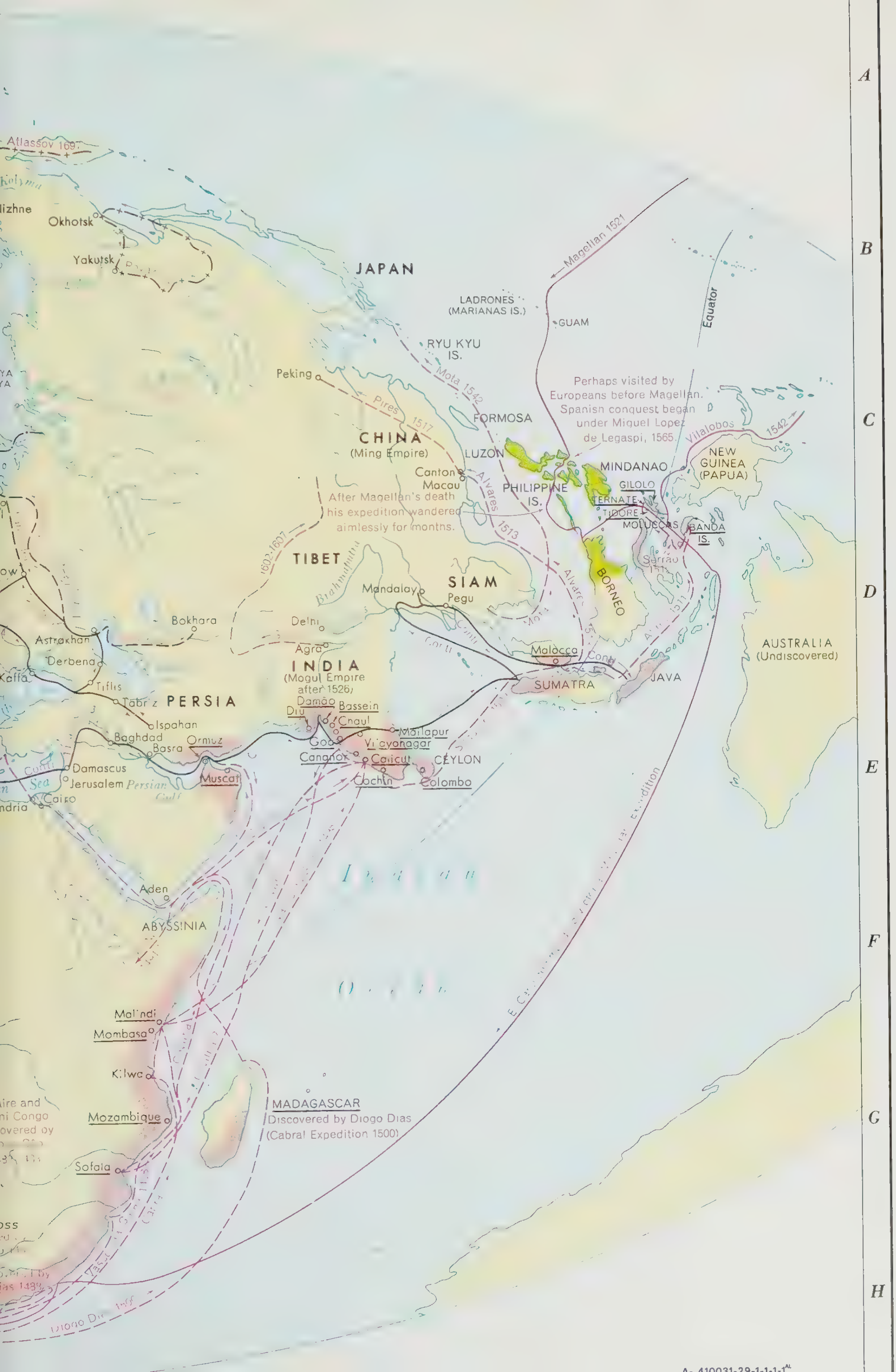
EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

During The Renaissance



THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE


EUROPE'S AGE OF DISCOVERY: 15th–17th CENTURIES
Spanish discoveries
Colombo Portuguese discoveries
Dutch Explorers
English Explorers
French Explorers
Italian Explorers
Russian Explorers
Portuguese Explorers
Spanish Explorers
Return voyages usually not shown
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
Equator
Pacific
Ocean
Cibola
Marcos 1539
Culiacán
Ulloa 1539
Tenochtitlán
Cortés 1519
Vespucci
Gulf of Mexico
GUATEMALA
Magellan 1521
(Route Suggested by George Emra Nunn 1934)
Niño & Gonzalez
Hochelaga
Stadacona
Cartier
Vespucci 1498 (Conjectural)
S. SALVADOR
CUBA
ESPAÑOLA
BORINQUÉN (PUERTO RICO)
Panama
Darien
Santa Marta
Coro
1561
Guayaquil
Quito
Tumbes
Cajamarca
Lima
Pizarro 1532-1533
Cuzco
Orellana 1541
Columbus III 1498
Atlantic
Ocean
El Cano
AZORES IS. (1431)
MADEIRA IS. (1330-1418)
CANARY IS. (1341)
CAPE VERDE IS. (1456)
CAPE VERDE Discovered by Dinis Dias 144
PORTU
Lisbon
BAFFIN I.
Hudson
Baffin 1616
GRE
Magellan
Cabral 1500
Valdivia 1540-1541
Gamboa 1579-1580
Santiago
Asunción
Cabeza de Vaca 1541
VERA CRUZ (Later Brazil)
Vespucci
1501
Magellan Expedition 1519
Strait of Magellan
TIERRA DEL FUEGO
Bay of San Julián
Bay of San Julián (Magellan wintered 1520)
Rio de la Plata (Discovered by Vespucci 1501)
Vasco da Gama
Cabral 1500
São
Ed



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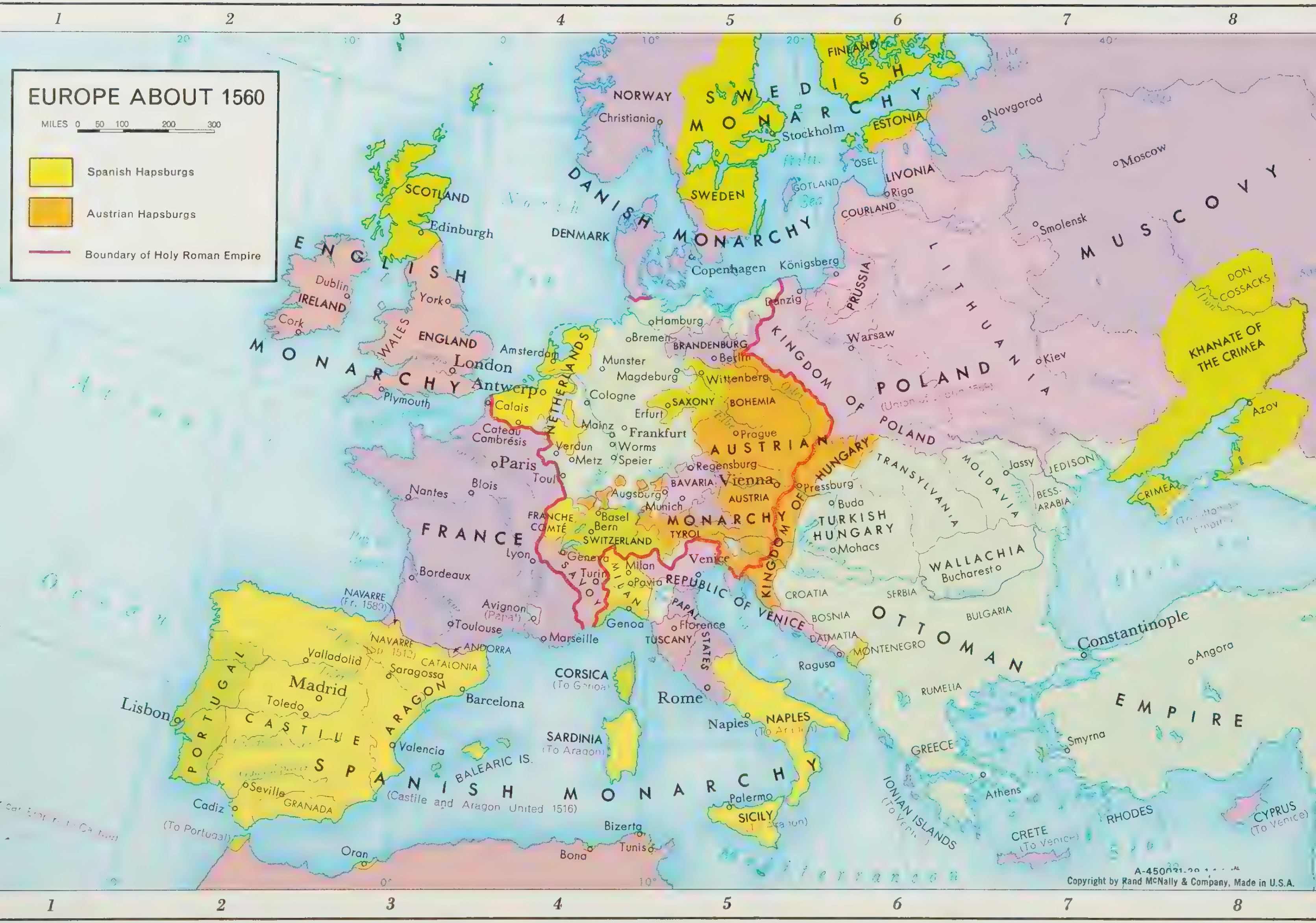

EUROPE ABOUT 1560

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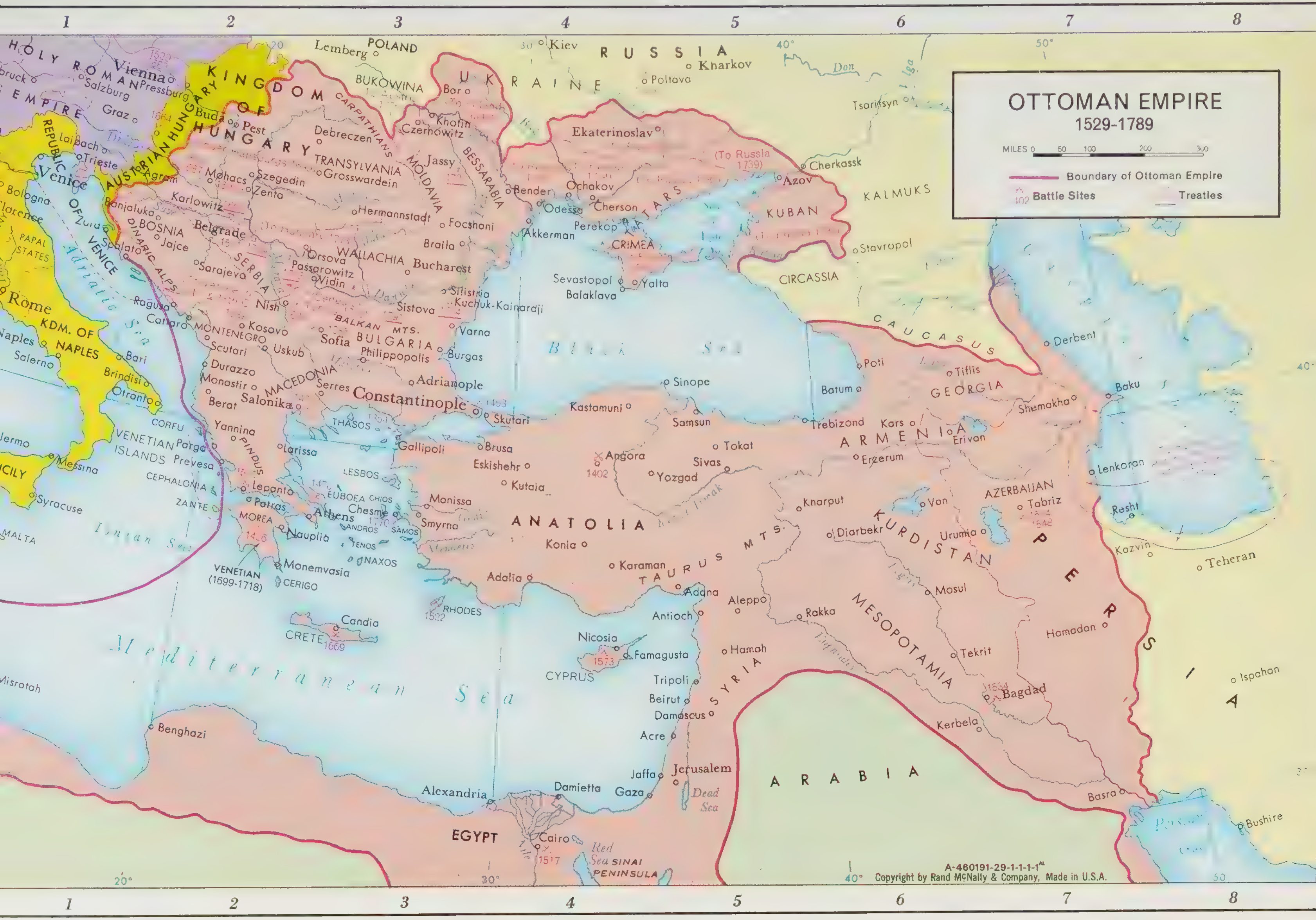

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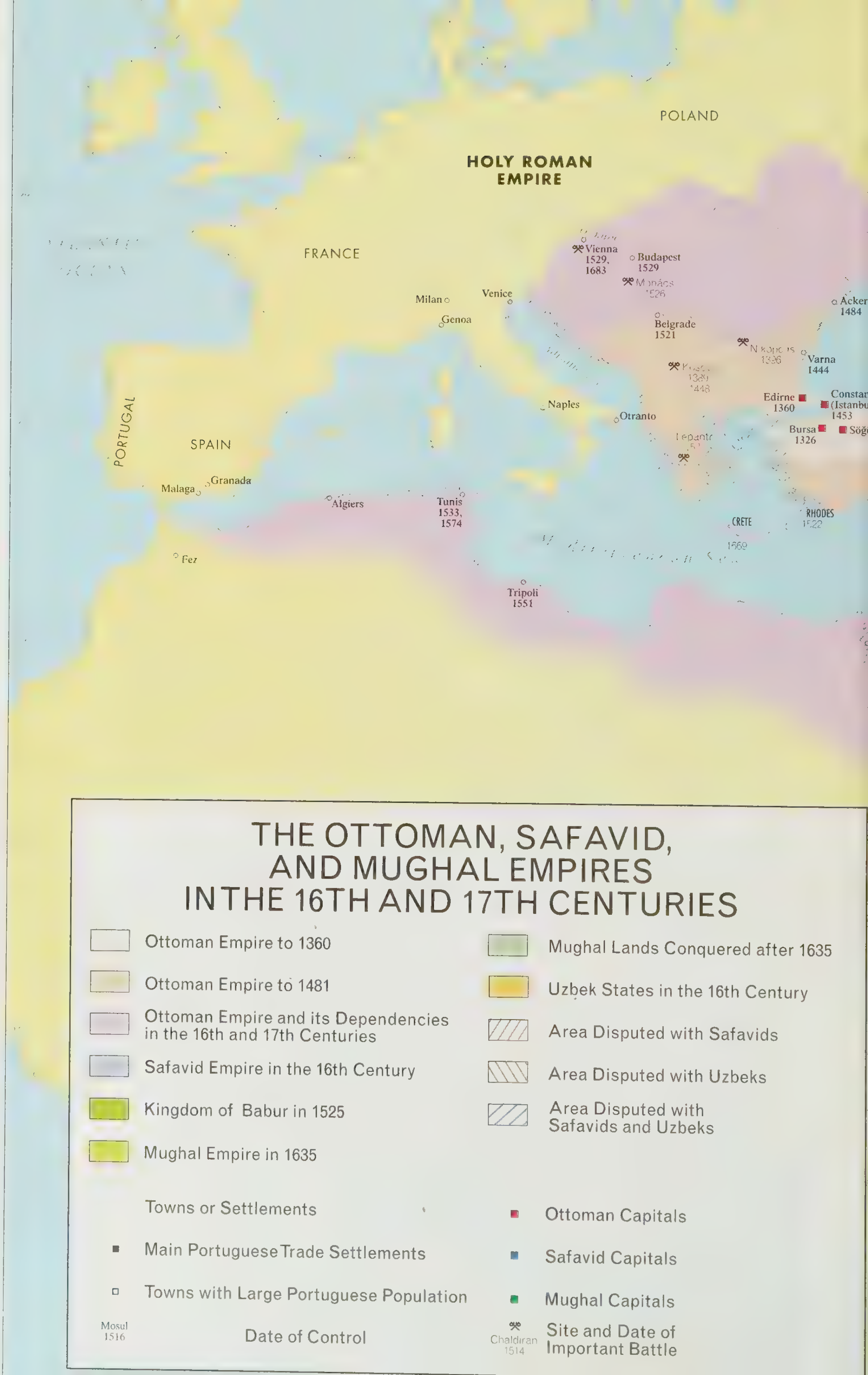
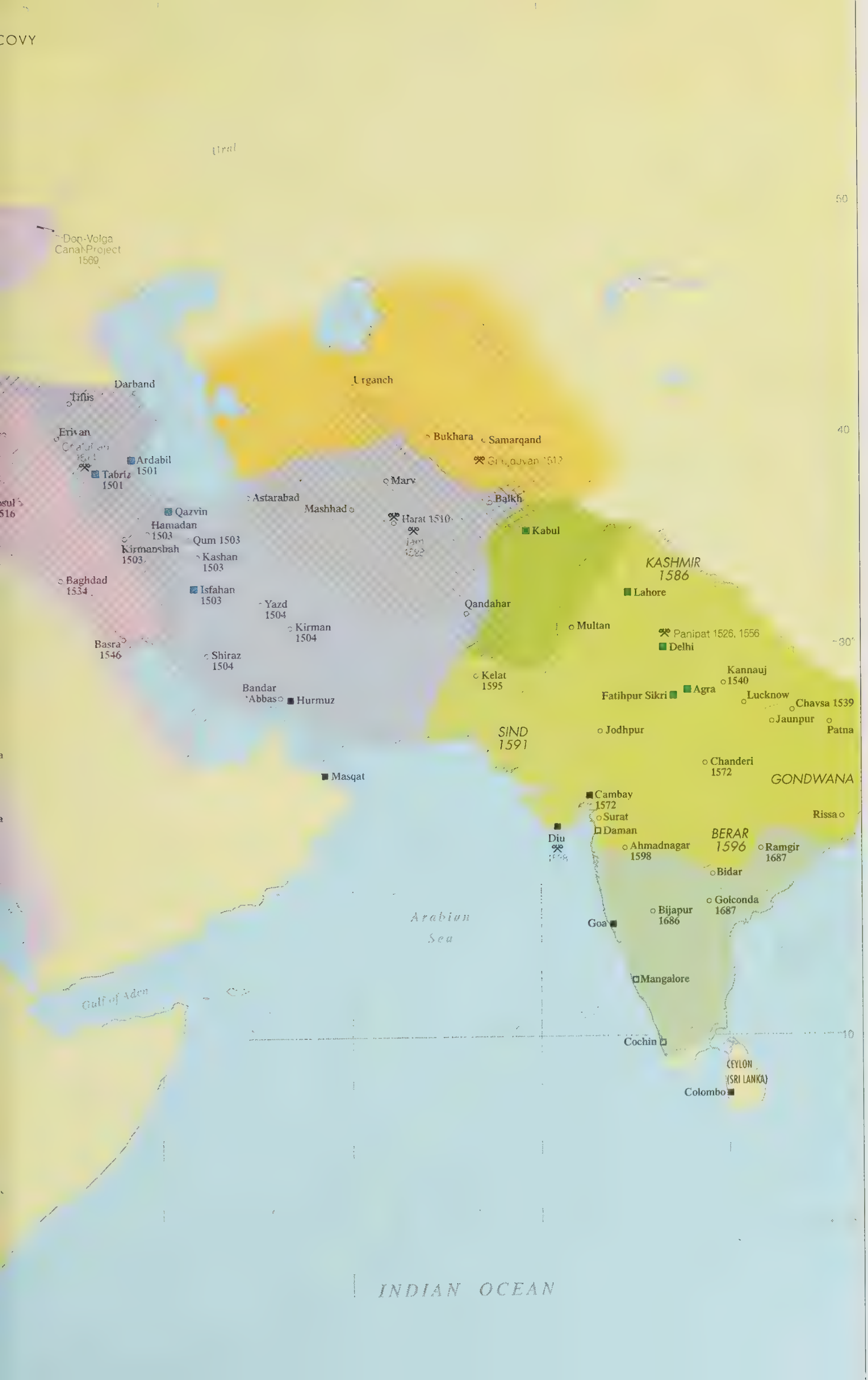
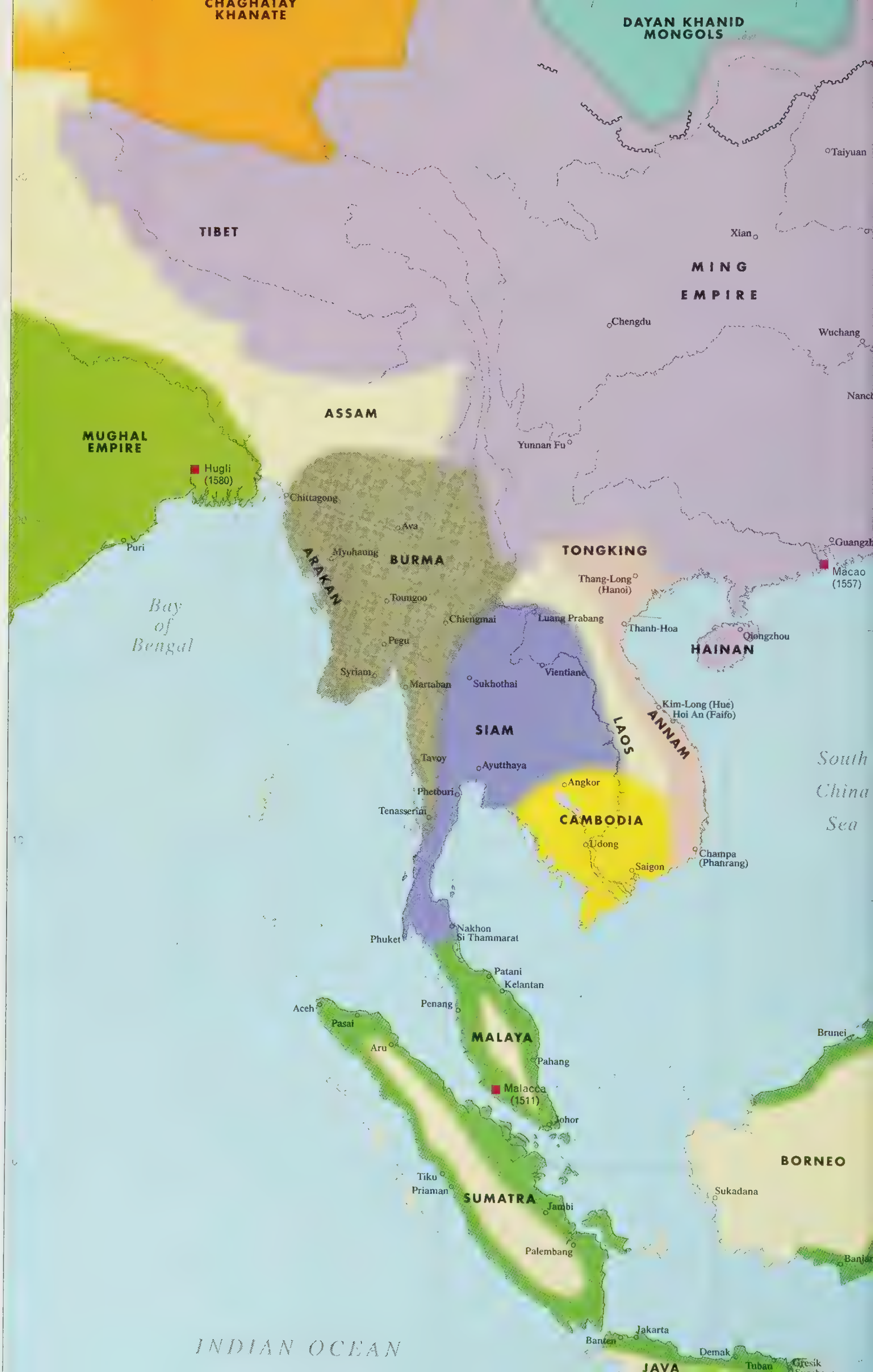


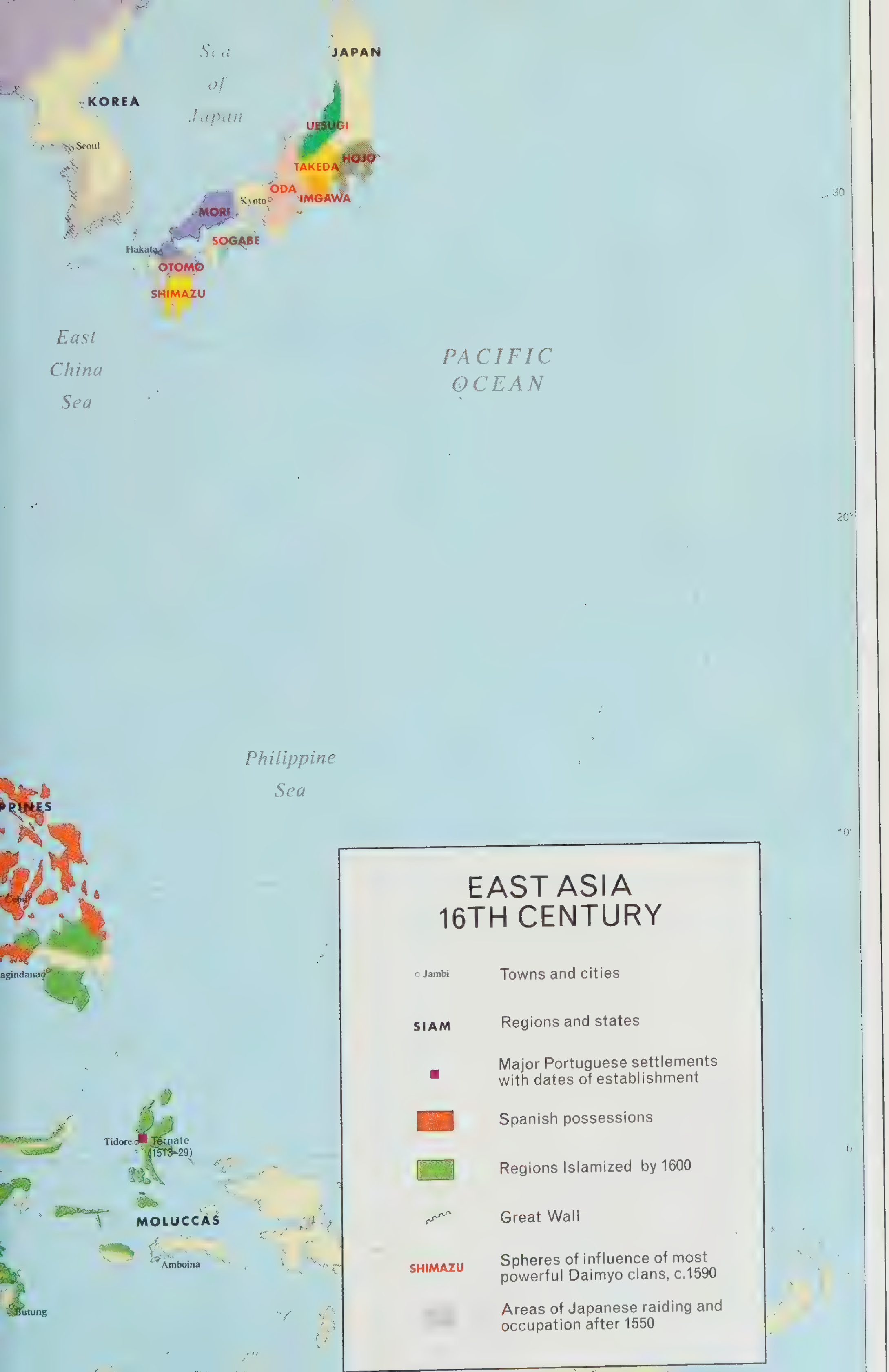
THE OTTOMAN, SAFAVID, AND MUGHAL EMPIRES IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

- Ottoman Empire to 1360
- Ottoman Empire to 1481
- Ottoman Empire and its Dependencies in the 16th and 17th Centuries
- Safavid Empire in the 16th Century
- Kingdom of Babur in 1525
- Mughal Empire in 1635
- Mughal Lands Conquered after 1635
- Uzbek States in the 16th Century
- ▨ Area Disputed with Safavids
- ▨ Area Disputed with Uzbeks
- ▨ Area Disputed with Safavids and Uzbeks

- Towns or Settlements
- ■ Main Portuguese Trade Settlements
- □ Towns with Large Portuguese Population
- Mosul 1516 Date of Control
- ■ Ottoman Capitals
- ■ Safavid Capitals
- ■ Mughal Capitals
- Chaldiran 1514 Site and Date of Important Battle

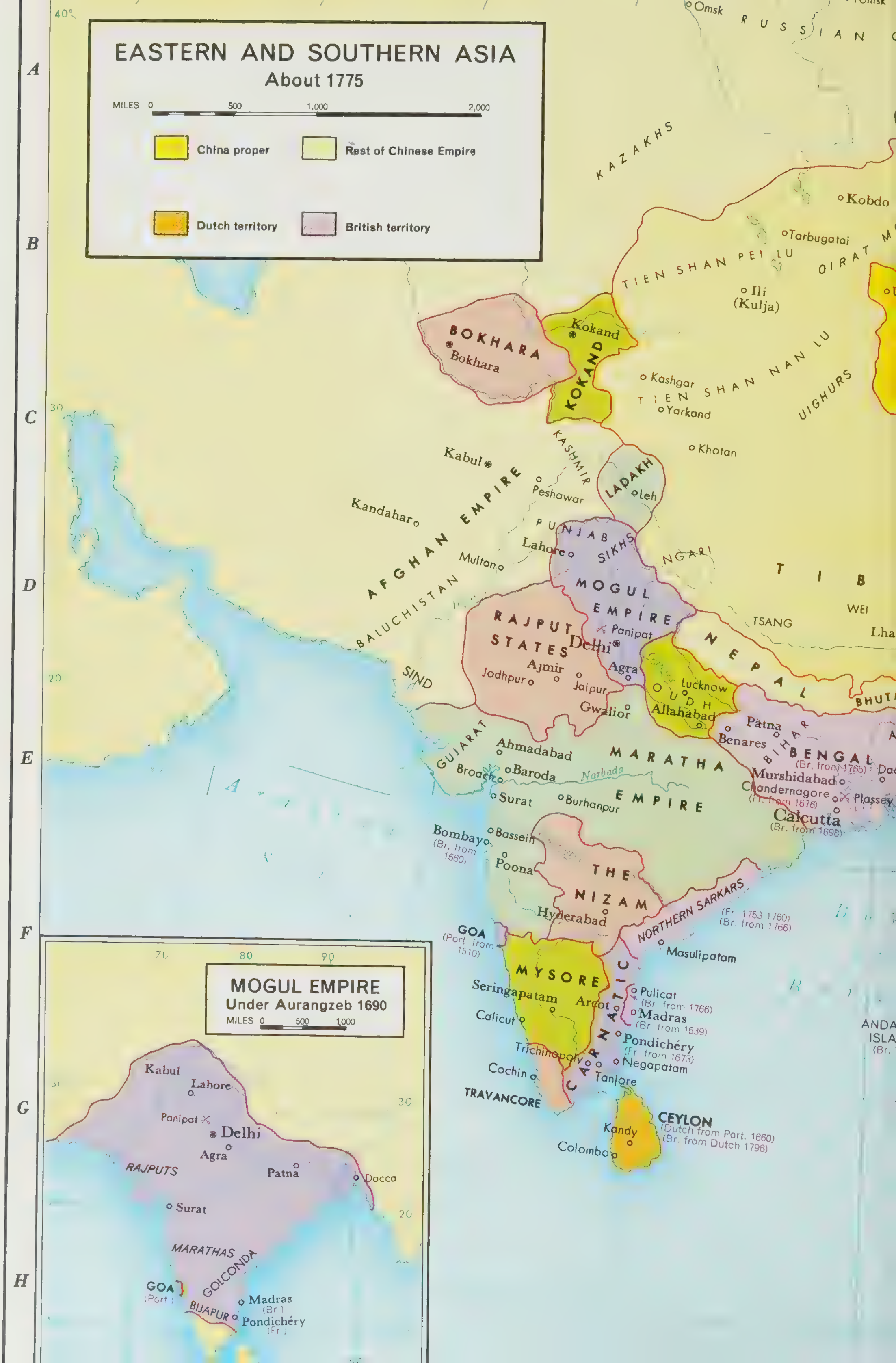

COVY
Ural
50
40
30
10
Don-Volga Canal Project 1569
Darband
Tiflis
Erivan
Chaldiran 1514
Ardabil 1501
Tabriz 1501
osul
516
Qazvin
Hamadan 1503
Kirmanshah 1503
Qum 1503
Kashan 1503
Baghdad 1534
Isfahan 1503
Yazd 1504
Kirman 1504
Basra 1546
Shiraz 1504
Bandar Abbas
Hurmuz
Masqat
Astarabad
Mashhad
Urganch
Bukhara
Samarqand
Ghujduvan 1512
Marv
Balkh
Harat 1510
Jam 1528
Kabul
Qandahar
KASHMIR 1586
Lahore
Multan
Panipat 1526, 1556
Delhi
Kelat 1595
Kannauj 1540
Fatihpur Sikri
Agra
Lucknow
Chavsa 1539
Jaunpur
Patna
SIND 1591
Jodhpur
Chanderi 1572
GONDWANA
Cambay 1572
Surat
Daman
Diu 1509
Rissa
BERAR 1596
Ahmadnagar 1598
Ramgir 1687
Bidar
Golconda 1687
Bijapur 1686
Goa
Arabian Sea
Mangalore
Gulf of Aden
Cochin
CEYLON (SRI LANKA)
Colombo
INDIAN OCEAN


CHAGHATAY KHANATE
DAYAN KHANID MONGOLS
Taiyuan
TIBET
Xian
MING EMPIRE
Chengdu
Wuchang
Nanch
ASSAM
MUGHAL EMPIRE
Yunnan Fu
Hugli (1580)
Chittagong
Ava
Puri
Myohaung
BURMA
ARAKAN
TONGKING
Guangzh
Macao (1557)
Thang-Long (Hanoi)
Toungoo
Bay of Bengal
Chiengmai
Luang Prabang
Thanh-Hoa
Qiongzhou
HAINAN
Pegu
Syriam
Vientiane
Martaban
Sukhothai
Kim-Long (Hue)
Hoi An (Faifo)
SIAM
LAOS
ANNAM
South China Sea
Tavoy
Ayutthaya
Angkor
Phetburi
Tenasserim
CAMBODIA
Udong
Champa (Phanrang)
Saigon
Nakhon Si Thammarat
Phuket
Patani
Kelantan
Aceh
Penang
Pasai
Brunei
MALAYA
Aru
Pahang
Malacca (1511)
Johor
BORNEO
Tiku
Priaman
SUMATRA
Jambi
Sukadana
Palembang
Banjar
INDIAN OCEAN
Banten
Jakarta
Demak
JAVA
Tuban
Gresik

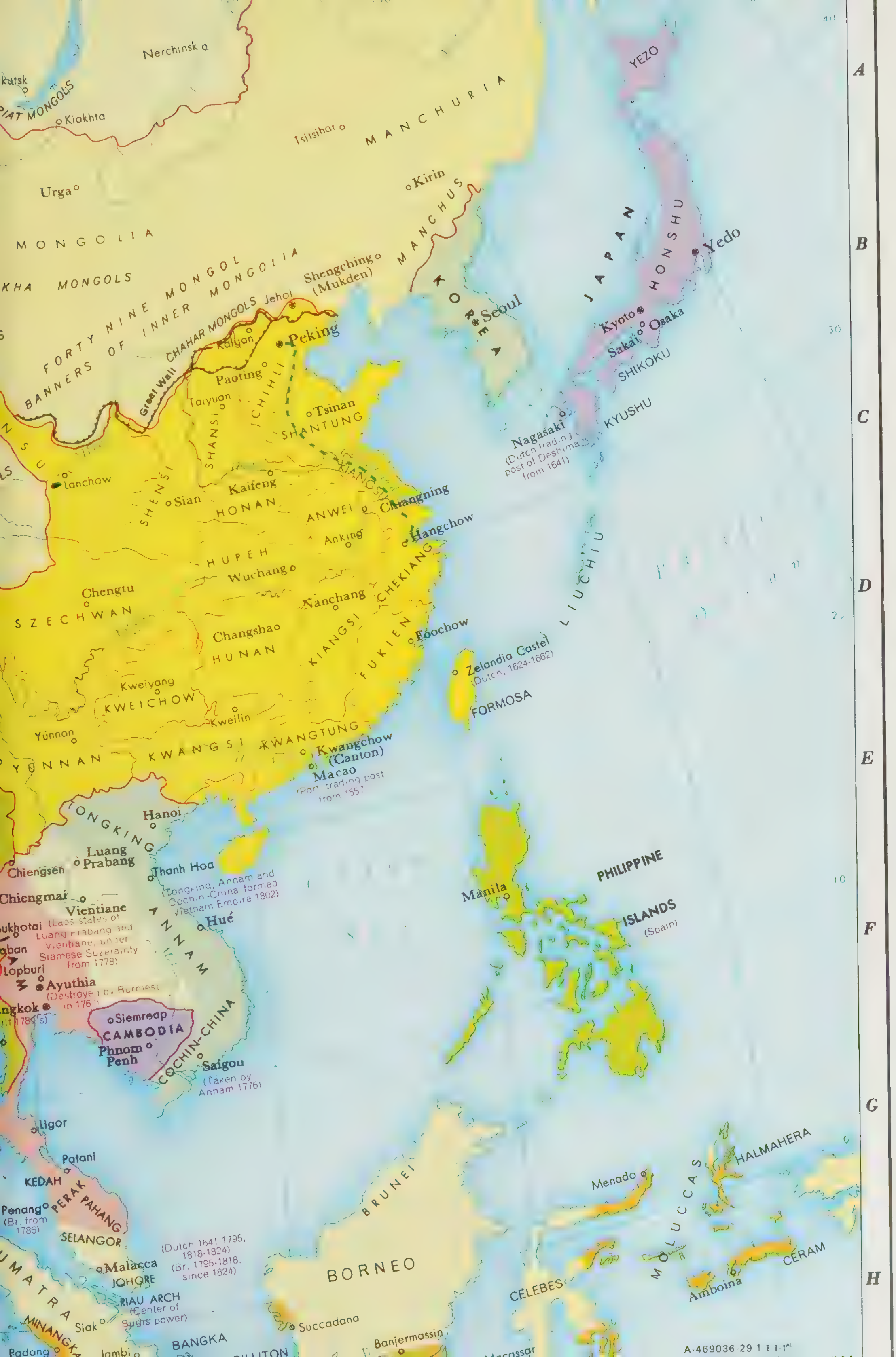


EAST ASIA 16TH CENTURY

]



EASTERN AND SOUTHERN ASIA
About 1775



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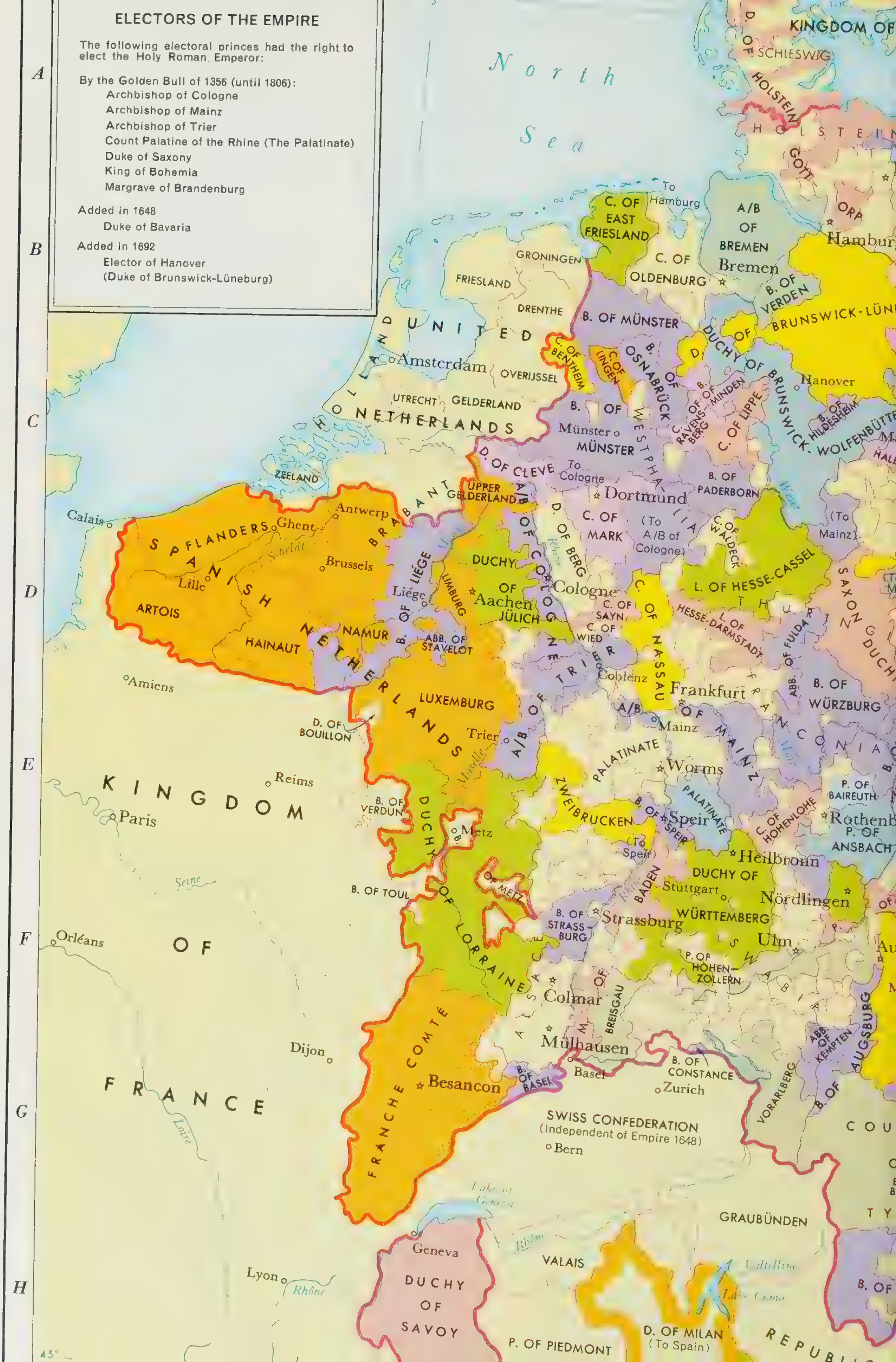


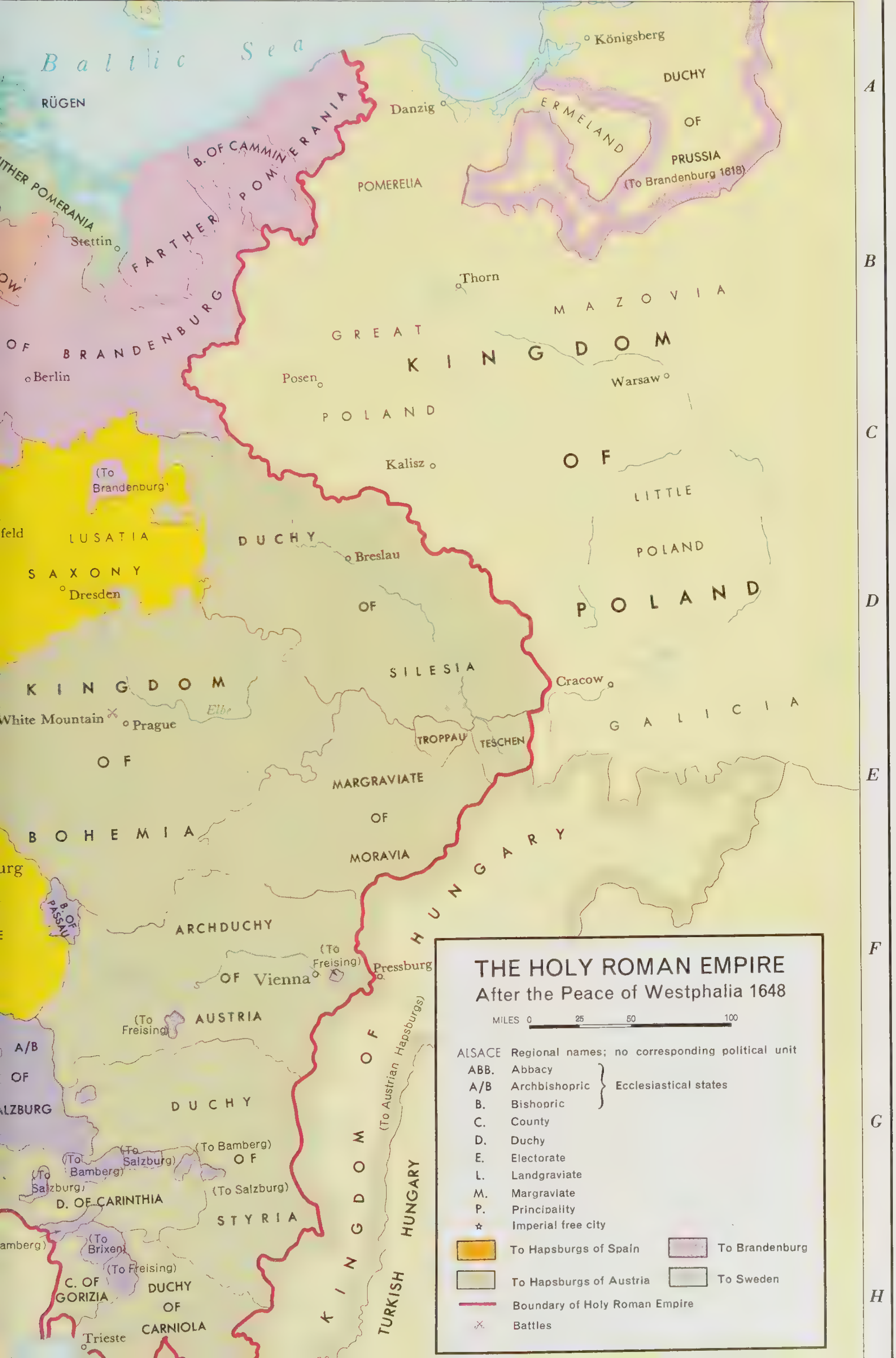
ELECTORS OF THE EMPIRE

The following electoral princes had the right to elect the Holy Roman Emperor:

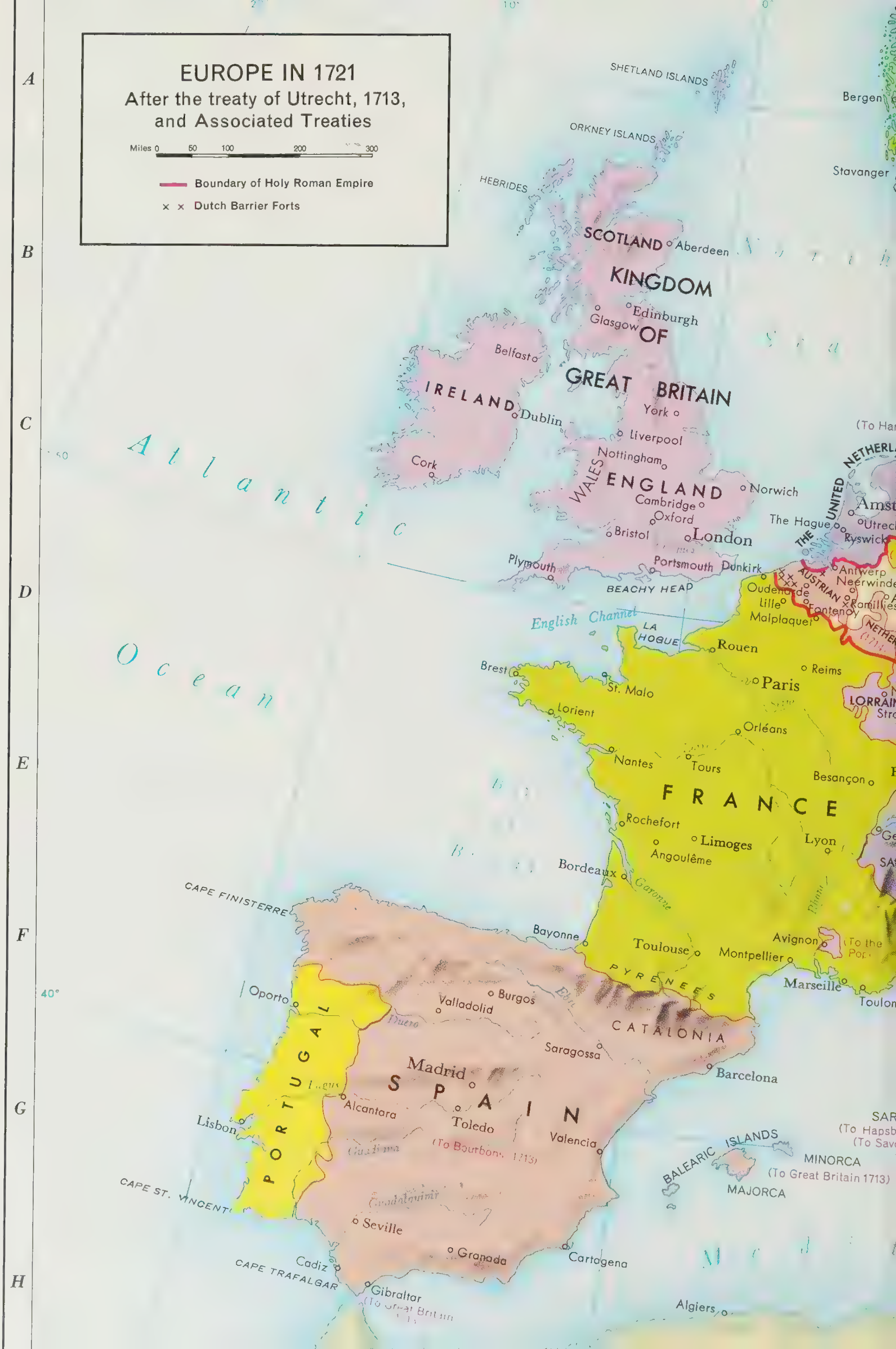
By the Golden Bull of 1356 (until 1806):
- Archbishop of Cologne
- Archbishop of Mainz
- Archbishop of Trier
- Count Palatine of the Rhine (The Palatinate)
- Duke of Saxony
- King of Bohemia
- Margrave of Brandenburg

Added in 1648
- Duke of Bavaria

Added in 1692
- Elector of Hanover
- (Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg)

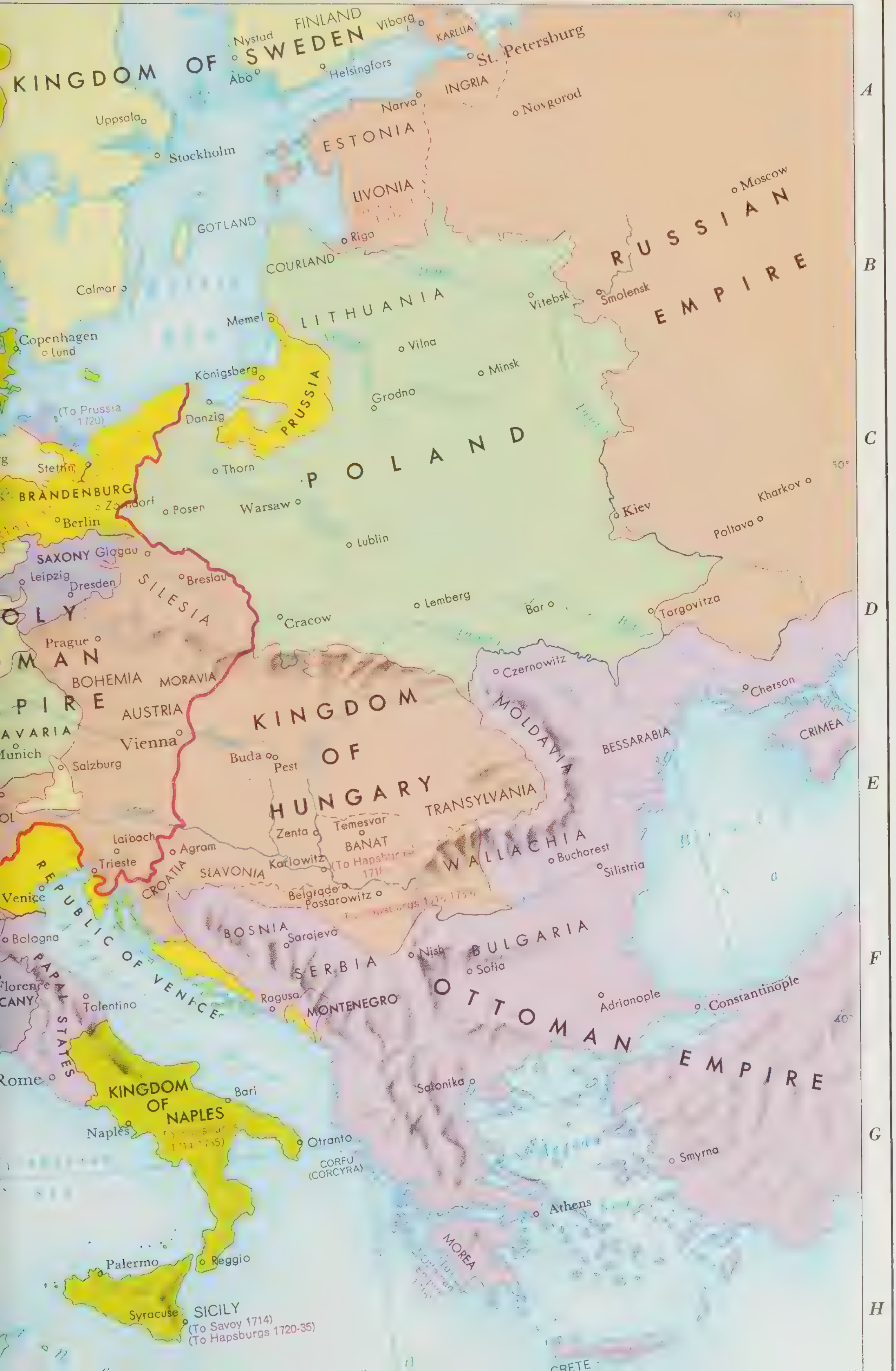


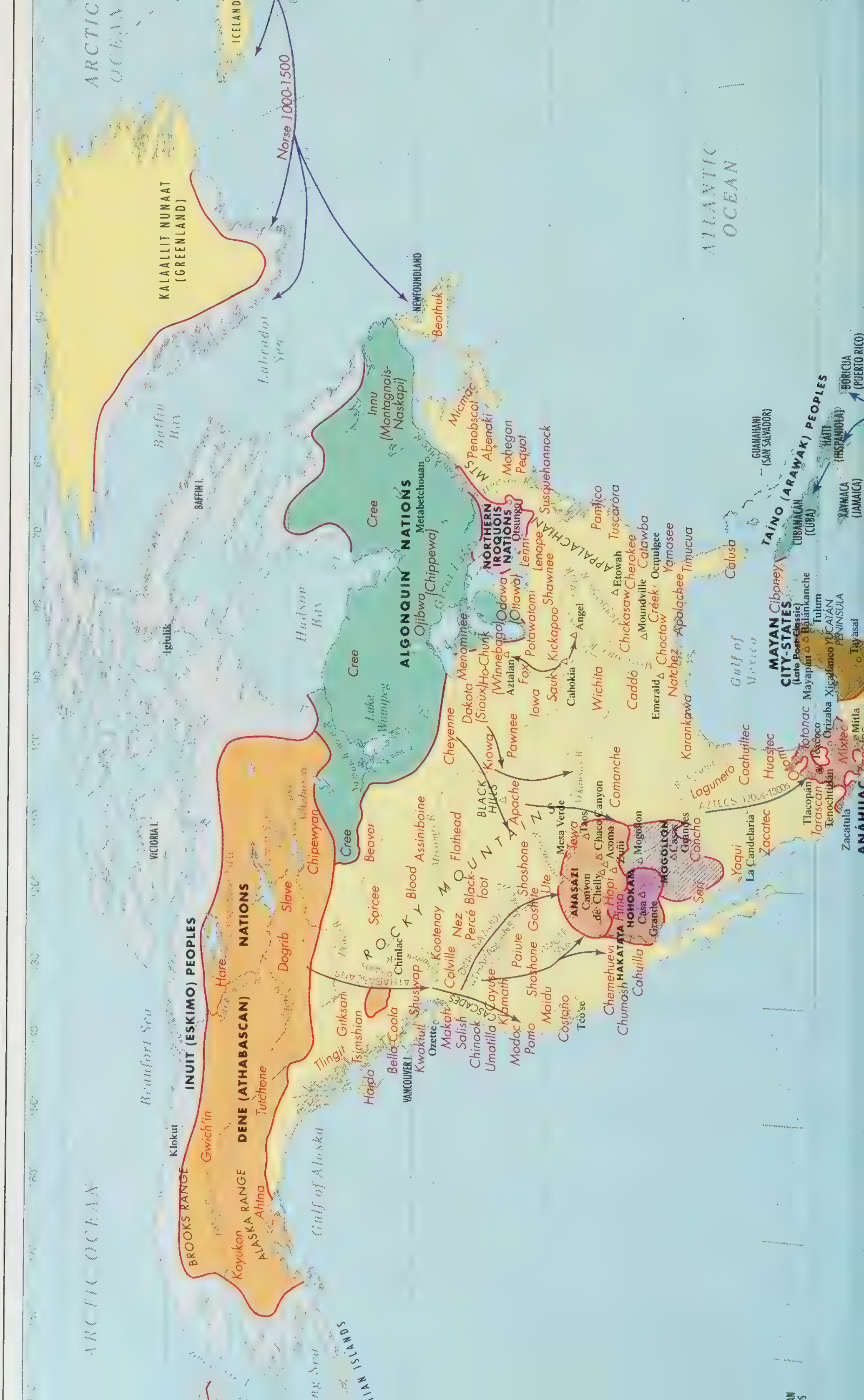
THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
After the Peace of Westphalia 1648

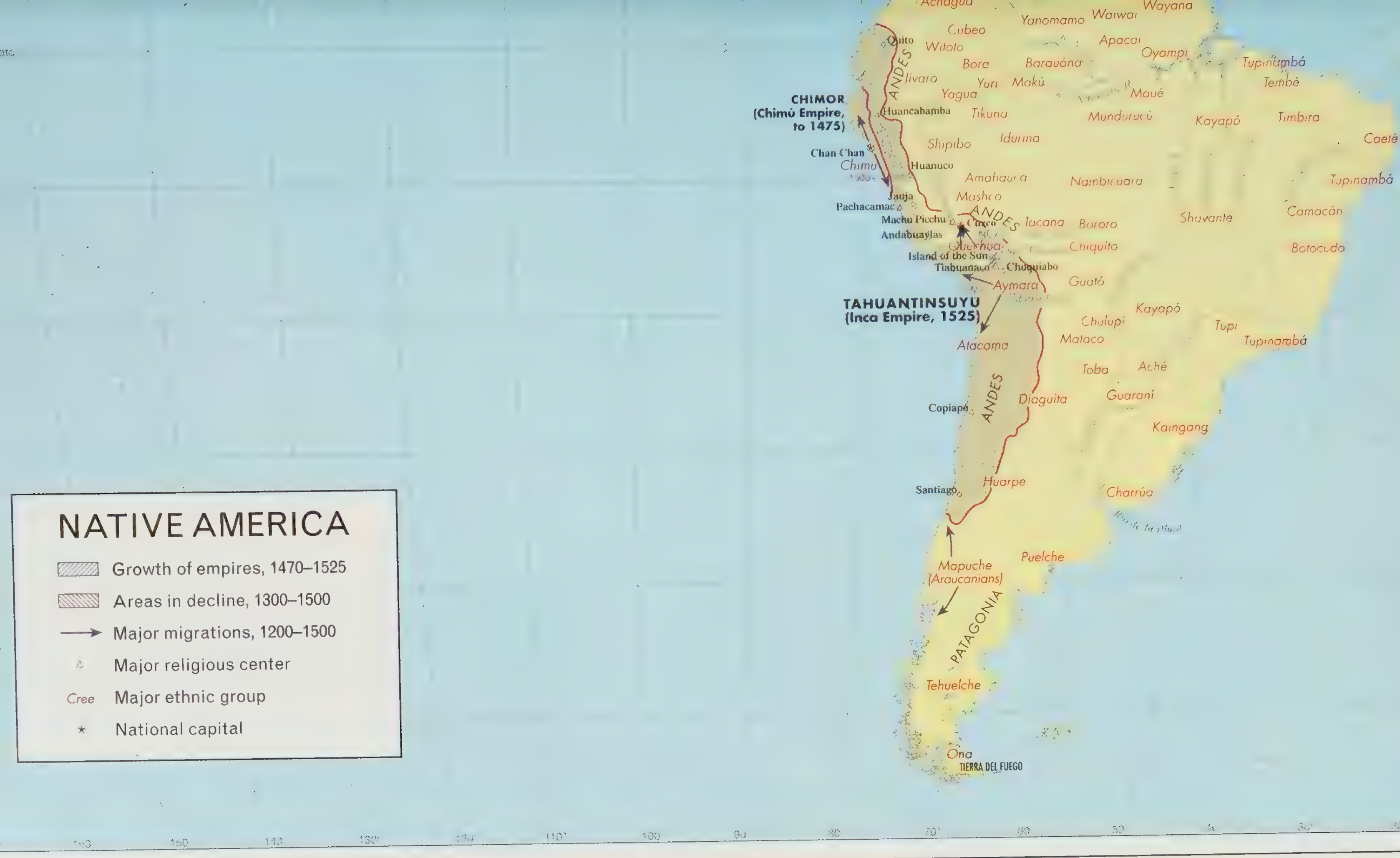


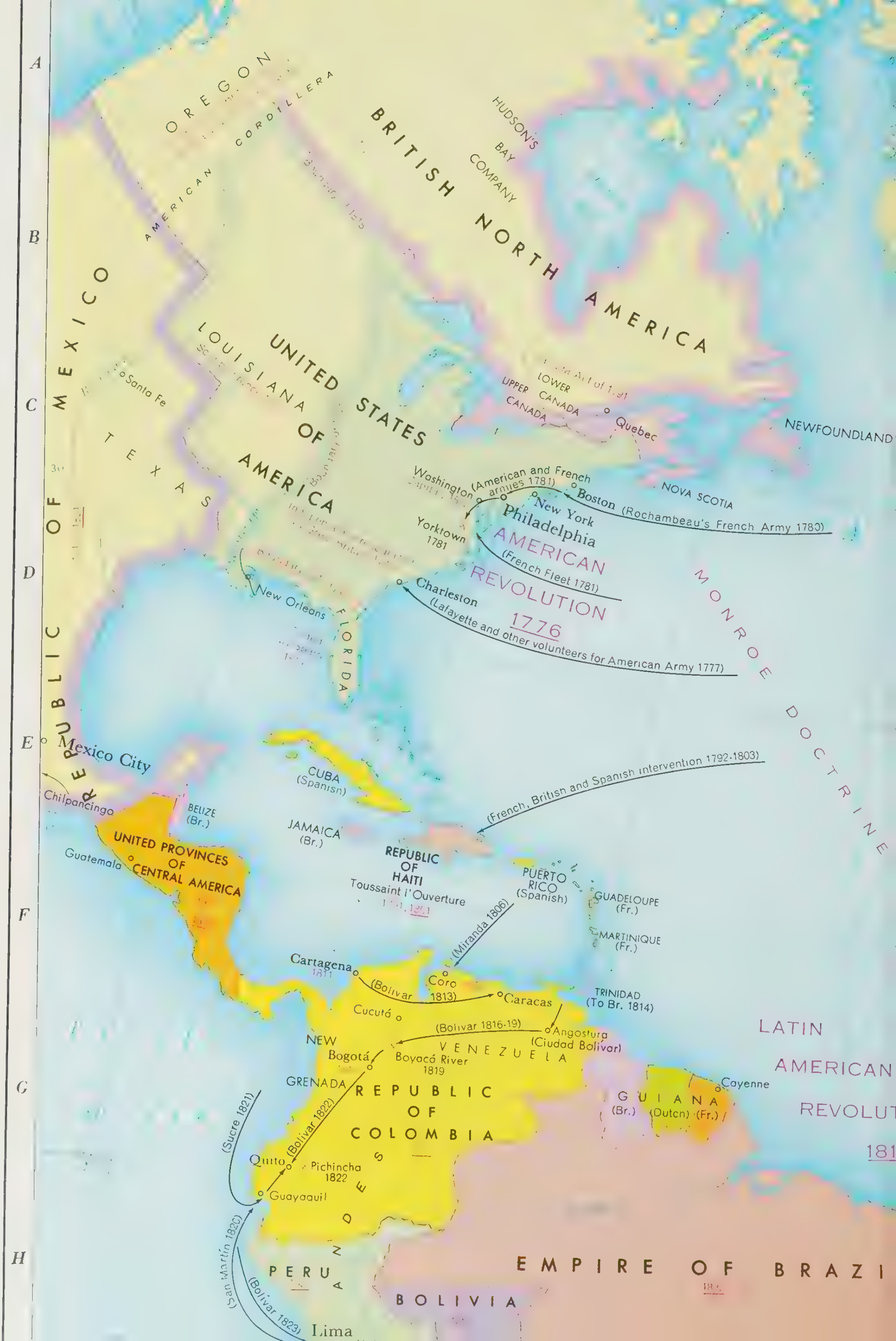
EUROPE IN 1721

After the treaty of Utrecht, 1713,
and Associated Treaties


FINLAND
Nystad
Viborg
KARELIA
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
Åbo
Helsingfors
St. Petersburg
INGRIA
Narva
Novgorod
Uppsala
ESTONIA
Stockholm
LIVONIA
Moscow
GOTLAND
Riga
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
COURLAND
Calmar
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Memel
LITHUANIA
Copenhagen
Lund
Vilna
Minsk
Königsberg
PRUSSIA
Grodno
(To Prussia 1720)
Danzig
POLAND
Stettin
Thorn
BRANDENBURG
Zorndorf
Posen
Warsaw
Kiev
Kharkov
Poltava
Berlin
Lublin
SAXONY
Glogau
Leipzig
Dresden
Breslau
SILESIA
Cracow
Lemberg
Bar
Targovitza
Prague
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Czernowitz
MOLDAVIA
Cherson
AUSTRIA
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
BESSARABIA
CRIMEA
BAVARIA
Vienna
Munich
Salzburg
Buda
Pest
TRANSYLVANIA
Zenta
Temesvar
BANAT
(To Hapsburgs 1718)
WALLACHIA
Laibach
Agram
Trieste
Karlowitz
Bucharest
Silistria
CROATIA
SLAVONIA
Belgrade
Passarowitz
Venice
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
BOSNIA
Sarajevo
Bologna
PAPAL STATES
Nish
BULGARIA
Sofia
SERBIA
Tolentino
Ragusa
MONTENEGRO
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Adrianople
Constantinople
Rome
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Bari
Salonika
Naples
Otranto
CORFU (CORCYRA)
Smyrna
Athens
MOREA
Palermo
Reggio
Syracuse
SICILY
(To Savoy 1714)
(To Hapsburgs 1720-35)
CRETE
40°
50°
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H


ARCTIC OCEAN
ICELAND
Norse 1000-1500
KALAALLIT NUNAAT (GREENLAND)
Labrador Sea
Baffin Bay
BAFFIN I.
NEWFOUNDLAND
Beothuk
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi)
Cree
Micmac
Penobscot
Abenaki
Mohegan
Pequot
Susquehannock
Metabetchouan
ALGONQUIN NATIONS
Ojibwa (Chippewa)
NORTHERN IROQUOIS NATIONS
Otsungo
Lenni Lenape
Shawnee
Pamlico
Tuscarora
Catawba
Cherokee
Etowah
Ocmulgee
Yamasee
Timucua
Calusa
APPALACHIAN MTS
Hudson Bay
Iglulik
Lake Winnipeg
Menominee
Odawa (Ottawa)
Ho-Chunk (Winnebago)
Aztalan
Potawatomi
Kickapoo
Fox
Sauk
Iowa
Cahokia
Angel
Chickasaw
Moundville
Creek
Choctaw
Natchez
Apalachee
Emerald
Wichita
Caddo
Karankawa
Gulf of Mexico
GUANAHANI (SAN SALVADOR)
TAÍNO (ARAWAK) PEOPLES
CUBANACÁN (CUBA)
HAITI (HISPANIOLA)
BORICUA (PUERTO RICO)
XAYMACA (JAMAICA)
Ciboney
MAYAN CITY-STATES (Late Post-Classic)
Mayapán
Balankanche
Tulum
YUCATÁN PENINSULA
Xicallanco
Tayasal
Dakota (Sioux)
Cheyenne
Kiowa
Pawnee
BLACK HILLS
Apache
Comanche
Lagunero
Coahuiltec
Huastec
Totonac
Orizaba
Mixtec
Mitla
Tlacopan
Tenochtitlan
Tarascan
Zacatula
ANÁHUAC
AZTECS 1200s-1300s
Zacatec
La Candelaria
Yaqui
Seri
Concho
Casas Grandes
MOGOLLON
Mogollon
Mesa Verde
Taos
Tewa
Chaco Canyon
Acoma
Zuñi
Hopi
Canyon de Chelly
ANASAZI
HOHOKAM
Casa Grande
Pima
HAKATAYA
Ute
Shoshone
Goshute
Paiute
Chemehuevi
Cahuilla
Chumash
Costaño
Tco'se
Maidu
Pomo
Modoc
Klamath
Cayuse
Umatilla
Chinook
Salish
Makah
Ozette
Kwakiutl
VANCOUVER I.
Bella Coola
Haida
Tsimshian
Tlingit
Gitksan
Shuswap
Chinlac
Colville
Kootenay
Nez Percé
Blackfoot
Flathead
Assiniboine
Blood
Sarcee
Beaver
Cree
Chipewyan
Slave
Dogrib
Hare
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
CASCADES
ATHABASCANS
VICTORIA I.
Beaufort Sea
INUIT (ESKIMO) PEOPLES
DENE (ATHABASCAN) NATIONS
Gwich'in
Tutchone
Klokut
BROOKS RANGE
ALASKA RANGE
Koyukon
Ahtna
Gulf of Alaska
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS


NATIVE AMERICA
Growth of empires, 1470–1525
Areas in decline, 1300–1500
Major migrations, 1200–1500
Major religious center
Cree Major ethnic group
National capital
CHIMOR (Chimú Empire, to 1475)
Chan Chan
Chimu
TAHUANTINSUYU (Inca Empire, 1525)
ANDES
PATAGONIA
TIERRA DEL FUEGO
Quito
Huancabamba
Huanuco
Jauja
Pachacamac
Machu Picchu
Cuzco
Andahuaylas
Island of the Sun
Tiahuanaco
Chuquiabo
Copiapó
Santiago
Río de la Plata
Achagua
Cubeo
Witoto
Jivaro
Bora
Yagua
Yuri
Tikuna
Shipibo
Yanomamo
Barauána
Makú
Waiwai
Wayana
Apacai
Oyampi
Maué
Mundurucú
Idurina
Amahuaca
Mashco
Quechua
Aymara
Tacana
Bororo
Nambicuara
Chiquito
Guató
Atacama
Diaguita
Huarpe
Chulupi
Mataco
Toba
Kayapó
Aché
Guaraní
Kaingang
Charrúa
Shavante
Tupinambá
Tembé
Timbira
Caeté
Camacán
Botocudo
Tupi
Puelche
Mapuche (Araucanians)
Tehuelche
Ona
150
150
140
130
120
110°
100
90
80
70°
60
50


A
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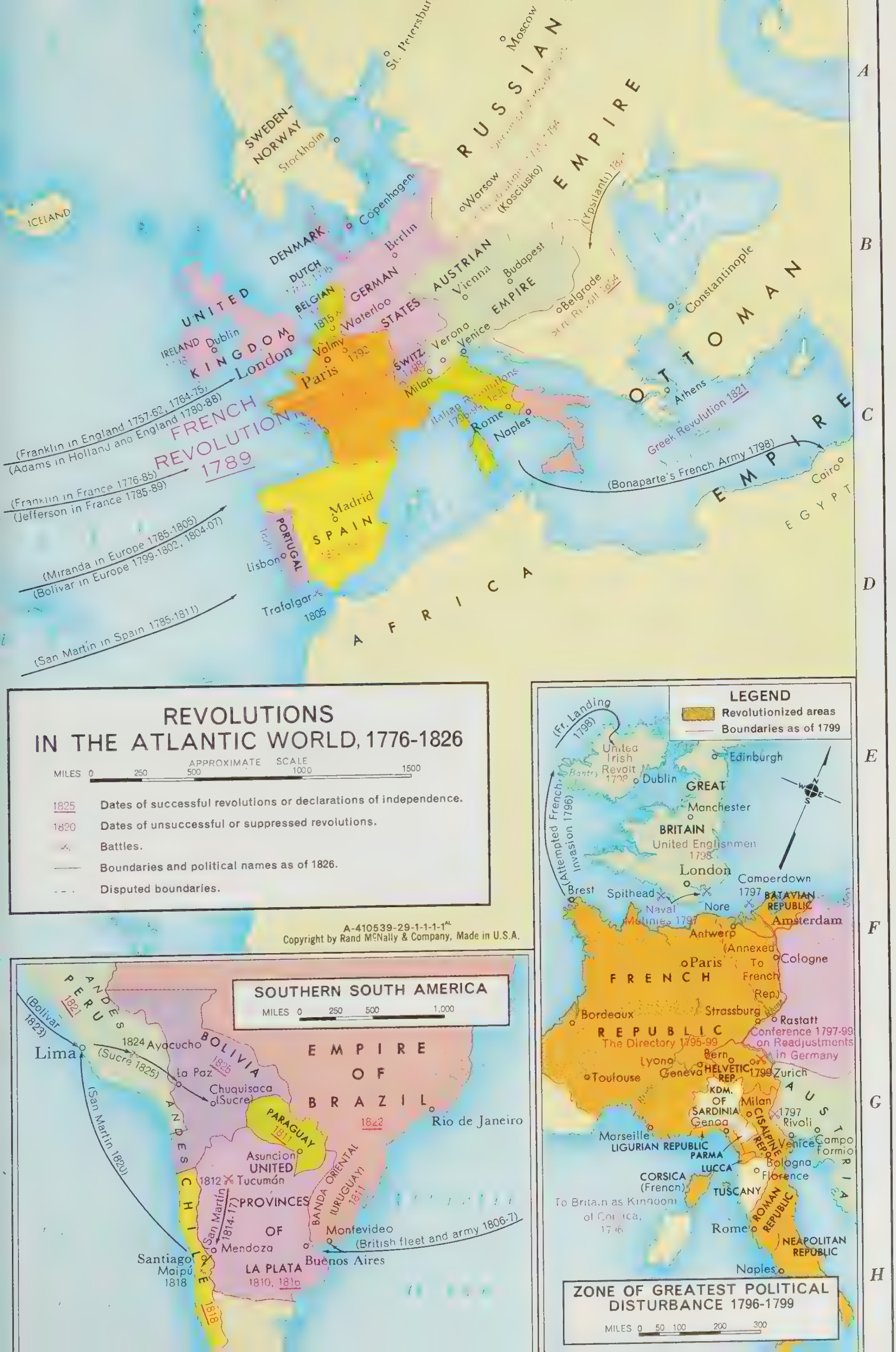
OREGON
AMERICAN CORDILLERA
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
REPUBLIC OF MEXICO
Santa Fe
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LOWER CANADA
UPPER CANADA
Quebec
NEWFOUNDLAND
NOVA SCOTIA
Washington
(American and French armies 1781)
Boston
(Rochambeau's French Army 1780)
New York
Philadelphia
Yorktown 1781
AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1776
(French Fleet 1781)
Charleston
(Lafayette and other volunteers for American Army 1777)
MONROE DOCTRINE
New Orleans
FLORIDA
Mexico City
Chilpancingo
CUBA (Spanish)
(French, British and Spanish intervention 1792-1803)
BELIZE (Br.)
JAMAICA (Br.)
REPUBLIC OF HAITI
Toussaint l'Ouverture
PUERTO RICO (Spanish)
GUADELOUPE (Fr.)
MARTINIQUE (Fr.)
UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA
Guatemala
(Miranda 1806)
Cartagena 1811
Coro 1813
(Bolivar 1813)
Caracas
TRINIDAD (To Br. 1814)
Cucutá
(Bolivar 1816-19)
Angostura (Ciudad Bolívar)
VENEZUELA
NEW GRENADA
Bogotá
Boyacá River 1819
REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA
LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUT
181
GUIANA
(Br.)
(Dutch)
(Fr.)
Cayenne
(Sucre 1821)
(Bolivar 1822)
Quito
Pichincha 1822
Guayaquil
ANDES
(San Martín 1820)
(Bolívar 1823)
PERU
Lima
BOLIVIA
EMPIRE OF BRAZI



REVOLUTIONS IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD, 1776-1826

MILES 0 250 500 1000 1500 APPROXIMATE SCALE

1825	Dates of successful revolutions or declarations of independence.
1820	Dates of unsuccessful or suppressed revolutions.
✕	Battles.
—	Boundaries and political names as of 1826.
- - -	Disputed boundaries.

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SOUTHERN SOUTH AMERICA

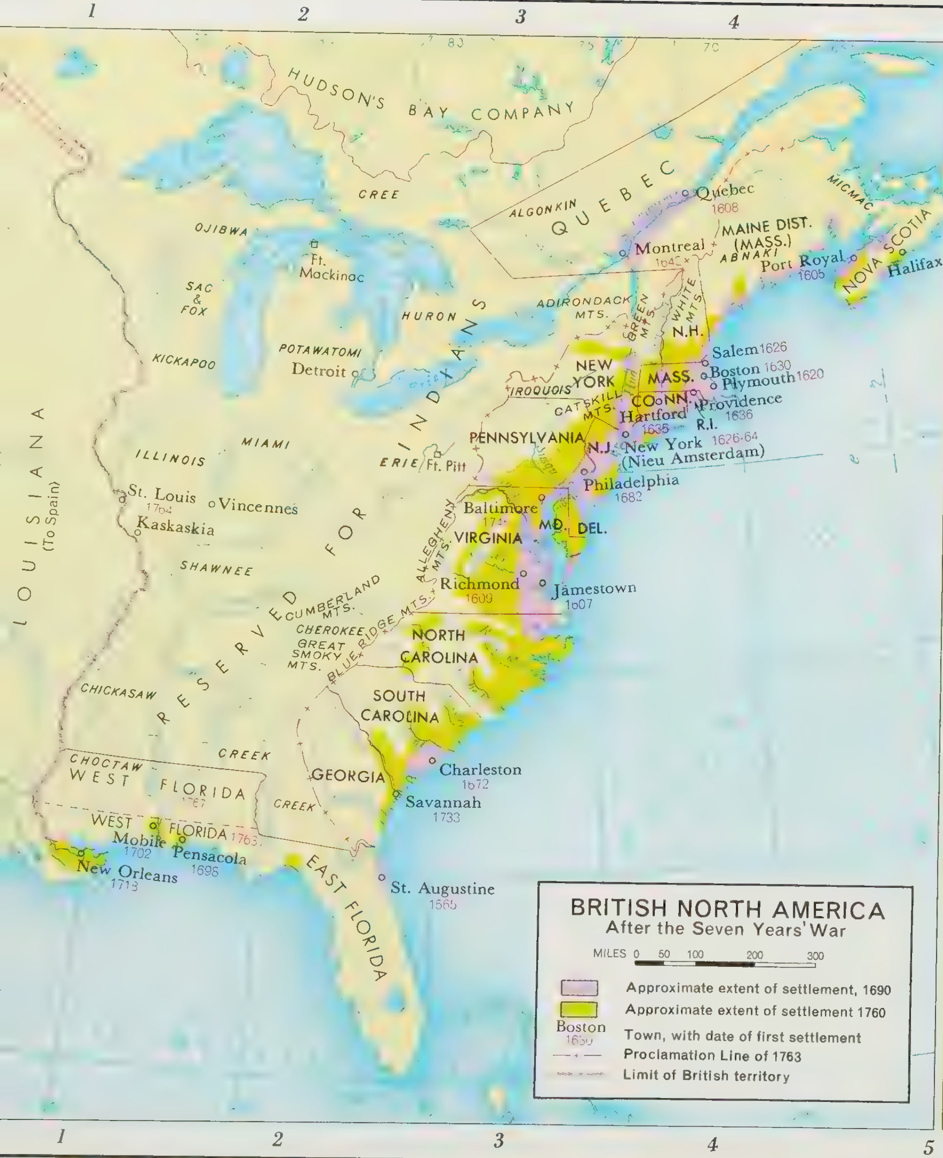
MILES 0 250 500 1,000

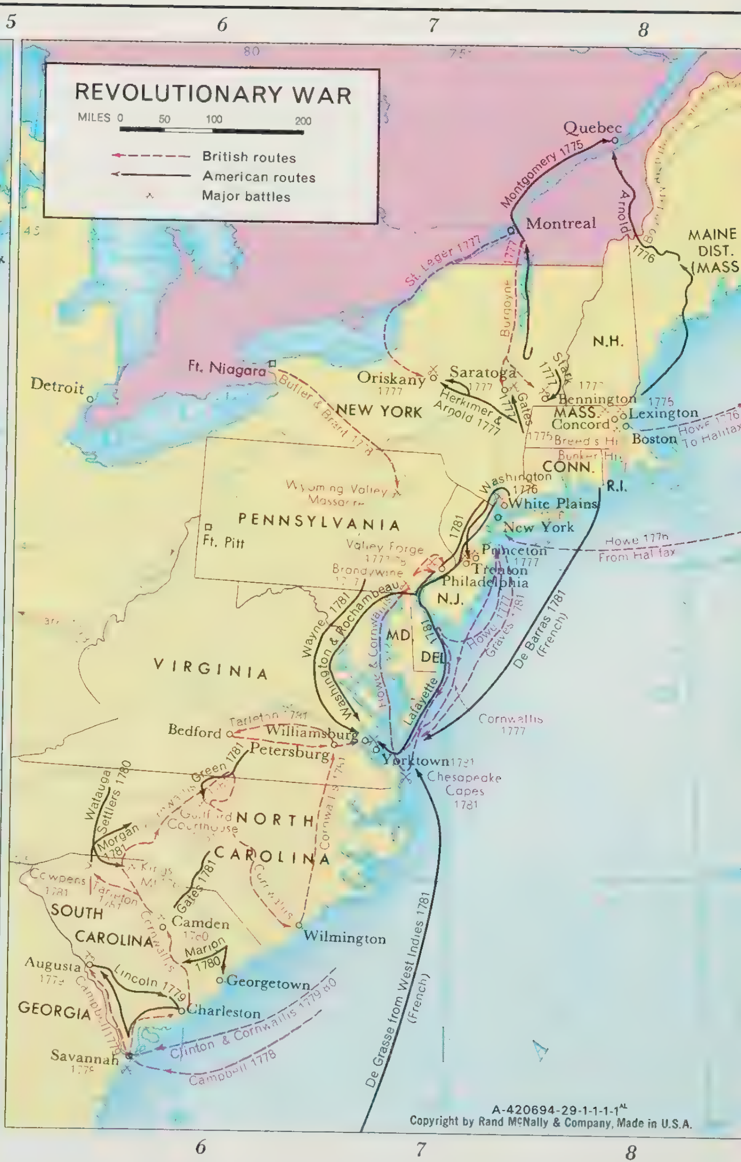
ZONE OF GREATEST POLITICAL DISTURBANCE 1796-1799

MILES 0 50 100 200 300

LEGEND

▨	Revolutionized areas
—	Boundaries as of 1799


BRITISH NORTH AMERICA
After the Seven Years' War


REVOLUTIONARY WAR

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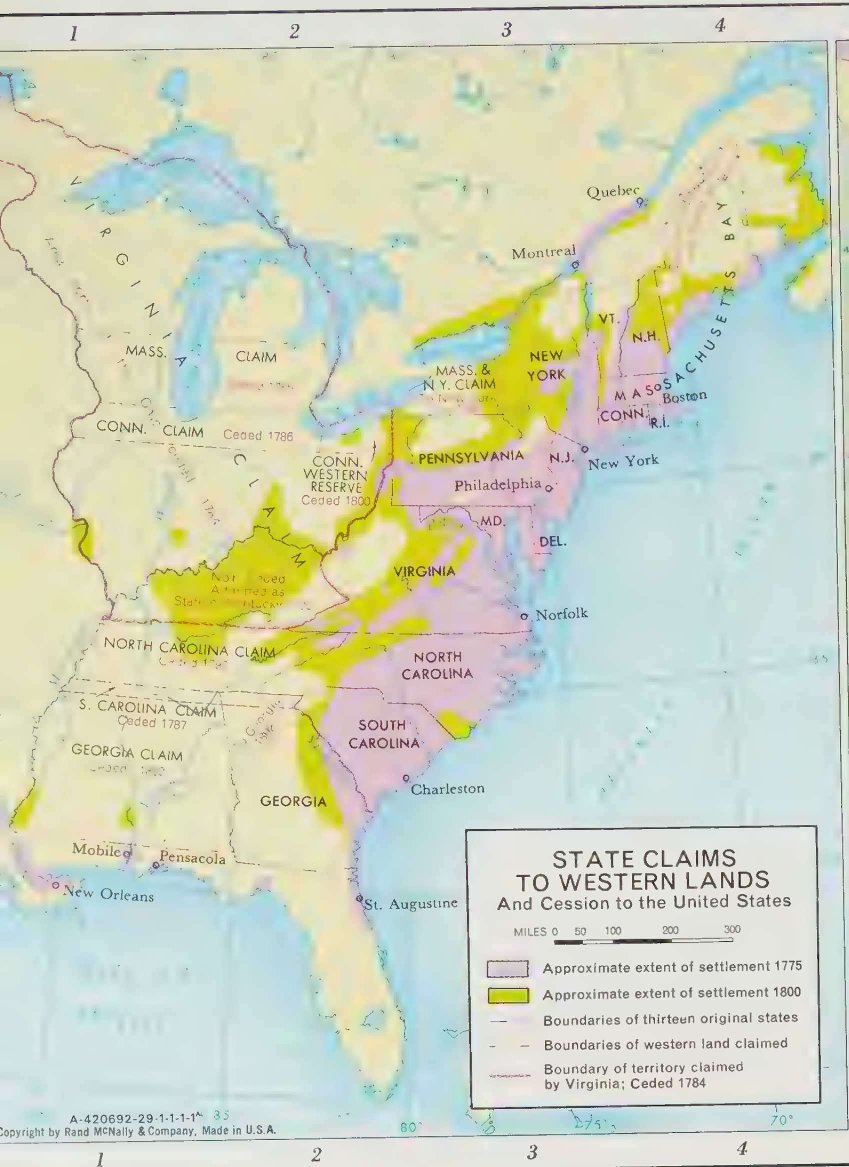

STATE CLAIMS TO WESTERN LANDS

And Cession to the United States

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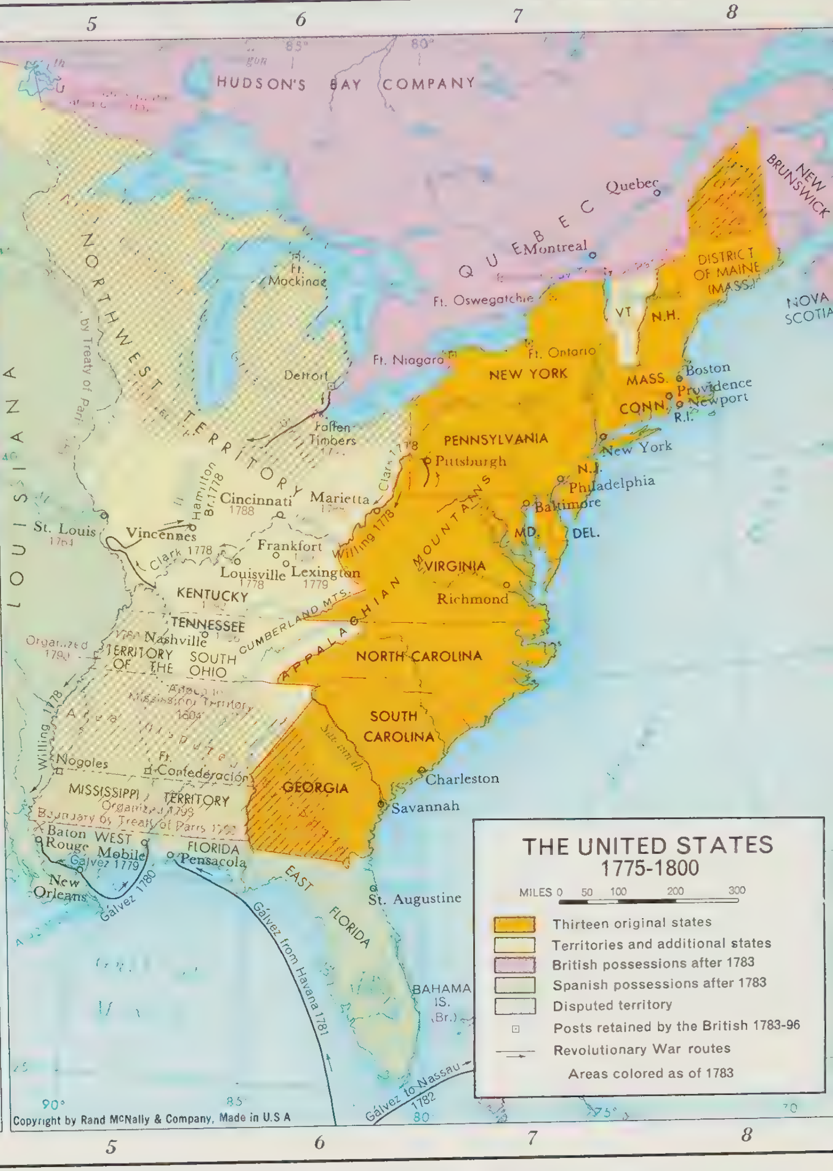

THE UNITED STATES 1775-1800

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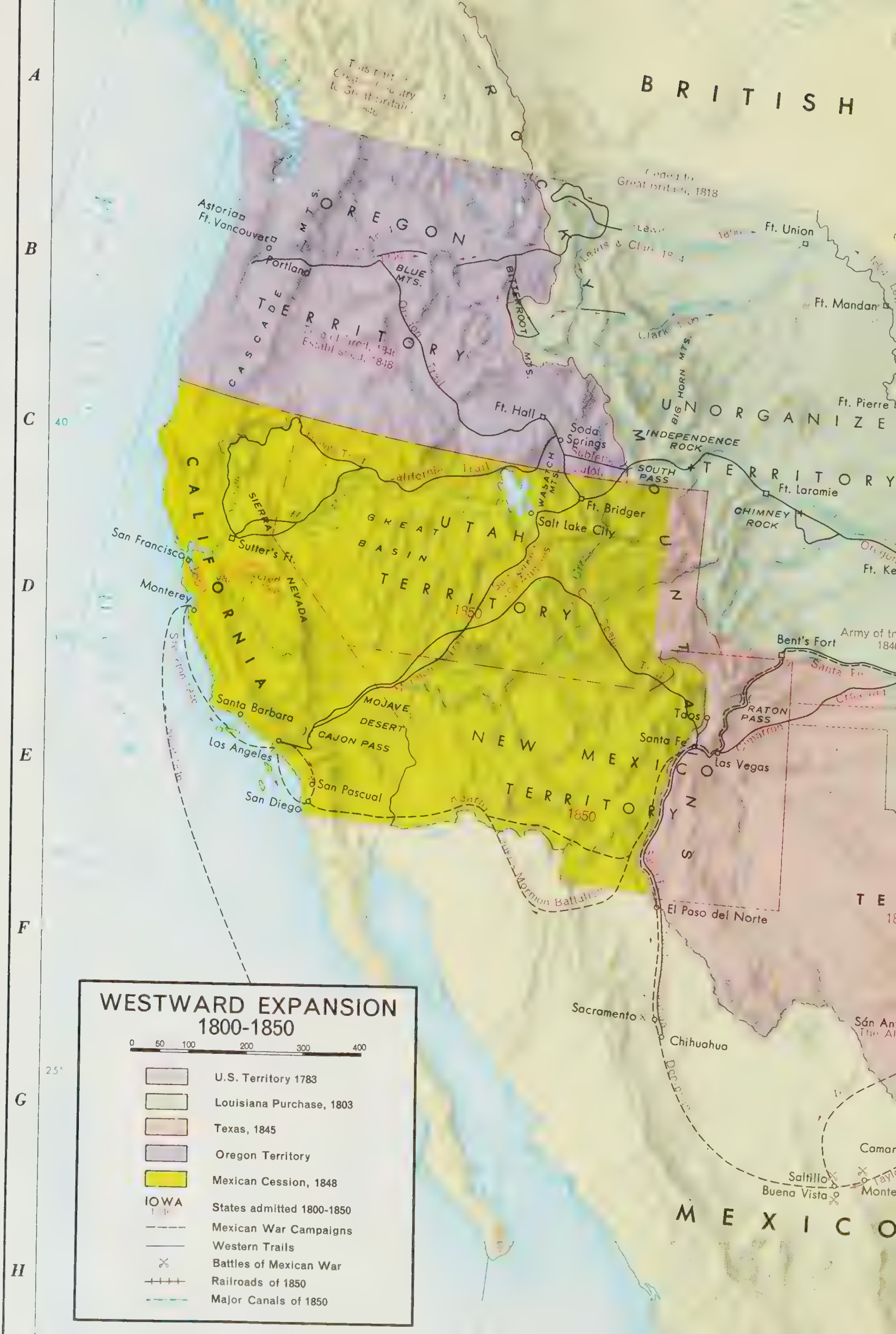
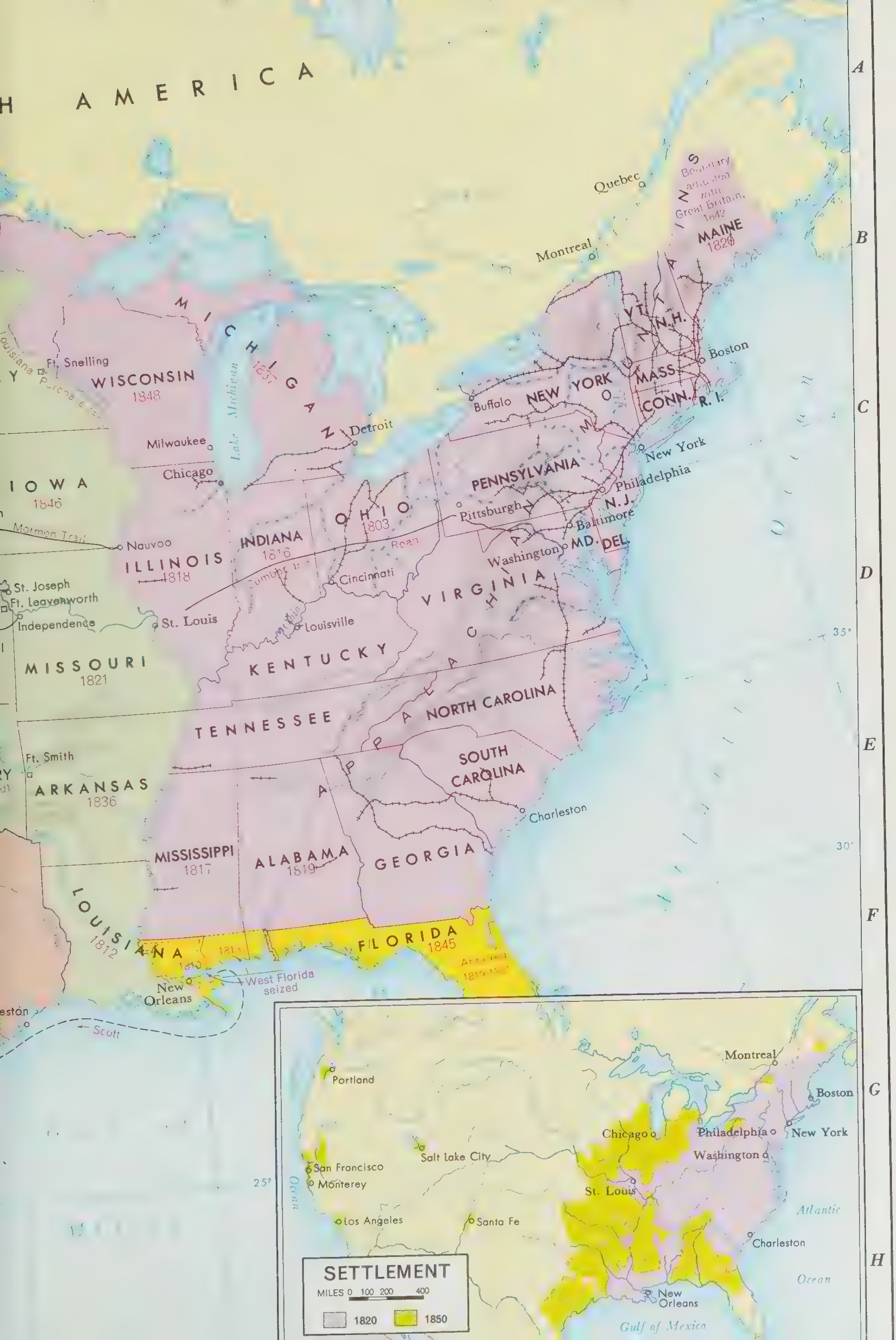
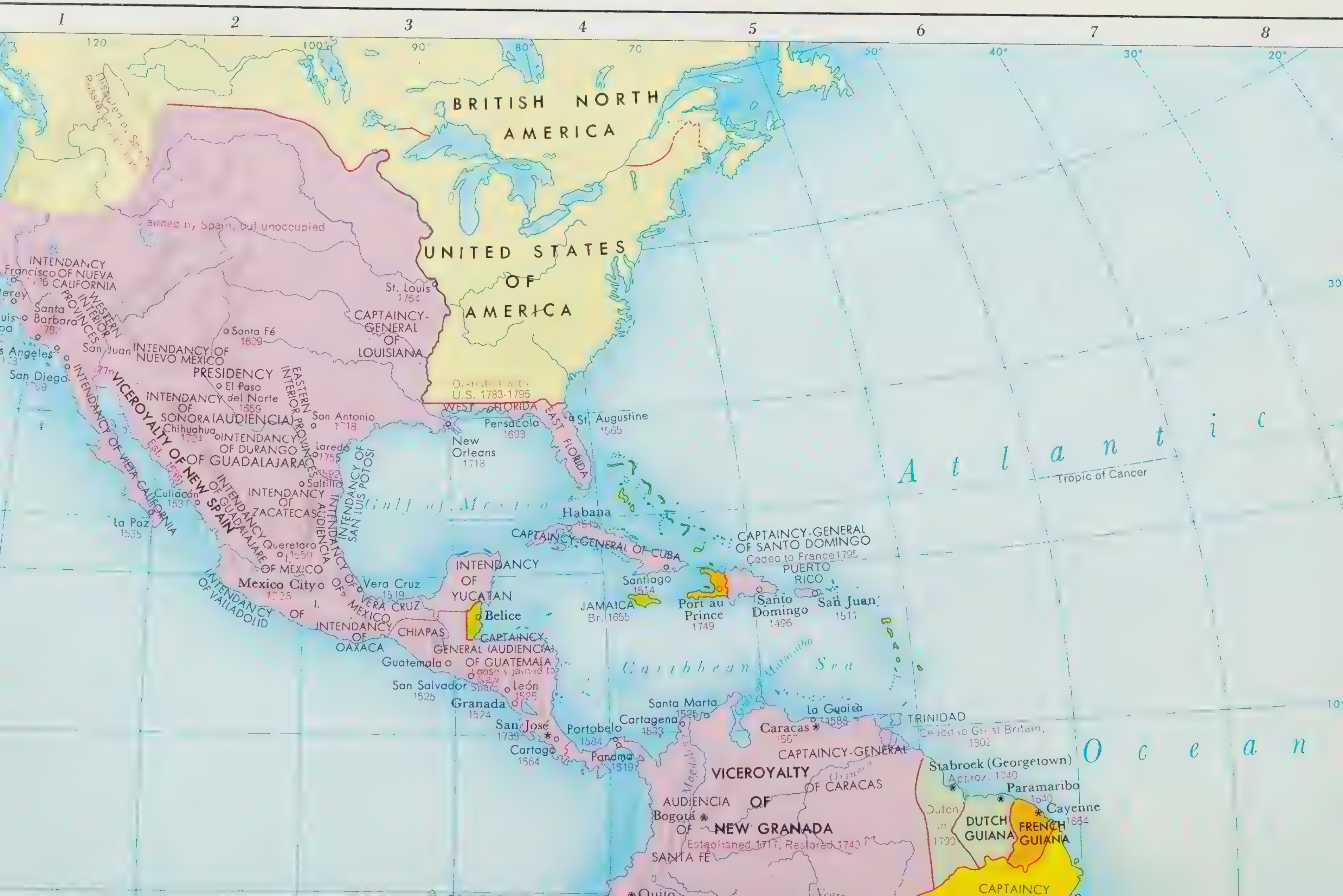

WESTWARD EXPANSION
1800-1850
0
50
100
200
300
400
U.S. Territory 1783
Louisiana Purchase, 1803
Texas, 1845
Oregon Territory
Mexican Cession, 1848
IOWA
States admitted 1800-1850
Mexican War Campaigns
Western Trails
Battles of Mexican War
Railroads of 1850
Major Canals of 1850
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
40
25°
BRITISH
OREGON TERRITORY
Established, 1848
Ceded to Great Britain, 1818
Astoria
Ft. Vancouver
Portland
CASCADE MTS.
BLUE MTS.
BITTERROOT MTS.
Oregon Trail
Lewis & Clark 1804
Ft. Union
Ft. Mandan
Clark 1806
BIG HORN MTS.
Ft. Pierre
UNORGANIZED TERRITORY
Ft. Hall
Soda Springs
INDEPENDENCE ROCK
SOUTH PASS
Ft. Laramie
CHIMNEY ROCK
Ft. Bridger
Salt Lake City
WASATCH MTS.
California Trail
CALIFORNIA
SIERRA NEVADA
Sutter's Ft.
San Francisco
Monterey
GREAT BASIN
UTAH TERRITORY
1850
Old Spanish Trail
MOJAVE DESERT
CAJON PASS
Santa Barbara
Los Angeles
San Pascual
San Diego
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
1850
Kearny
Mormon Battalion
Taos
Santa Fe
Las Vegas
RATON PASS
Cimarron
Bent's Fort
Santa Fe Trail
Army of the West 1846
El Paso del Norte
Sacramento
Chihuahua
Doniphan
Saltillo
Buena Vista
Monterey
Camargo
Taylor
MEXICO
TE
Ft. Ke
San Antonio



H AMERICA
Quebec
Boundary adjusted with Great Britain, 1842
MAINE 1820
Montreal
VT.
N.H.
Boston
MASS.
CONN.
R. I.
NEW YORK
Buffalo
APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS
New York
Philadelphia
N.J.
Baltimore
MD.
DEL.
Washington
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburgh
OHIO 1803
Cincinnati
Detroit
MICHIGAN 1837
Lake Michigan
WISCONSIN 1848
Ft. Snelling
Louisiana Purchase
Milwaukee
Chicago
IOWA 1846
Mormon Trail
Nauvoo
ILLINOIS 1818
INDIANA 1816
Cumberland Road
St. Joseph
Ft. Leavenworth
Independence
St. Louis
Louisville
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
MISSOURI 1821
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
Ft. Smith
ARKANSAS 1836
MISSISSIPPI 1817
ALABAMA 1819
GEORGIA
LOUISIANA 1812
FLORIDA 1845
Acquired 1819
1810
1813
West Florida seized
New Orleans
Scott
35°
30°
25°
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
SETTLEMENT
MILES 0 100 200 400
1820
1850
Montreal
Portland
Boston
Chicago
Philadelphia
New York
Washington
Salt Lake City
San Francisco
Monterey
St. Louis
Los Angeles
Santa Fe
Atlantic Ocean
Charleston
New Orleans
Gulf of Mexico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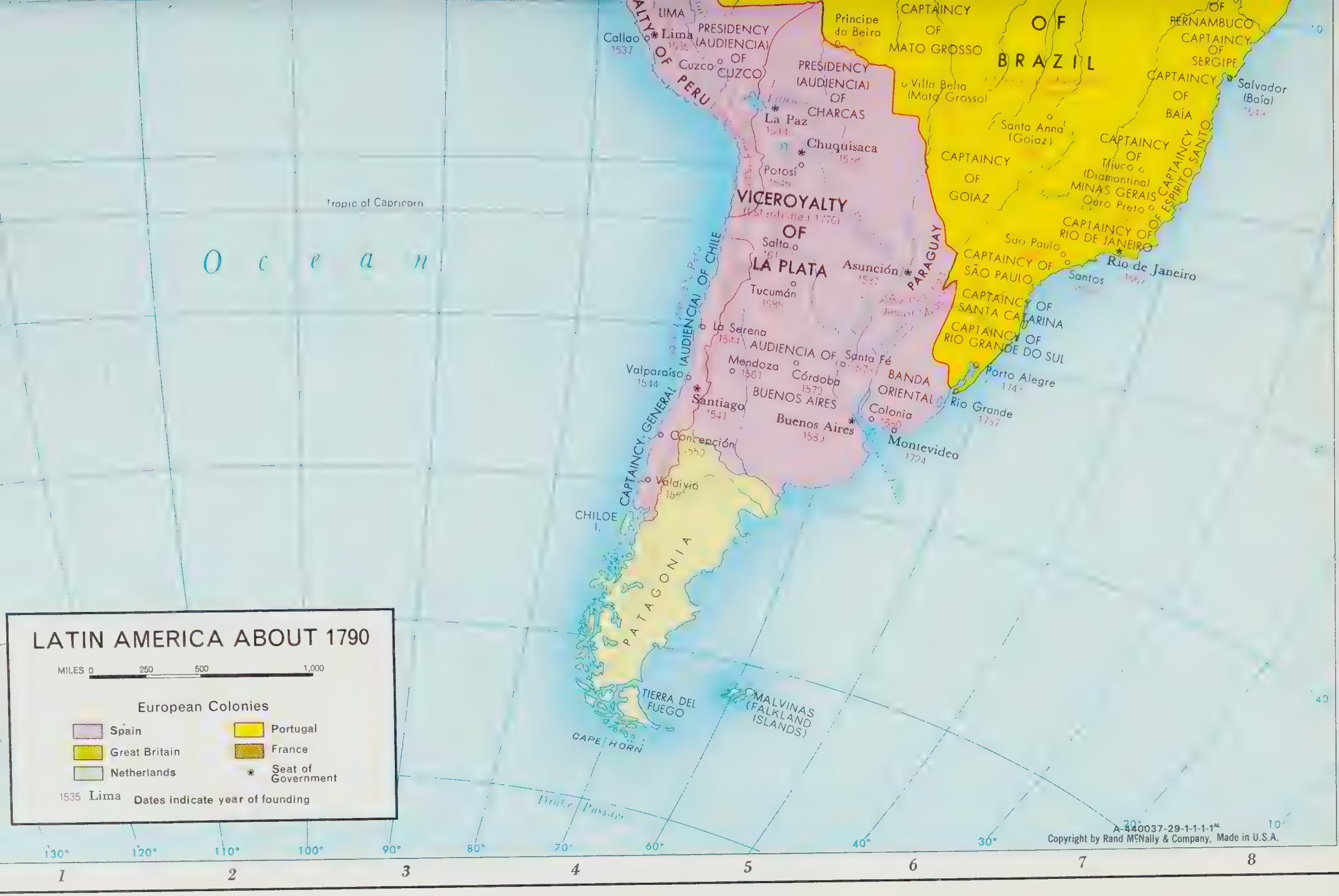
120
100°
90°
80°
70
50°
40°
30°
20°
30
10
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Disputed by Spain, but unoccupied
INTENDANCY OF NUEVA CALIFORNIA
Francisco
Santa Barbara
San Juan
Los Angeles
San Diego
WESTERN INTERIOR PROVINCES
INTENDANCY OF NUEVO MEXICO
Santa Fé 1609
St. Louis 1764
CAPTAINCY-GENERAL OF LOUISIANA
PRESIDENCY
El Paso
INTENDANCY del Norte 1659
OF SONORA (AUDIENCIA)
Chihuahua
INTENDANCY OF DURANGO
OF GUADALAJARA
EASTERN INTERIOR PROVINCES
San Antonio 1718
Laredo 1755
Saltillo
INTENDANCY OF SAN LUIS POTOSI
INTENDANCY OF ZACATECAS
AUDIENCIA
INTENDANCY OF GUADALAJARA
VICEROYALTY OF NEW SPAIN
Est.
Culiacán 1531
INTENDANCY OF VIEJA CALIFORNIA
La Paz 1535
Queretaro
OF MEXICO
Mexico City 1325
INTENDANCY OF VALLADOLID
INTENDANCY OF MEXICO
INTENDANCY OF VERA CRUZ
Vera Cruz 1519
INTENDANCY OF OAXACA
CHIAPAS
Disputed U.S. 1783-1795
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
Pensacola 1698
New Orleans 1718
St. Augustine 1565
Gulf of Mexico
Habana 1515
CAPTAINCY-GENERAL OF CUBA
Santiago 1514
JAMAICA Br. 1655
Port au Prince 1749
CAPTAINCY-GENERAL OF SANTO DOMINGO
Ceded to France 1795
Santo Domingo 1496
PUERTO RICO
San Juan 1511
INTENDANCY OF YUCATAN
Belice
CAPTAINCY-GENERAL (AUDIENCIA) OF GUATEMALA
Guatemala
San Salvador 1525
León 1525
Granada 1524
San José 1738
Cartago 1564
Portobelo 1584
Panamá 1519
Cartagena 1533
Santa Marta 1525
La Guaira 1588
Caracas 1567
Caribbean Sea
Atlantic Ocean
Tropic of Cancer
TRINIDAD
Ceded to Great Britain, 1802
CAPTAINCY-GENERAL OF CARACAS
VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA
AUDIENCIA OF SANTA FÉ
Bogotá
Established 1717, Restored 1740
Stabroek (Georgetown)
Paramaribo 1640
Cayenne 1664
DUTCH GUIANA
FRENCH GUIANA
CAPTAINCY
Quito



LATIN AMERICA ABOUT 1790

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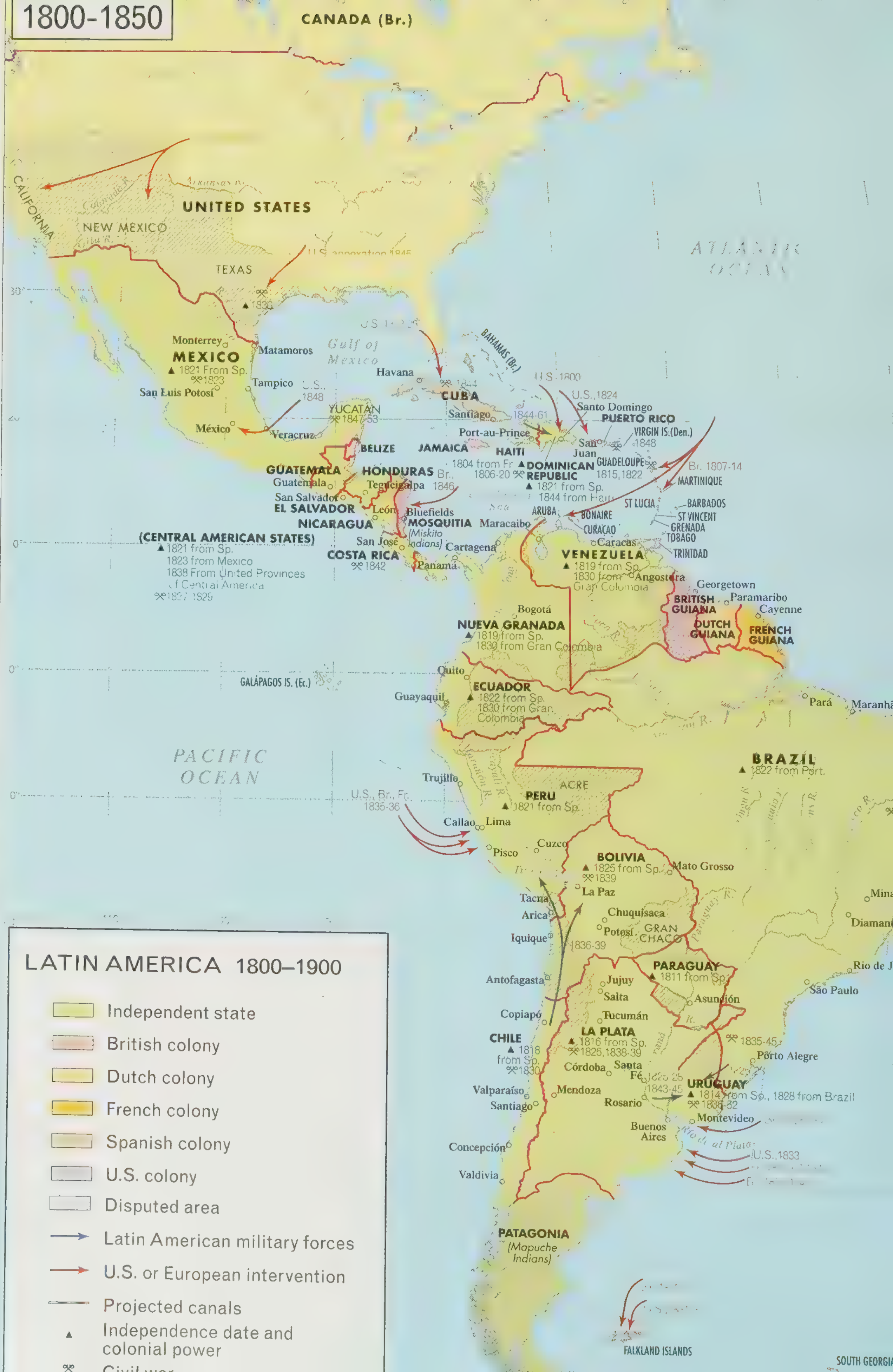
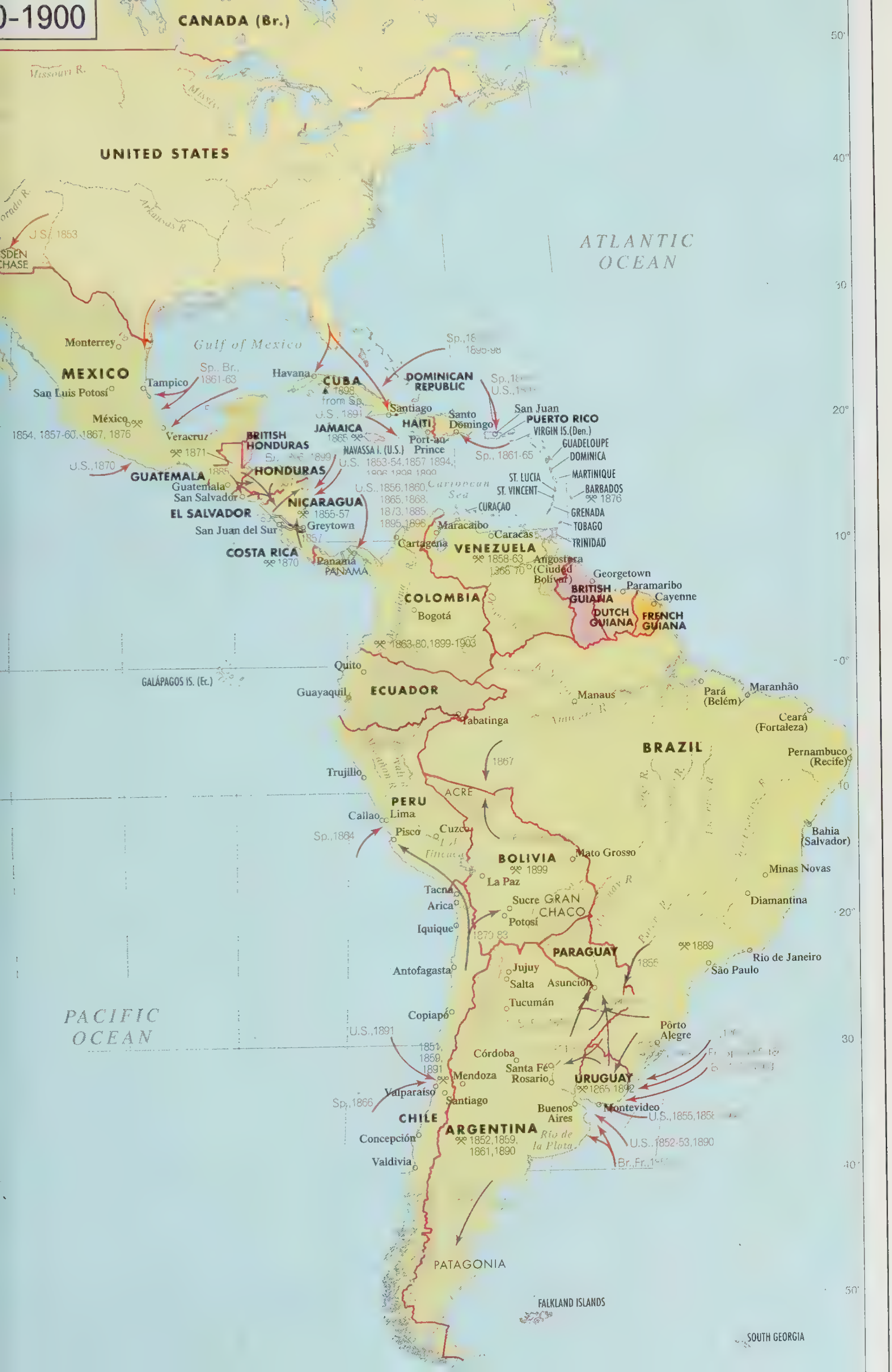

1800-1850
CANADA (Br.)
UNITED STATES
CALIFORNIA
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
U.S. annexation 1845
1836
MEXICO
▲ 1821 From Sp.
⚒1823
Monterrey
Matamoros
San Luis Potosí
Tampico
México
Veracruz
U.S. 1848
YUCATAN
⚒1847-53
Gulf of Mexico
Havana
CUBA
Santiago
BAHAMAS (Br.)
U.S. 1800
U.S. 1824
Santo Domingo
PUERTO RICO
VIRGIN IS. (Den.)
1848
San Juan
Port-au-Prince
1844-61
HAITI
1804 from Fr.
1806-20
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
▲ 1821 from Sp.
1844 from Haiti
GUADELOUPE
1815, 1822
Br. 1807-14
MARTINIQUE
ST LUCIA
BARBADOS
ST VINCENT
GRENADA
TOBAGO
TRINIDAD
JAMAICA
BELIZE
GUATEMALA
Guatemala
HONDURAS
Tegucigalpa
Br. 1846
San Salvador
EL SALVADOR
León
NICARAGUA
Bluefields
MOSQUITIA
(Miskito Indians)
San José
COSTA RICA
⚒1842
Panama
(CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES)
▲ 1821 from Sp.
1823 from Mexico
1838 From United Provinces of Central America
⚒1827-1829
Maracaibo
ARUBA
BONAIRE
CURAÇAO
Caracas
Cartagena
VENEZUELA
▲ 1819 from Sp.
1830 from Gran Colombia
Angostura
Georgetown
BRITISH GUIANA
Paramaribo
DUTCH GUIANA
Cayenne
FRENCH GUIANA
Bogotá
NUEVA GRANADA
▲ 1819 from Sp.
1830 from Gran Colombia
Quito
GALÁPAGOS IS. (Ec.)
Guayaquil
ECUADOR
▲ 1822 from Sp.
1830 from Gran Colombia
Pará
Maranhão
BRAZIL
▲ 1822 from Port.
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Trujillo
U.S., Br., Fr. 1835-36
ACRE
PERU
▲ 1821 from Sp.
Callao
Lima
Pisco
Cuzco
BOLIVIA
▲ 1825 from Sp.
⚒1839
Mato Grosso
La Paz
Tacna
Arica
Iquique
Chuquisaca
Potosí
GRAN CHACO
1836-39
Antofagasta
PARAGUAY
▲ 1811 from Sp.
Asunción
Jujuy
Salta
Tucumán
Copiapó
LA PLATA
▲ 1816 from Sp.
⚒1826, 1838-39
CHILE
▲ 1818 from Sp.
⚒1830
Córdoba
Santa Fe
1825-28
1843-45
⚒1835-45
Pôrto Alegre
URUGUAY
▲ 1814 from Sp., 1828 from Brazil
⚒1836-52
Valparaíso
Mendoza
Santiago
Rosario
Montevideo
Buenos Aires
Río de la Plata
U.S. 1833
Concepción
Valdivia
PATAGONIA
(Mapuche Indians)
FALKLAND ISLANDS
SOUTH GEORGIA
Minas
Diamantina
Rio de Janeiro
São Paulo
LATIN AMERICA 1800–1900
Independent state
British colony
Dutch colony
French colony
Spanish colony
U.S. colony
Disputed area
Latin American military forces
U.S. or European intervention
Projected canals
▲ Independence date and colonial power
⚒ Civil war

-1900


CANADA (Br.)
Missouri R.
Missis.
UNITED STATES
Arkansas R.
orado R.
U.S. 1853
SDEN
CHASE
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Monterrey
Gulf of Mexico
MEXICO
Tampico
San Luis Potosí
Sp., Br., 1861-63
México
1854, 1857-60, 1867, 1876
Veracruz
1871
U.S.,1870
Havana
CUBA
1898
from Sp.
U.S., 1891
JAMAICA
1865
BRITISH HONDURAS
HONDURAS
GUATEMALA
Guatemala
San Salvador
EL SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
1855-57
Greytown
San Juan del Sur
1857
COSTA RICA
1870
Panamá
PANAMA
NAVASSA I. (U.S.)
U.S., 1853-54, 1857 1894,
1906 1908 1909
U.S., 1856, 1860,
1865, 1868,
1873, 1885,
1895, 1898
Caribbean Sea
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
Sp., 18
1895-98
Santiago
HAITI
Port-au-Prince
Santo Domingo
Sp., 1861-65
San Juan
PUERTO RICO
VIRGIN IS. (Den.)
GUADELOUPE
DOMINICA
MARTINIQUE
ST. LUCIA
ST. VINCENT
BARBADOS
1876
GRENADA
TOBAGO
TRINIDAD
CURAÇAO
Maracaibo
Caracas
Cartagena
VENEZUELA
1858-63
1866-70
Angostura
(Ciudad
Bolívar)
Georgetown
BRITISH GUIANA
Paramaribo
Cayenne
DUTCH GUIANA
FRENCH GUIANA
COLOMBIA
Bogotá
1863-80, 1899-1903
Quito
GALÁPAGOS IS. (Ec.)
Guayaquil
ECUADOR
Manaus
Pará
(Belém)
Maranhão
Ceará
(Fortaleza)
Tabatinga
BRAZIL
Pernambuco
(Recife)
1867
Trujillo
ACRE
PERU
Lima
Callao
Sp., 1864
Pisco
Cuzco
Titicaca
BOLIVIA
1899
Mato Grosso
La Paz
Bahia
(Salvador)
Minas Novas
Diamantina
Tacna
Arica
Sucre
GRAN CHACO
Potosí
Iquique
1879-83
PARAGUAY
1889
1865
Rio de Janeiro
São Paulo
Antofagasta
Jujuy
Salta
Asunción
Tucumán
Copiapó
PACIFIC
OCEAN
U.S.,1891
1851,
1859,
1891
Córdoba
Santa Fé
Rosario
Mendoza
Pôrto Alegre
URUGUAY
1865 1892
Valparaiso
Santiago
Sp., 1866
CHILE
Buenos Aires
Montevideo
U.S., 1855, 1858
ARGENTINA
1852, 1859,
1861, 1890
Concepción
Río de la Plata
U.S., 1852-53, 1890
Valdivia
Br., Fr., 1
PATAGONIA
FALKLAND ISLANDS
SOUTH GEORGIA
50°
40°
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20°
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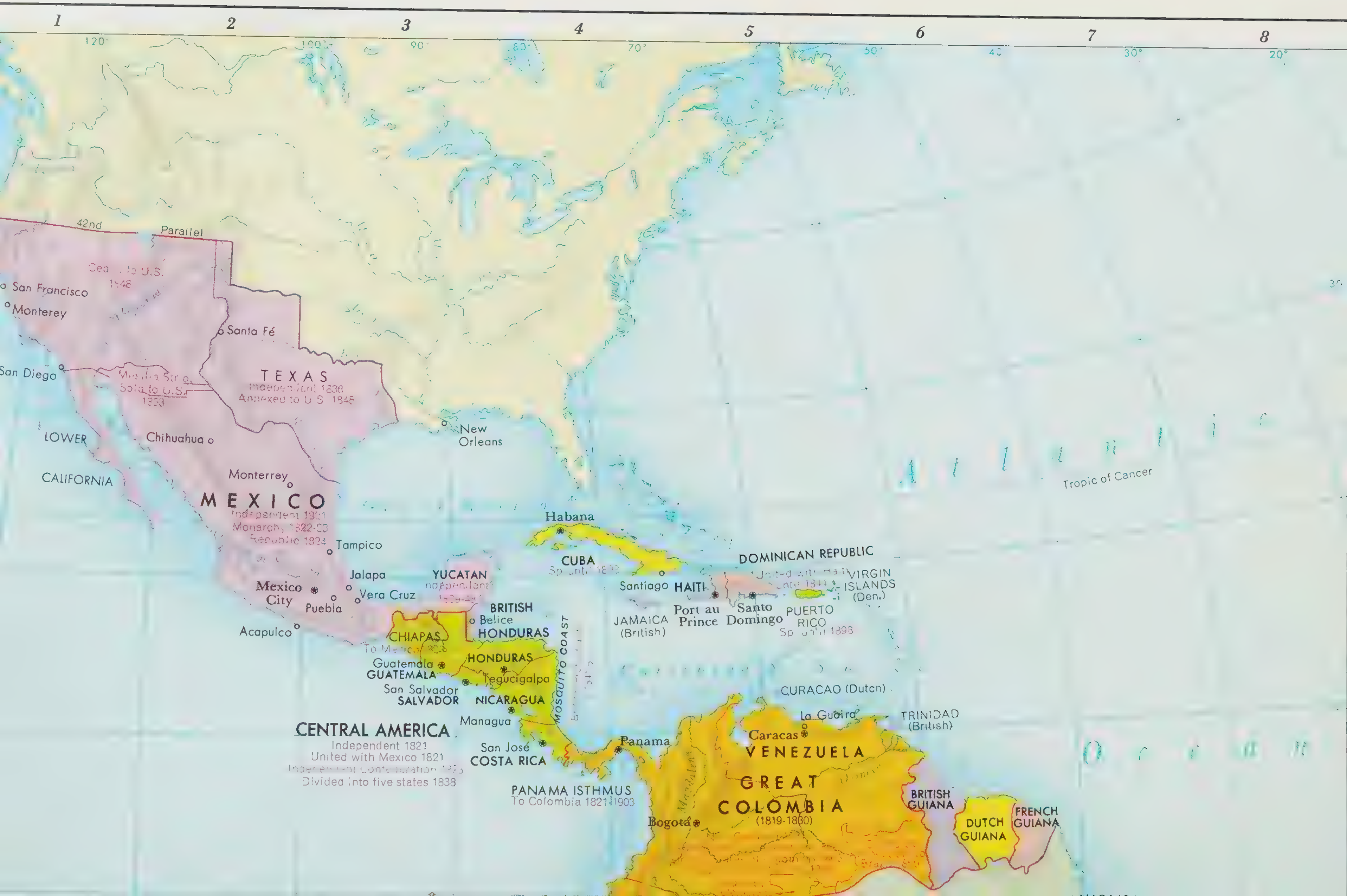
50°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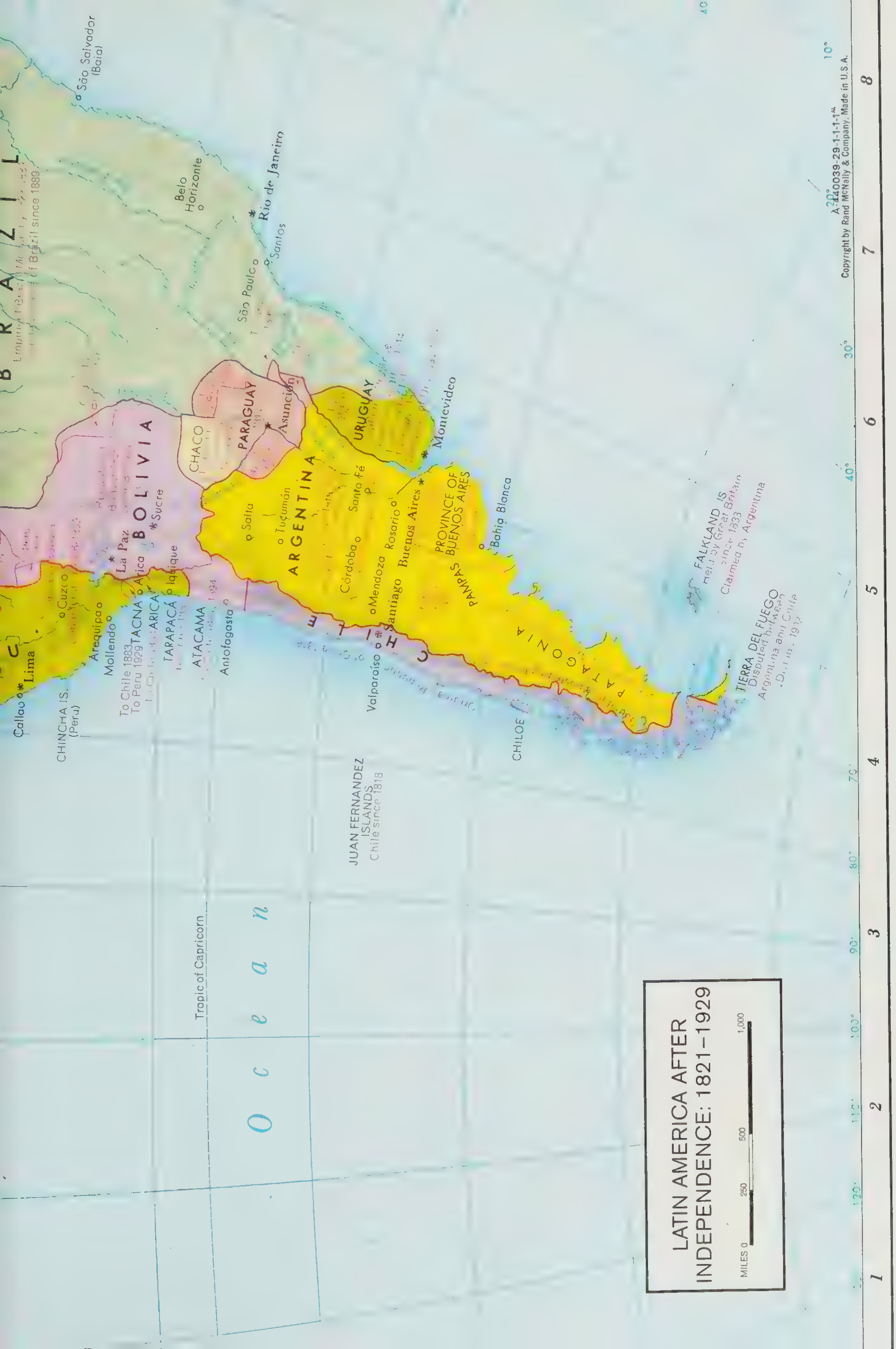
120°
100°
90°
80°
70°
50°
40°
30°
20°
42nd Parallel
Ceded to U.S. 1848
San Francisco
Monterey
Santa Fé
San Diego
Mesilla Strip Sold to U.S. 1853
TEXAS
Independent 1836
Annexed to U.S. 1845
LOWER CALIFORNIA
Chihuahua
Monterrey
MEXICO
Independent 1821
Monarchy 1822-23
Republic 1824
Tampico
Jalapa
Mexico City
Vera Cruz
Puebla
Acapulco
New Orleans
Habana
CUBA
Sp. until 1898
YUCATAN
Independent
Santiago
HAITI
Port au Prince
Santo Domingo
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
United with Haiti until 1844
VIRGIN ISLANDS (Den.)
PUERTO RICO
Sp. until 1898
JAMAICA (British)
BRITISH HONDURAS
Belice
CHIAPAS
To Mexico 1823
Guatemala
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
Tegucigalpa
San Salvador
SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
Managua
MOSQUITO COAST
San José
COSTA RICA
CENTRAL AMERICA
Independent 1821
United with Mexico 1821
Independent Confederation 1823
Divided into five states 1838
PANAMA ISTHMUS
To Colombia 1821-1903
Panama
CURACAO (Dutch)
La Guaira
Caracas
VENEZUELA
GREAT COLOMBIA
(1819-1830)
Bogotá
TRINIDAD (British)
BRITISH GUIANA
DUTCH GUIANA
FRENCH GUIANA
Tropic of Cancer
Atlantic
Ocean



LATIN AMERICA AFTER INDEPENDENCE: 1821–1929

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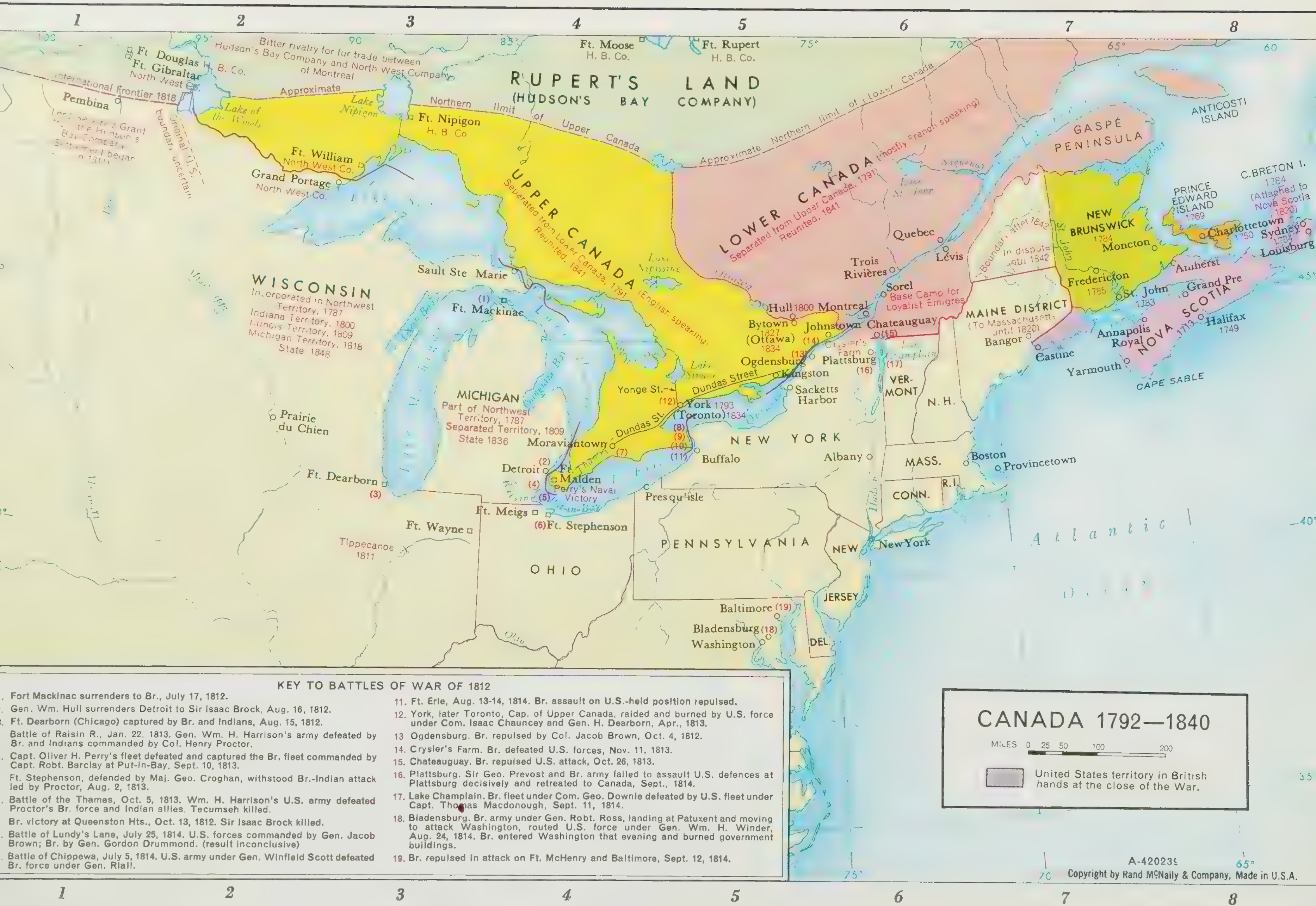
CANADA 1792—1840



KEY TO BATTLES OF WAR OF 1812

- Fort Mackinac surrenders to Br., July 17, 1812.
- Gen. Wm. Hull surrenders Detroit to Sir Isaac Brock, Aug. 16, 1812.
- Ft. Dearborn (Chicago) captured by Br. and Indians, Aug. 15, 1812.
- Battle of Raisin R., Jan. 22, 1813. Gen. Wm. H. Harrison's army defeated by Br. and Indians commanded by Col. Henry Proctor.
- Capt. Oliver H. Perry's fleet defeated and captured the Br. fleet commanded by Capt. Robt. Barclay at Put-in-Bay, Sept. 10, 1813.
- Ft. Stephenson, defended by Maj. Geo. Croghan, withstood Br.-Indian attack led by Proctor, Aug. 2, 1813.
- Battle of the Thames, Oct. 5, 1813. Wm. H. Harrison's U.S. army defeated Proctor's Br. force and Indian allies. Tecumseh killed.
- Br. victory at Queenston Hts., Oct. 13, 1812. Sir Isaac Brock killed.
- Battle of Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814. U.S. forces commanded by Gen. Jacob Brown; Br. by Gen. Gordon Drummond. (result inconclusive)
- Battle of Chippewa, July 5, 1814. U.S. army under Gen. Winfield Scott defeated Br. force under Gen. Riall.

11. Ft. Erie, Aug. 13-14, 1814. Br. assault on U.S.-held position repulsed.
12. York, later Toronto, Cap. of Upper Canada, raided and burned by U.S. force under Com. Isaac Chauncey and Gen. H. Dearborn, Apr., 1813.
13 Ogdensburg. Br. repulsed by Col. Jacob Brown, Oct. 4, 1812.
14. Crysler's Farm. Br. defeated U.S. forces, Nov. 11, 1813.
15. Chateauguay. Br. repulsed U.S. attack, Oct. 26, 1813.
16. Plattsburg. Sir Geo. Prevost and Br. army failed to assault U.S. defences at Plattsburg decisively and retreated to Canada, Sept., 1814.
17. Lake Champlain. Br. fleet under Com. Geo. Downie defeated by U.S. fleet under Capt. Thomas Macdonough, Sept. 11, 1814.
18. Bladensburg. Br. army under Gen. Robt. Ross, landing at Patuxent and moving to attack Washington, routed U.S. force under Gen. Wm. H. Winder, Aug. 24, 1814. Br. entered Washington that evening and burned government buildings.
19. Br. repulsed in attack on Ft. McHenry and Baltimore, Sept. 12, 1814.

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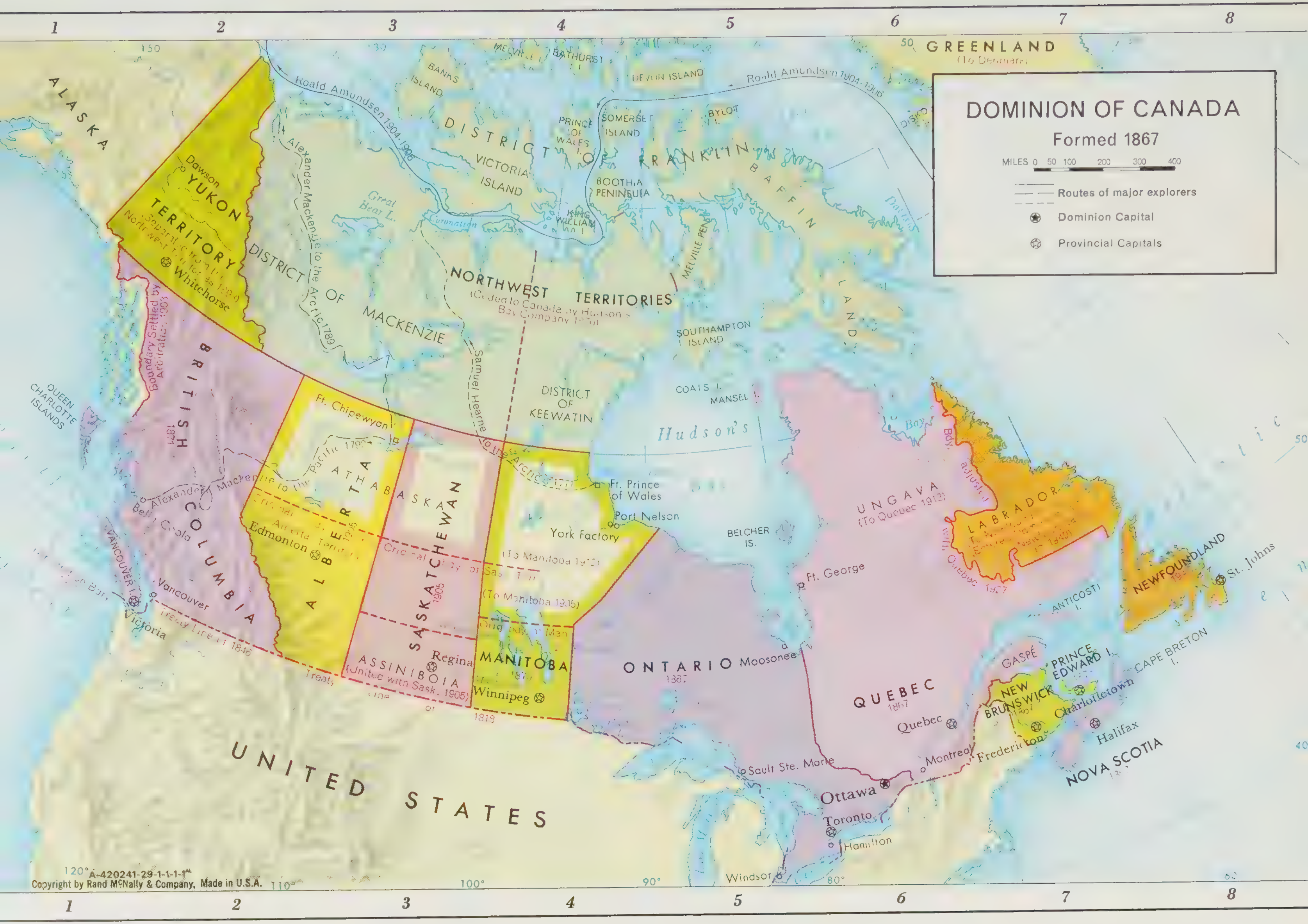

DOMINION OF CANADA

Formed 1867

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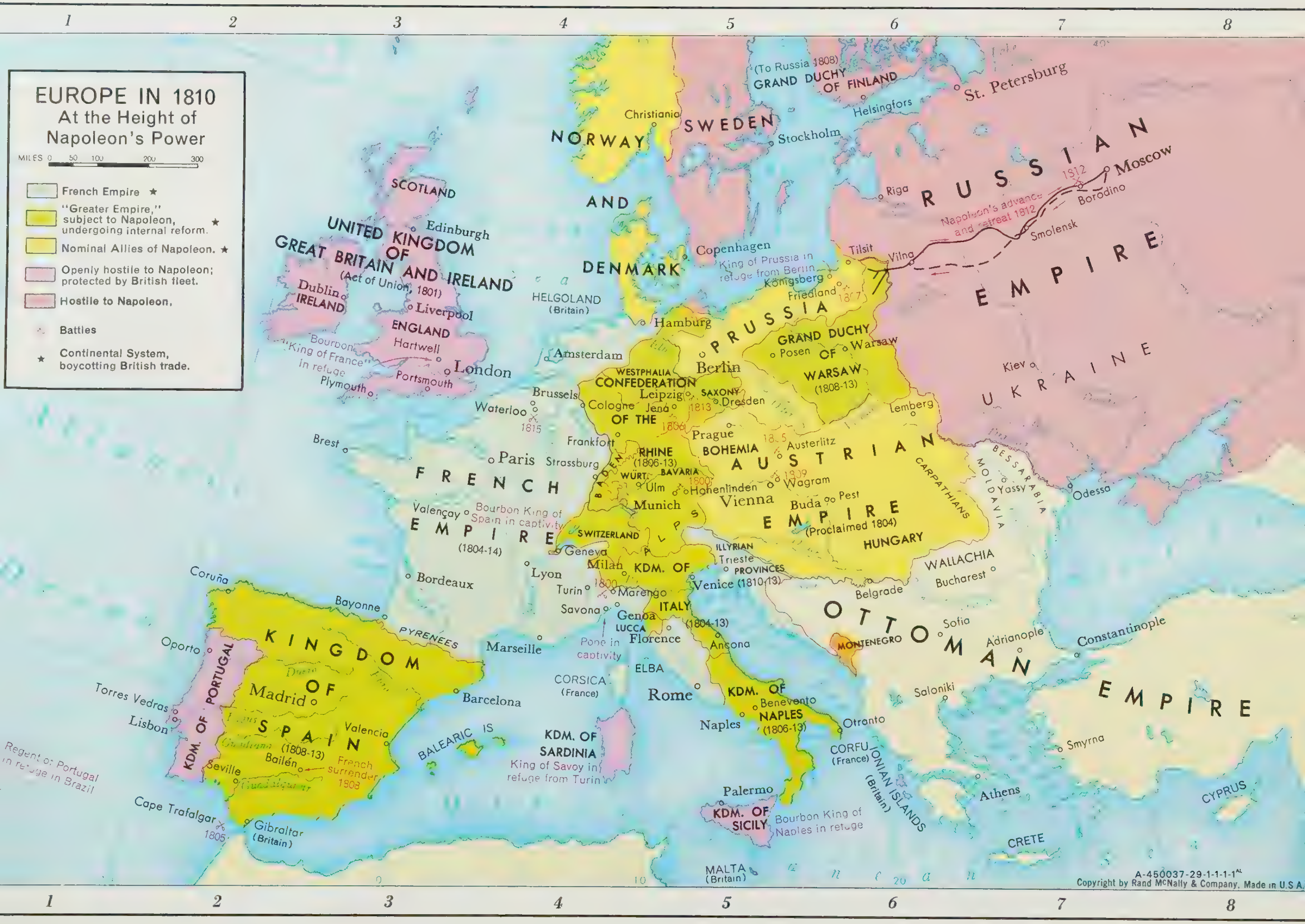

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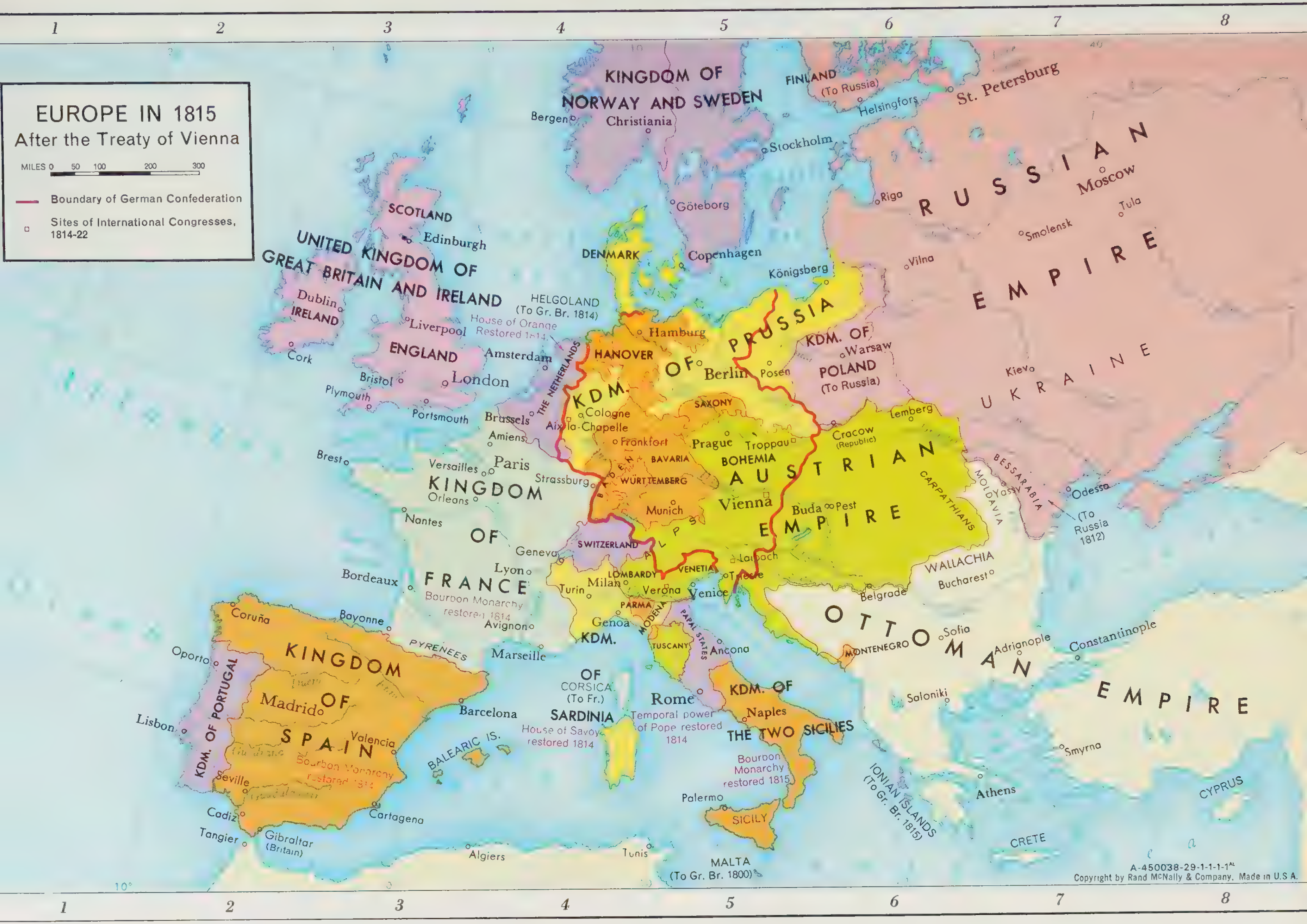

EUROPE IN 1815

After the Treaty of Vienna

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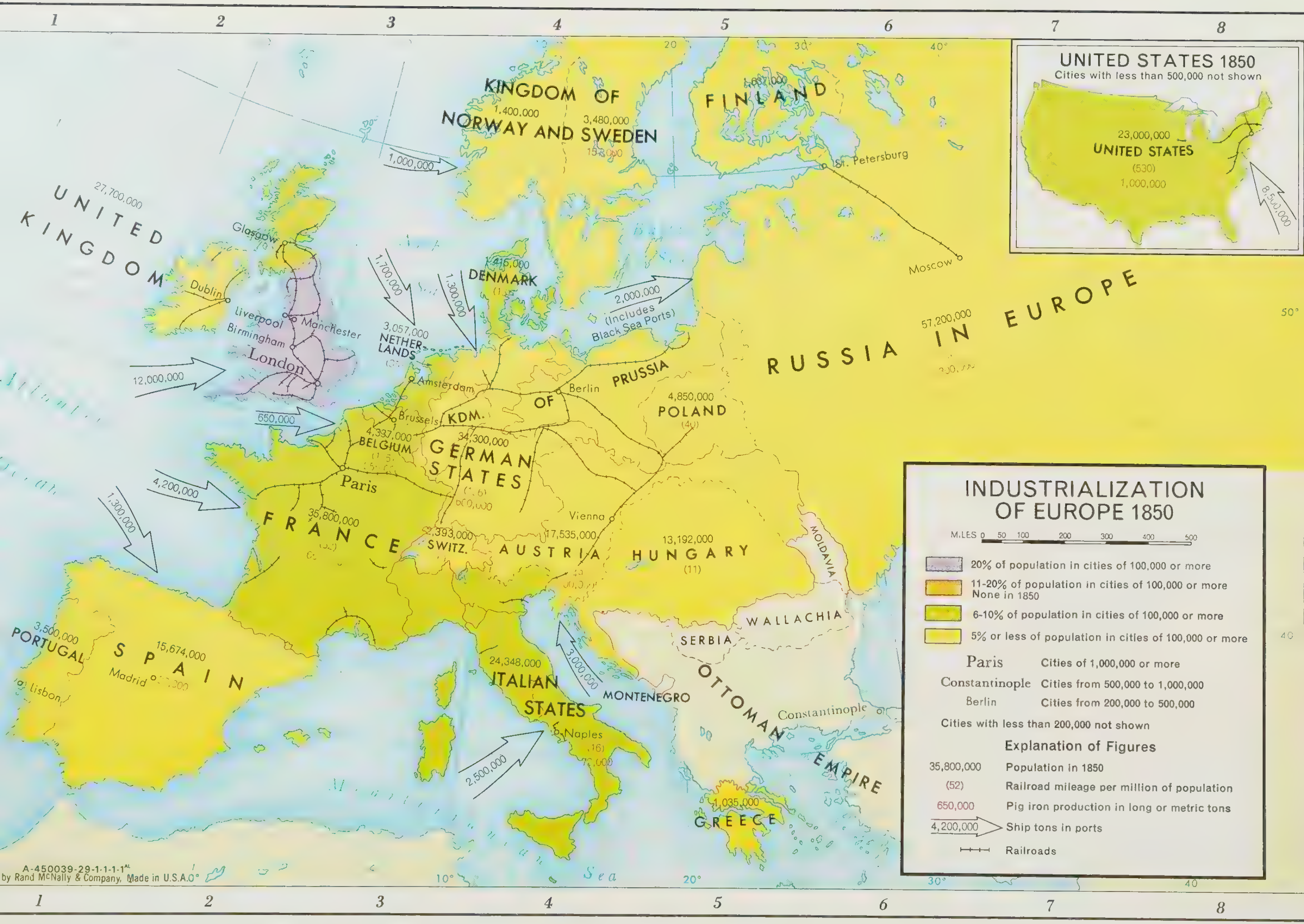

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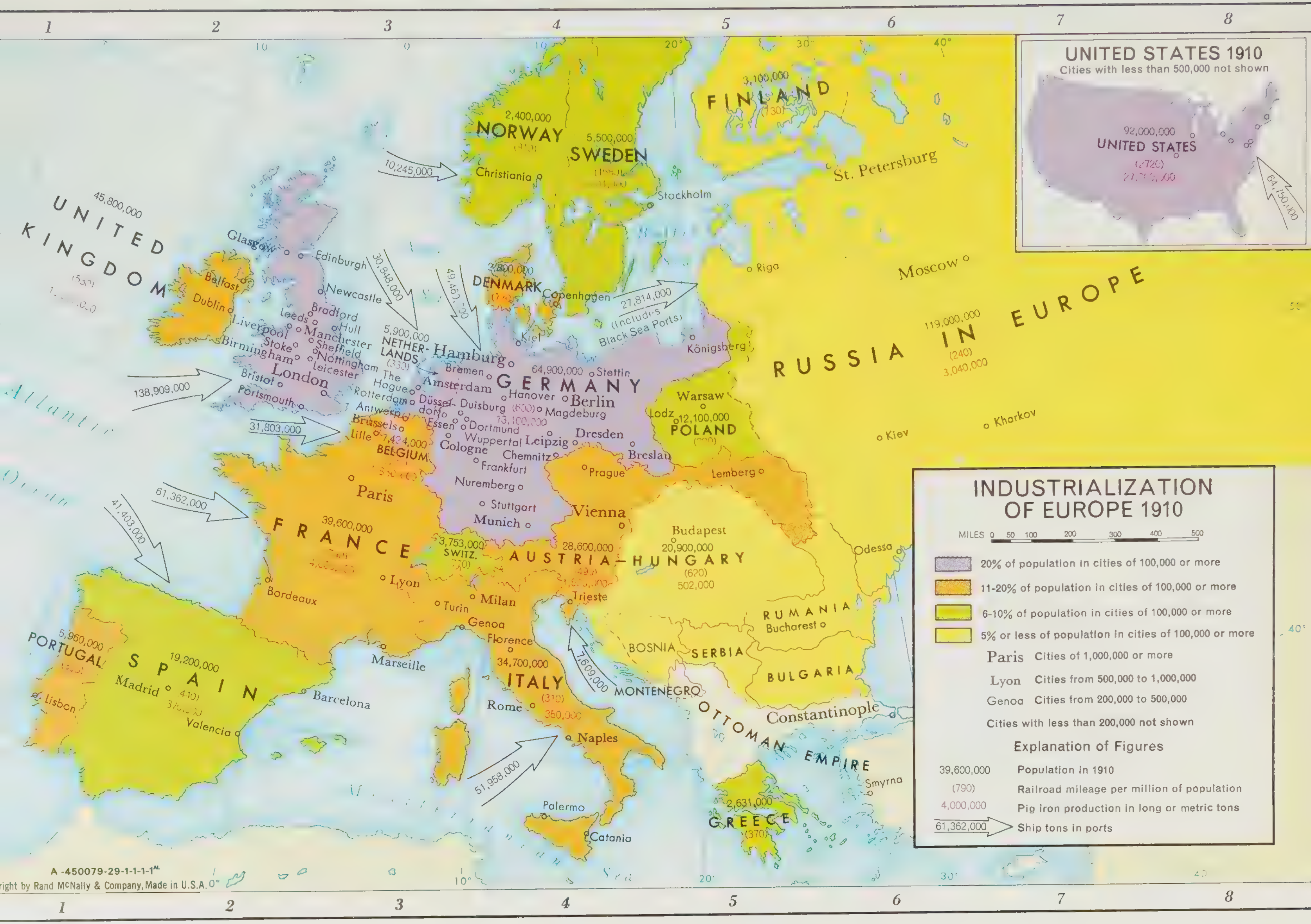

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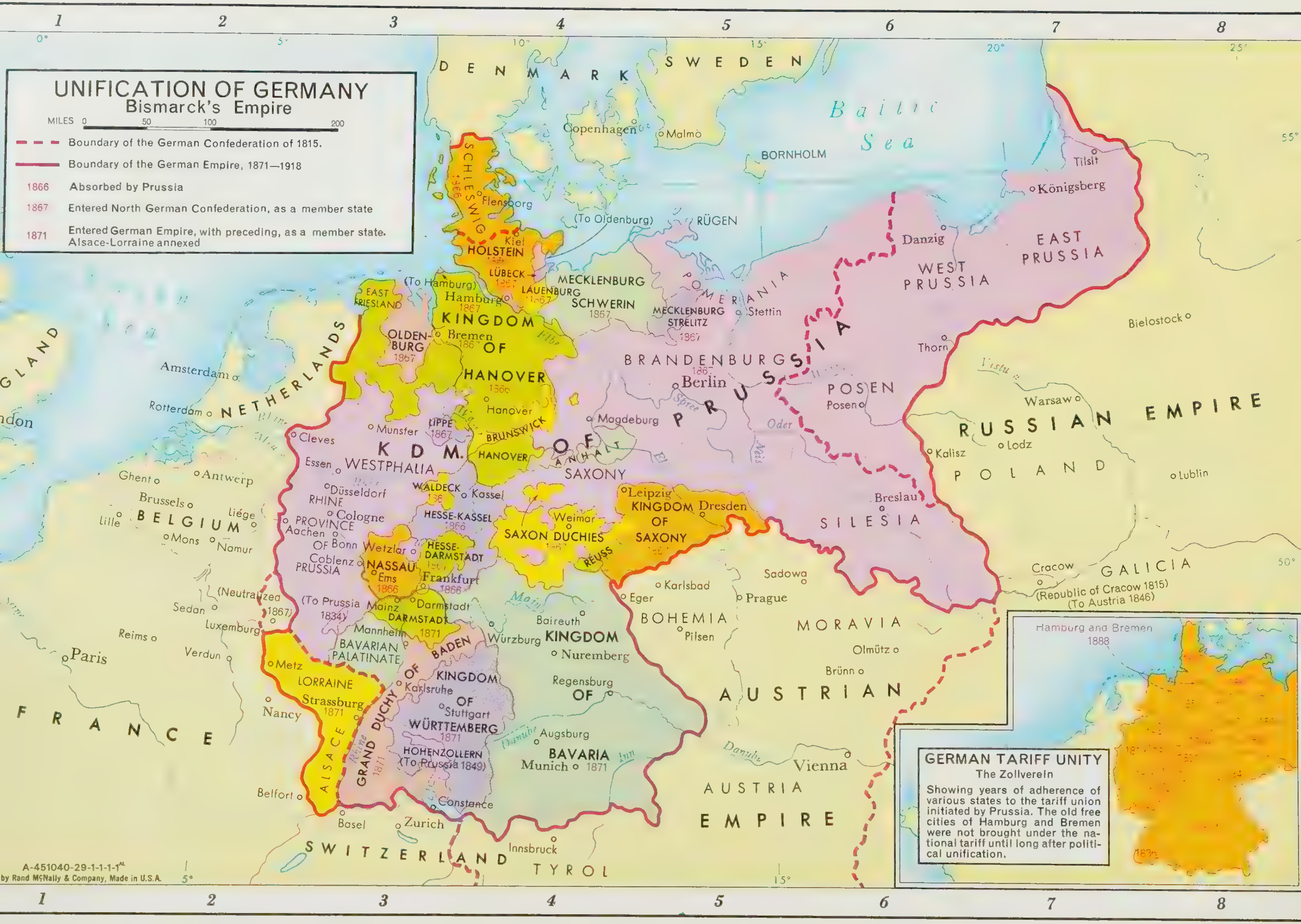
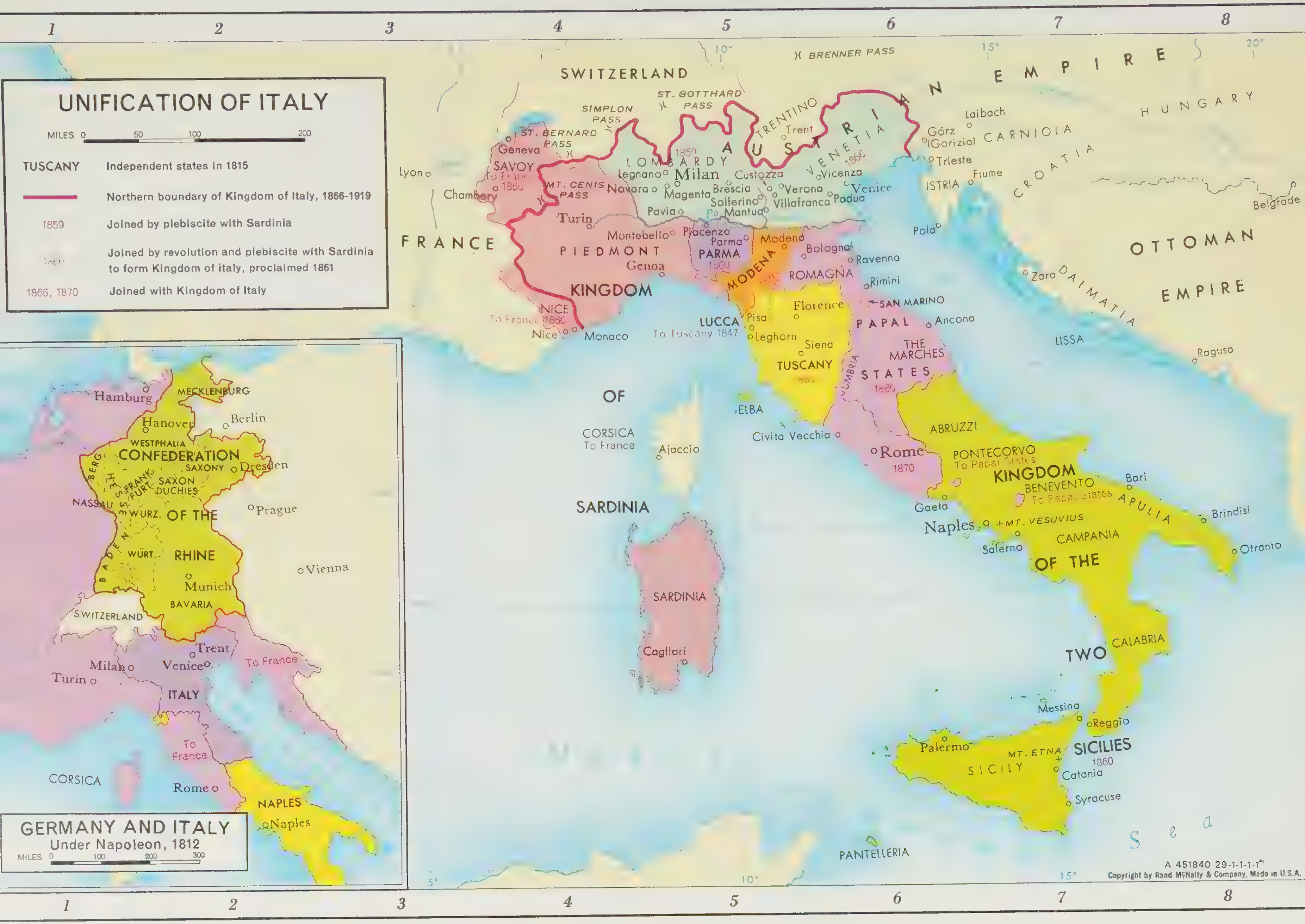


UNIFICATION OF GERMANY
Bismarck's Empire

GERMAN TARIFF UNITY
The Zollverein

Showing years of adherence of various states to the tariff union initiated by Prussia. The old free cities of Hamburg and Bremen were not brought under the national tariff until long after political unification.



UNIFICATION OF ITALY

GERMANY AND ITALY
Under Napoleon, 1812

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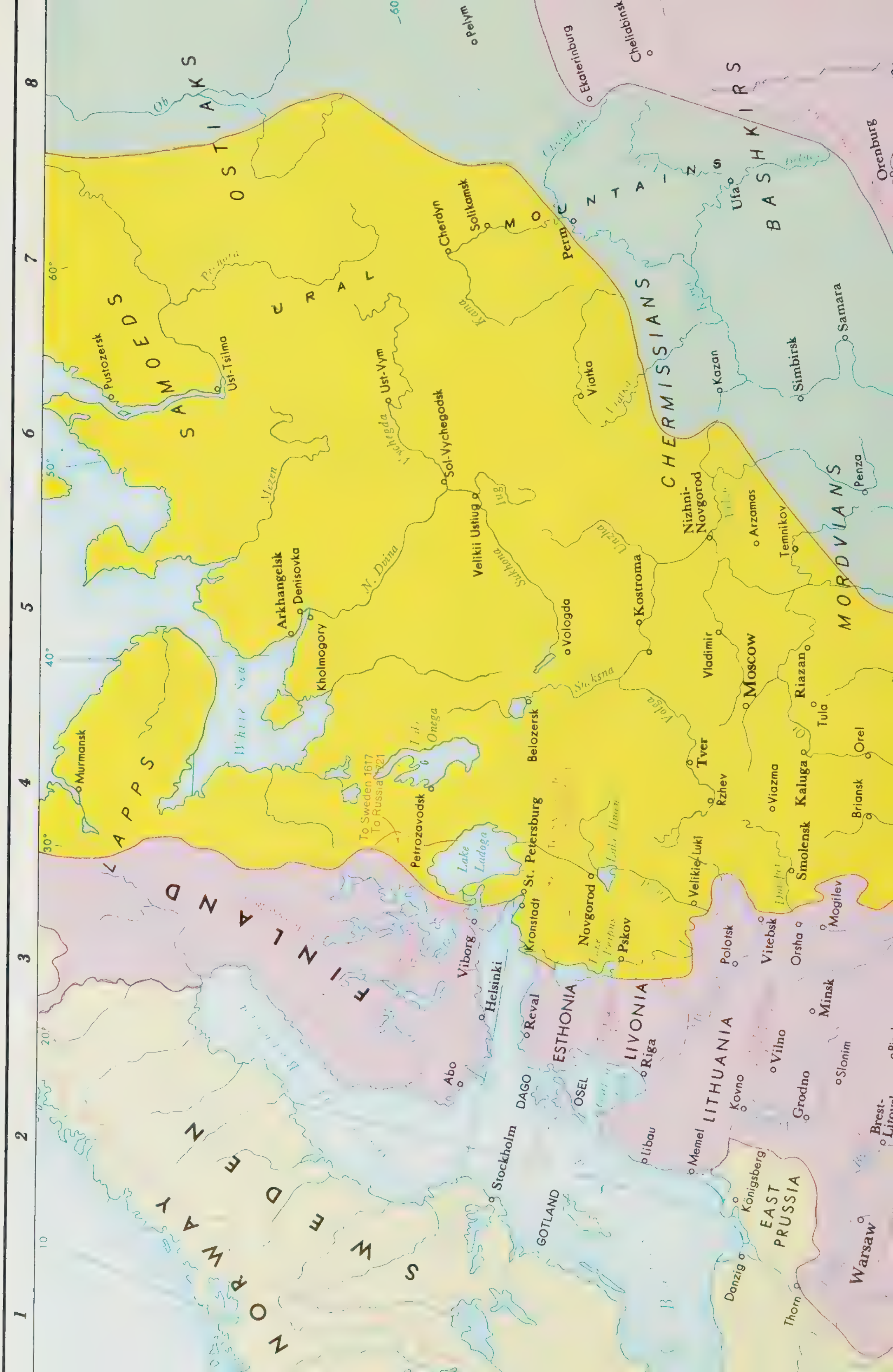
1
2
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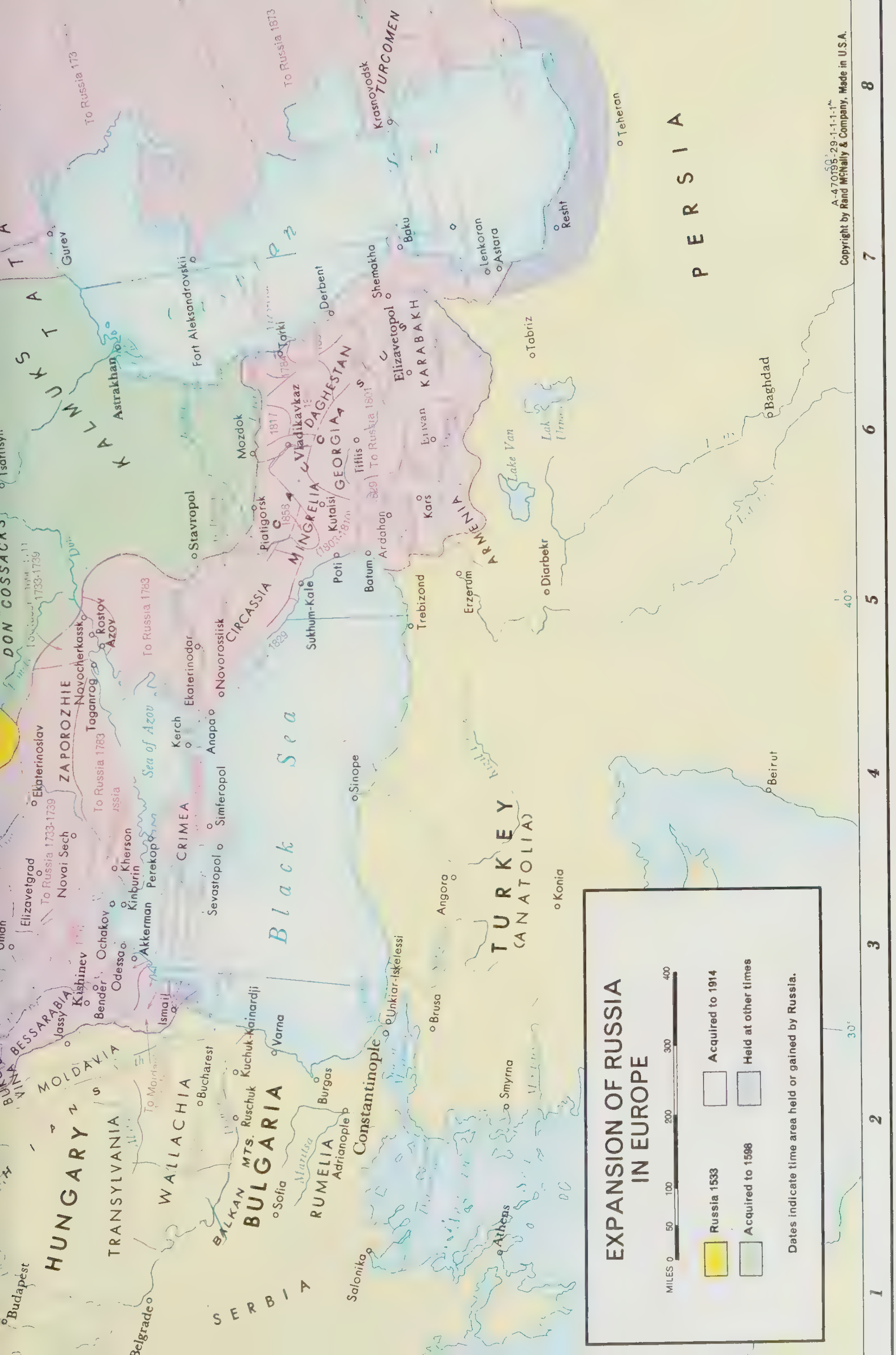
8
10
20°
30°
40°
50°
60°
60
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
LAPPS
SAMOEDS
OSTIAKS
URAL
MOZTAIZS
BASHKIRS
CHERMISSIANS
MORDVIANS
ESTHONIA
LIVONIA
LITHUANIA
EAST PRUSSIA
DAGO
OSEL
GOTLAND
Murmansk
Pustozersk
Ust-Tsilma
Ob
Pechora
Mezen
Vychegda
N. Dvina
Sukhona
Unzha
Viatka
Kama
White Sea
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Lake Ilmen
Lake Peipus
Sheksna
Volga
Dnieper
Pelym
Ekaterinburg
Cheliabinsk
Cherdyn
Solikamsk
Perm
Ufa
Orenburg
Ust-Vym
Sol-Vychegodsk
Velikii Ustiug
Arkhangelsk
Denisovka
Kholmogory
Vologda
Kostroma
Kazan
Simbirsk
Samara
Penza
Nizhni-Novgorod
Arzamas
Temnikov
Vladimir
Moscow
Riazan
Tula
Orel
Kaluga
Viazma
Briansk
Smolensk
Tver
Rzhev
Velikie Luki
Belozersk
Petrozavodsk
To Sweden 1617
To Russia 1721
St. Petersburg
Kronstadt
Viborg
Helsinki
Abo
Reval
Novgorod
Pskov
Riga
Libau
Memel
Kovno
Vilno
Grodno
Slonim
Minsk
Polotsk
Vitebsk
Orsha
Mogilev
Königsberg
Danzig
Thorn
Warsaw
Brest-Litovsk
Stockholm


EXPANSION OF RUSSIA IN EUROPE
MILES 0 50 100 200 300 400
Russia 1533
Acquired to 1598
Acquired to 1914
Held at other times
Dates indicate time area held or gained by Russia.
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
WALLACHIA
BULGARIA
BALKAN MTS.
RUMELIA
SERBIA
TURKEY (ANATOLIA)
CRIMEA
ZAPOROZHIE
DON COSSACKS
KALMUKS
CIRCASSIA
MINGRELIA
GEORGIA
DAGHESTAN
KARABAKH
ARMENIA
TURCOMEN
PERSIA
Black Sea
Sea of Azov
Lake Van
Budapest
Belgrade
Sofia
Salonika
Athens
Adrianople
Constantinople
Burgas
Varna
Kuchuk-Kainardji
Ruschuk
Bucharest
Jassy
Kishinev
Bender
Ismail
Akkerman
Odessa
Ochakov
Kinburin
Kherson
Perekop
Elizavetgrad
Novai Sech
Ekaterinoslav
To Russia 1733-1739
To Russia 1783
To Moldavia
Sevastopol
Simferopol
Kerch
Anapa
Novorossiisk
Ekaterinodar
Taganrog
Novocherkassk
Rostov
Azov
Stavropol
Piatigorsk
Mozdok
Vladikavkaz
Tiflis
To Russia 1801
Kutaisi
Poti
Batum
Ardahan
Kars
Erivan
Elizavetopol
Shemakha
Baku
Derbent
Tarki
Astrakhan
Fort Aleksandrovskii
Gurev
Krasnovodsk
To Russia 1873
Lenkoran
Astara
Resht
Teheran
Tabriz
Baghdad
Diarbekr
Erzerum
Trebizond
Sukhum-Kale
Sinope
Unkiar-Iskelessi
Brusa
Smyrna
Angora
Konia
Beirut
1829
1856
1803-1810
1817
1784
30°
40°
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
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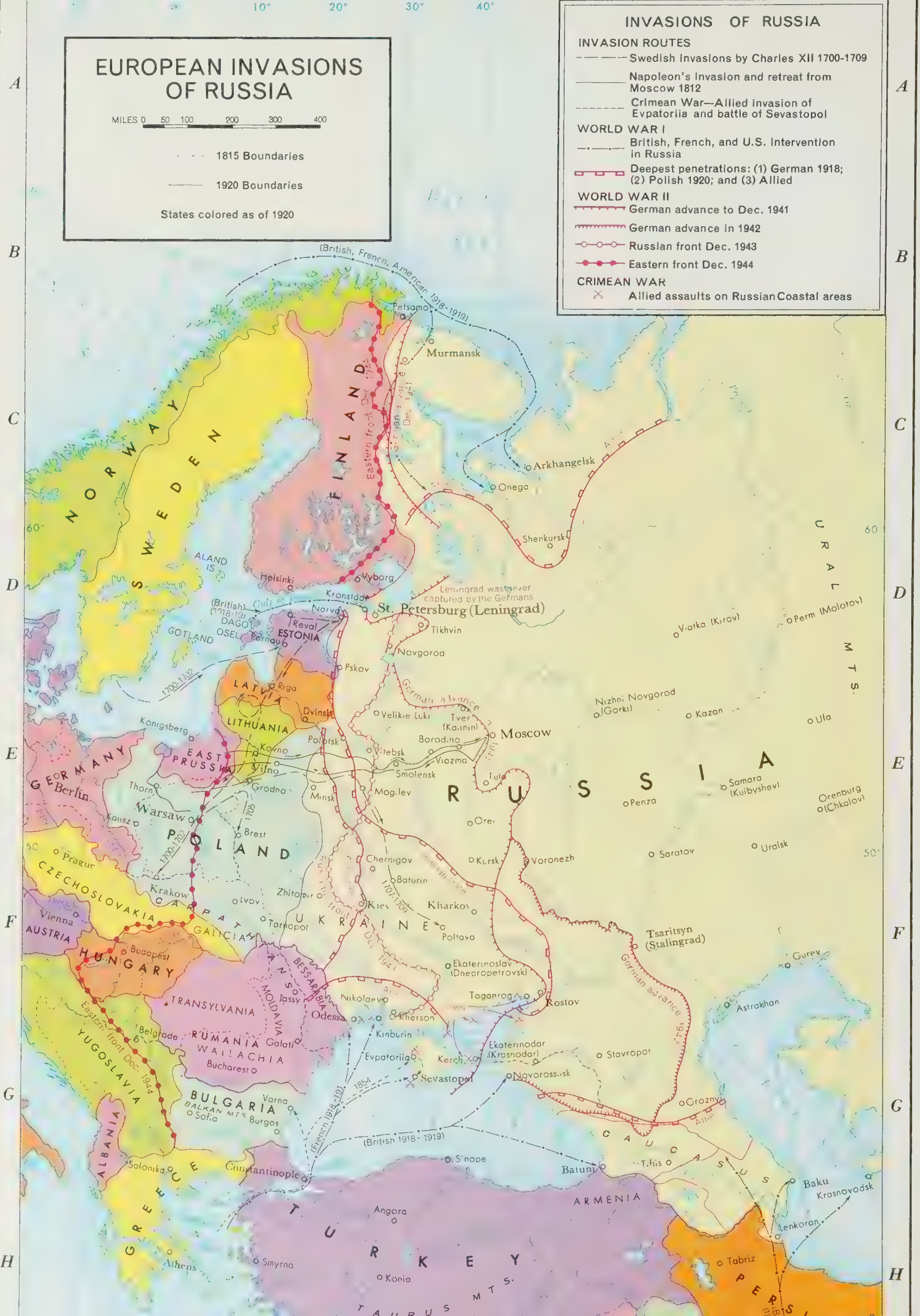
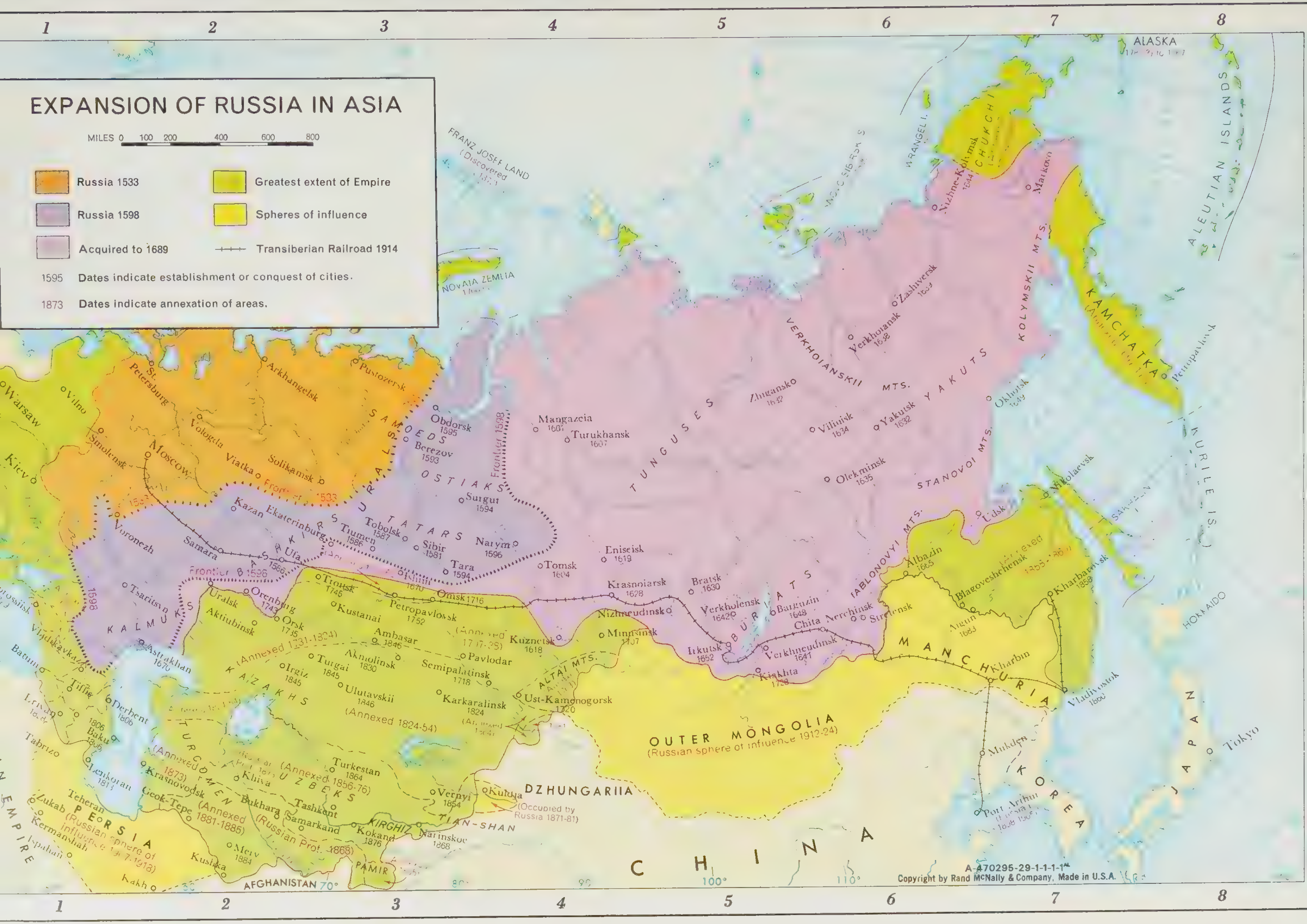
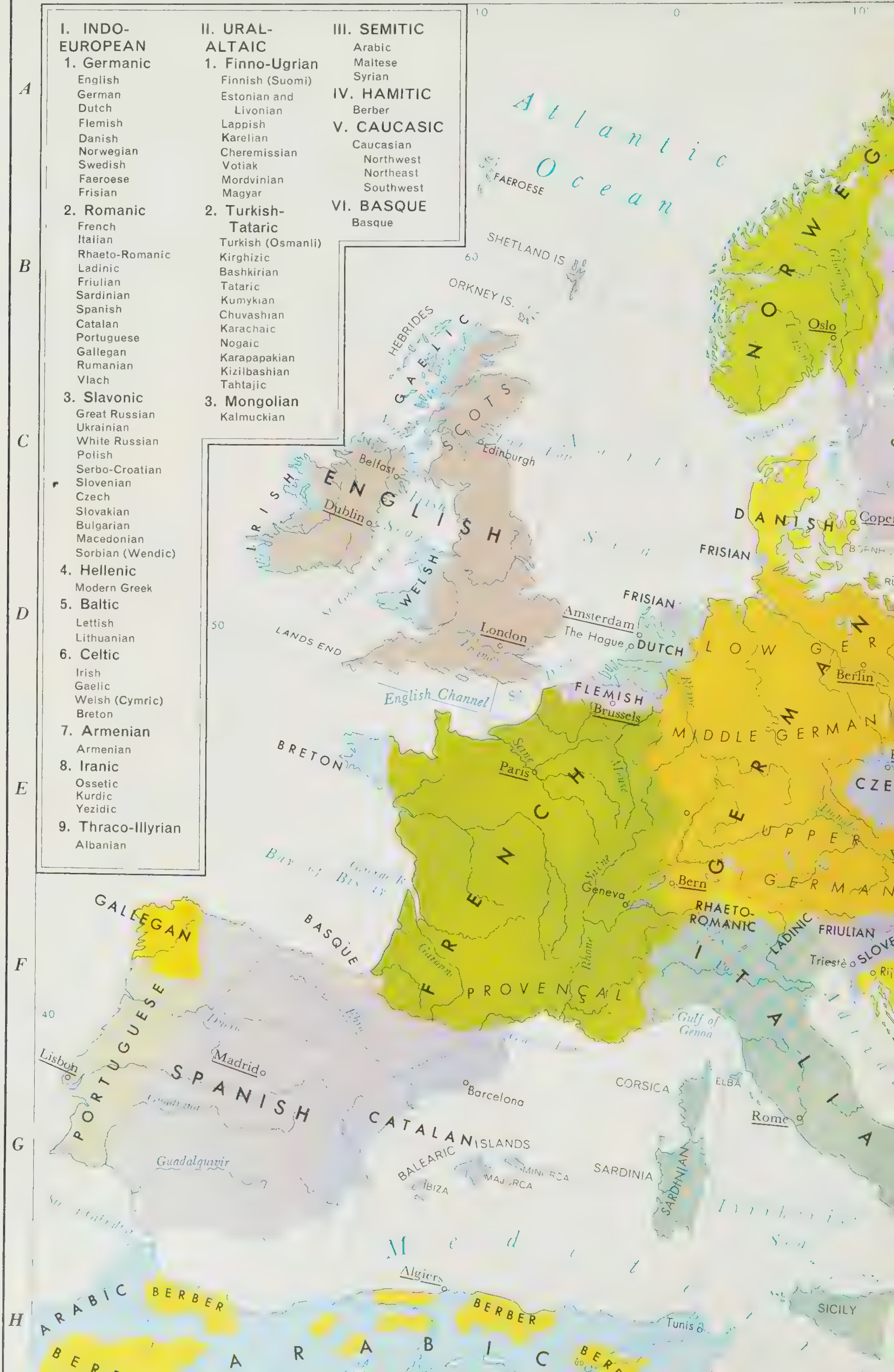


EUROPEAN INVASIONS OF RUSSIA



EXPANSION OF RUSSIA IN ASIA



I. INDO-EUROPEAN
- 1. Germanic
  - English
  - German
  - Dutch
  - Flemish
  - Danish
  - Norwegian
  - Swedish
  - Faeroese
  - Frisian
- 2. Romanic
  - French
  - Italian
  - Rhaeto-Romanic
  - Ladinic
  - Friulian
  - Sardinian
  - Spanish
  - Catalan
  - Portuguese
  - Gallegan
  - Rumanian
  - Vlach
- 3. Slavonic
  - Great Russian
  - Ukrainian
  - White Russian
  - Polish
  - Serbo-Croatian
  - Slovenian
  - Czech
  - Slovakian
  - Bulgarian
  - Macedonian
  - Sorbian (Wendic)
- 4. Hellenic
  - Modern Greek
- 5. Baltic
  - Lettish
  - Lithuanian
- 6. Celtic
  - Irish
  - Gaelic
  - Welsh (Cymric)
  - Breton
- 7. Armenian
  - Armenian
- 8. Iranic
  - Ossetic
  - Kurdic
  - Yezidic
- 9. Thraco-Illyrian
  - Albanian

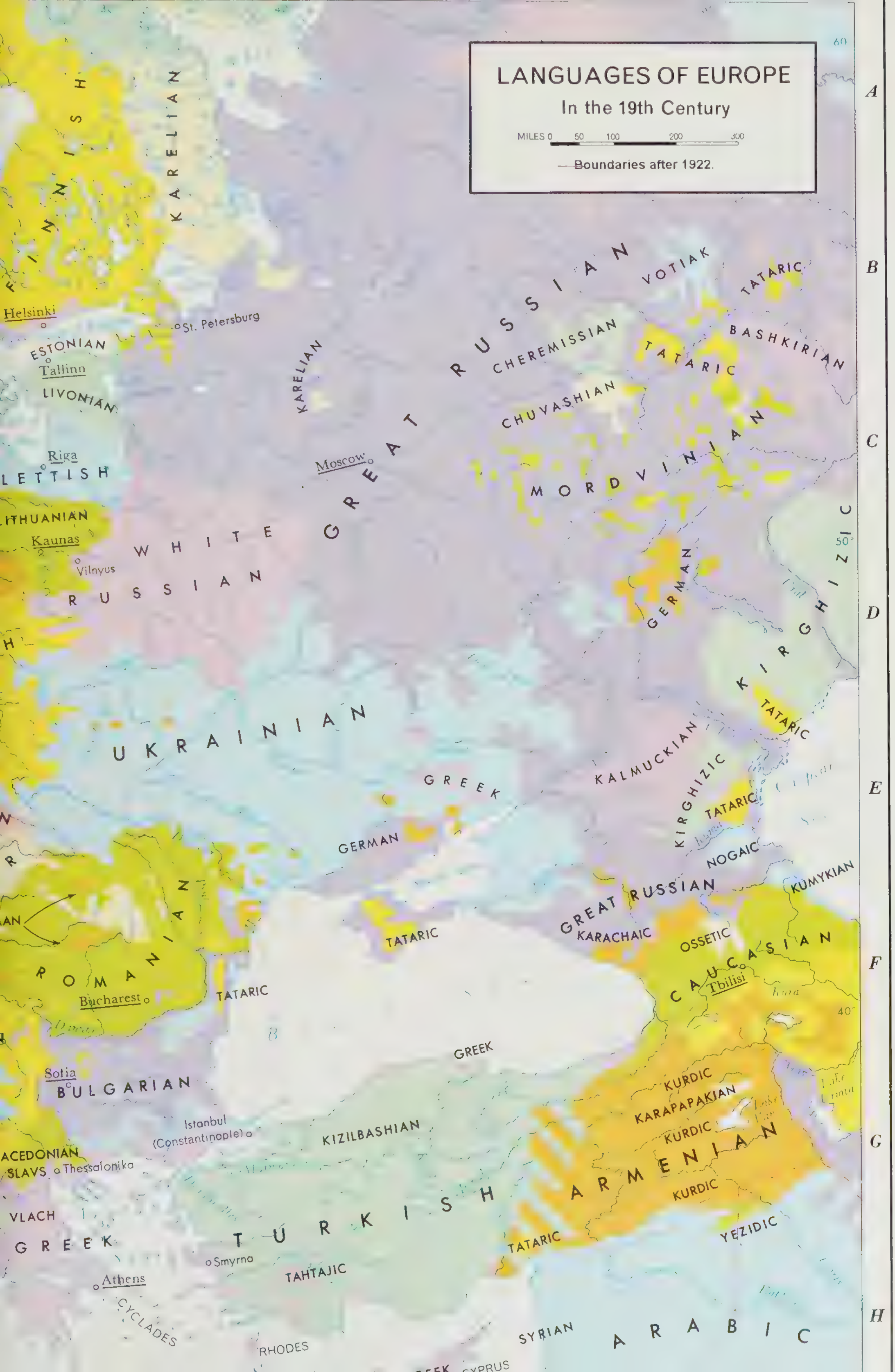
II. URAL-ALTAIC
- 1. Finno-Ugrian
  - Finnish (Suomi)
  - Estonian and Livonian
  - Lappish
  - Karelian
  - Cheremissian
  - Votiak
  - Mordvinian
  - Magyar
- 2. Turkish-Tataric
  - Turkish (Osmanli)
  - Kirghizic
  - Bashkirian
  - Tataric
  - Kumykian
  - Chuvashian
  - Karachaic
  - Nogaic
  - Karapapakian
  - Kizilbashian
  - Tahtajic
- 3. Mongolian
  - Kalmuckian

III. SEMITIC
- Arabic
- Maltese
- Syrian

IV. HAMITIC
- Berber

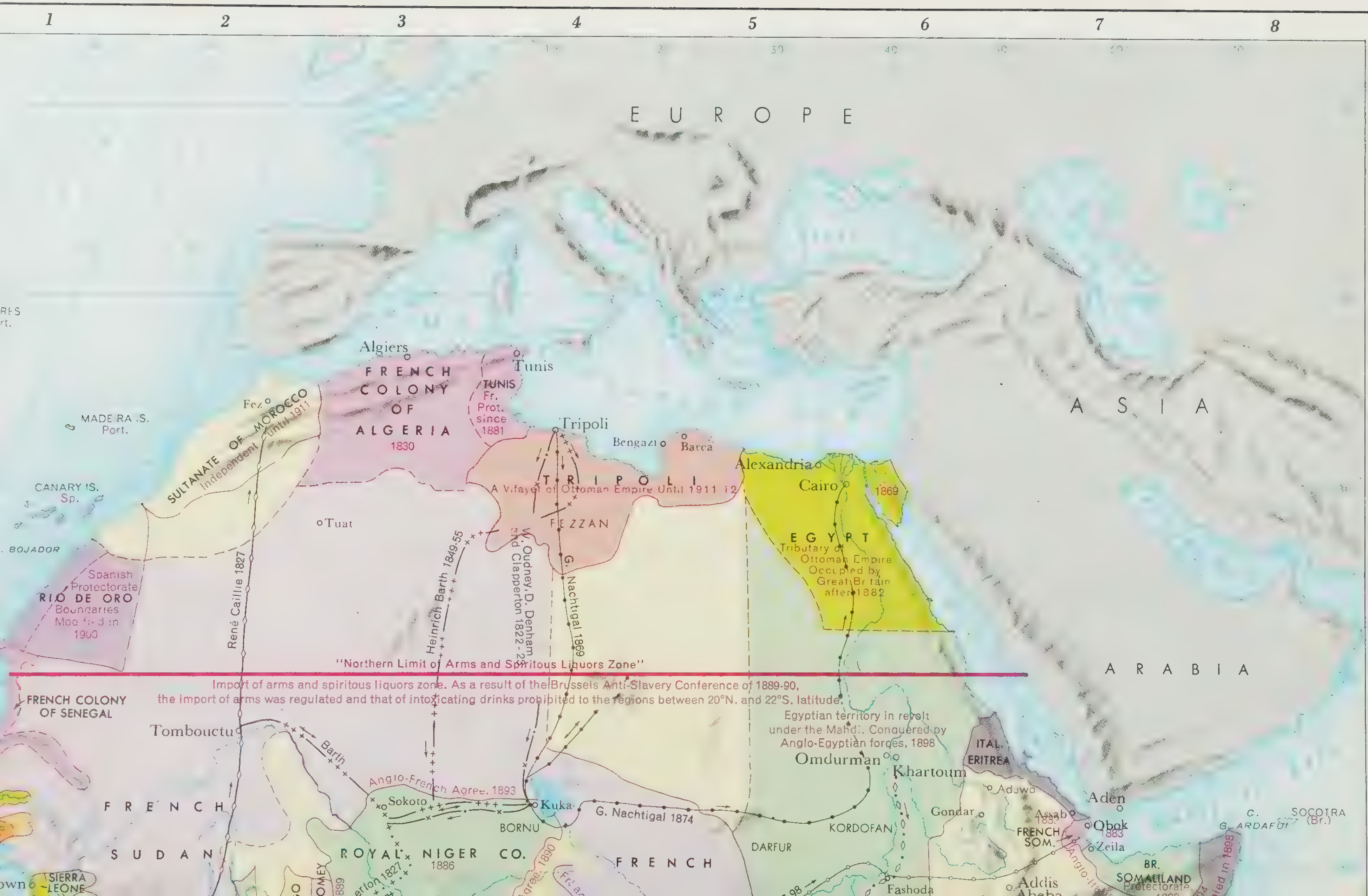
V. CAUCASIC
- Caucasian
  - Northwest
  - Northeast
  - Southwest

VI. BASQUE
- Basque



LANGUAGES OF EUROPE

In the 19th Century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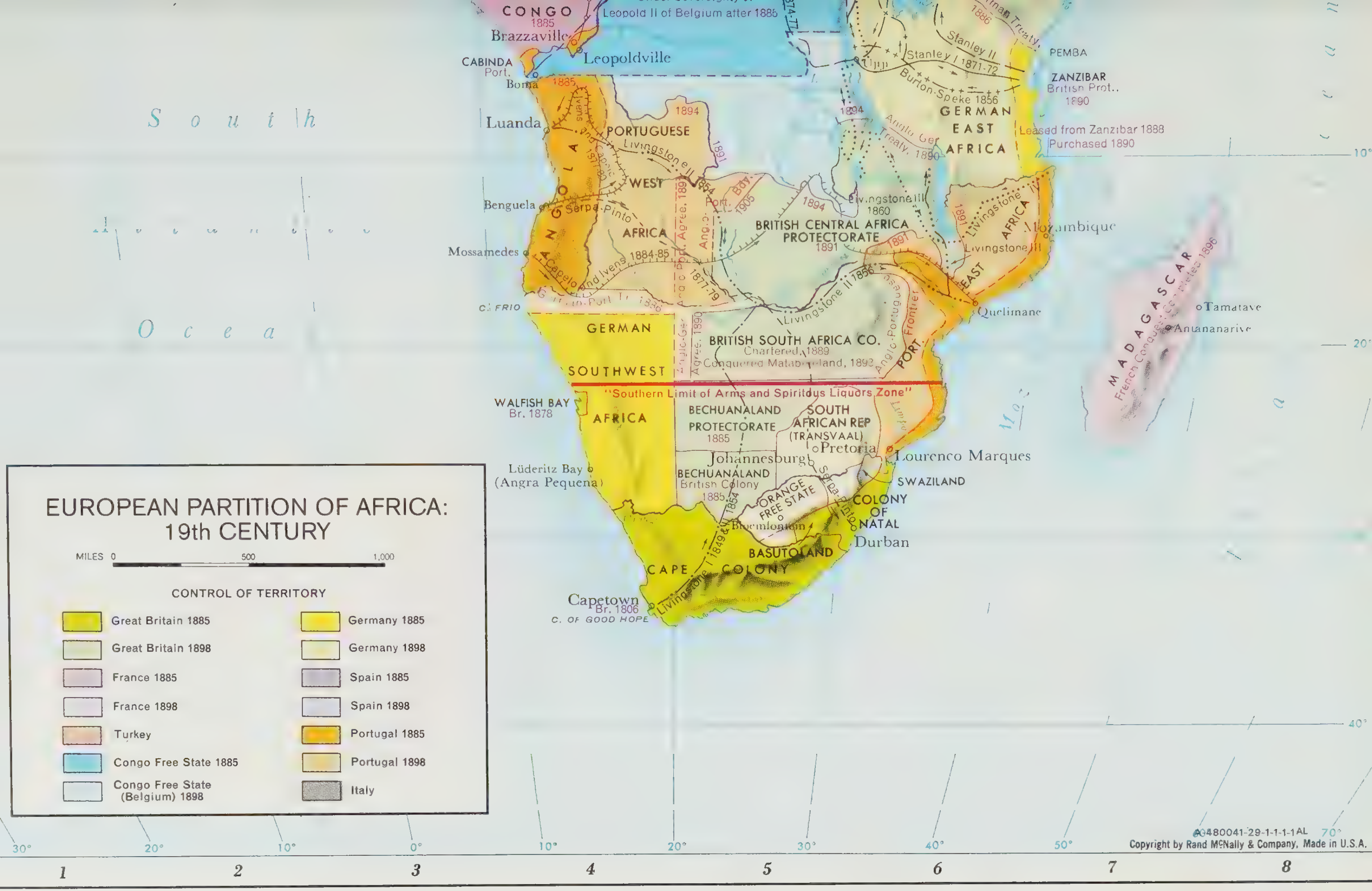
8
EUROPE
ASIA
ARABIA
Algiers
Tunis
FRENCH COLONY OF ALGERIA
1830
TUNIS
Fr. Prot. since 1881
Tripoli
Bengazi
Barca
Alexandria
Cairo
1869
TRIPOLI
A Vilayet of Ottoman Empire Until 1911 12
FEZZAN
EGYPT
Tributary of Ottoman Empire
Occupied by Great Britain after 1882
MADEIRA IS.
Port.
CANARY IS.
Sp.
BOJADOR
Fez
SULTANATE OF MOROCCO
Independent until 1911
Tuat
Spanish Protectorate
RIO DE ORO
Boundaries Modified in 1900
René Caillie 1827
Heinrich Barth 1849-55
W. Oudney, D. Denham and Clapperton 1822-25
G. Nachtigal 1869
"Northern Limit of Arms and Spiritous Liquors Zone"
Import of arms and spiritous liquors zone. As a result of the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference of 1889-90,
the import of arms was regulated and that of intoxicating drinks prohibited to the regions between 20°N. and 22°S. latitude.
Egyptian territory in revolt under the Mahdi. Conquered by Anglo-Egyptian forces, 1898
FRENCH COLONY OF SENEGAL
Tombouctu
Barth
Anglo-French Agree. 1893
Sokoto
Kuka
BORNU
G. Nachtigal 1874
Omdurman
Khartoum
KORDOFAN
DARFUR
ITAL. ERITREA
Aduwo
Gondar
Assab
1883
Aden
Obok
1883
Zeila
FRENCH SOM.
C. GUARDAFUI
SOCOTRA (Br.)
BR. SOMALILAND
Protectorate
FRENCH SUDAN
ROYAL NIGER CO.
1886
FRENCH
Fashoda
Addis Ababa
SIERRA LEONE



EUROPEAN PARTITION OF AFRICA: 19th CENTURY

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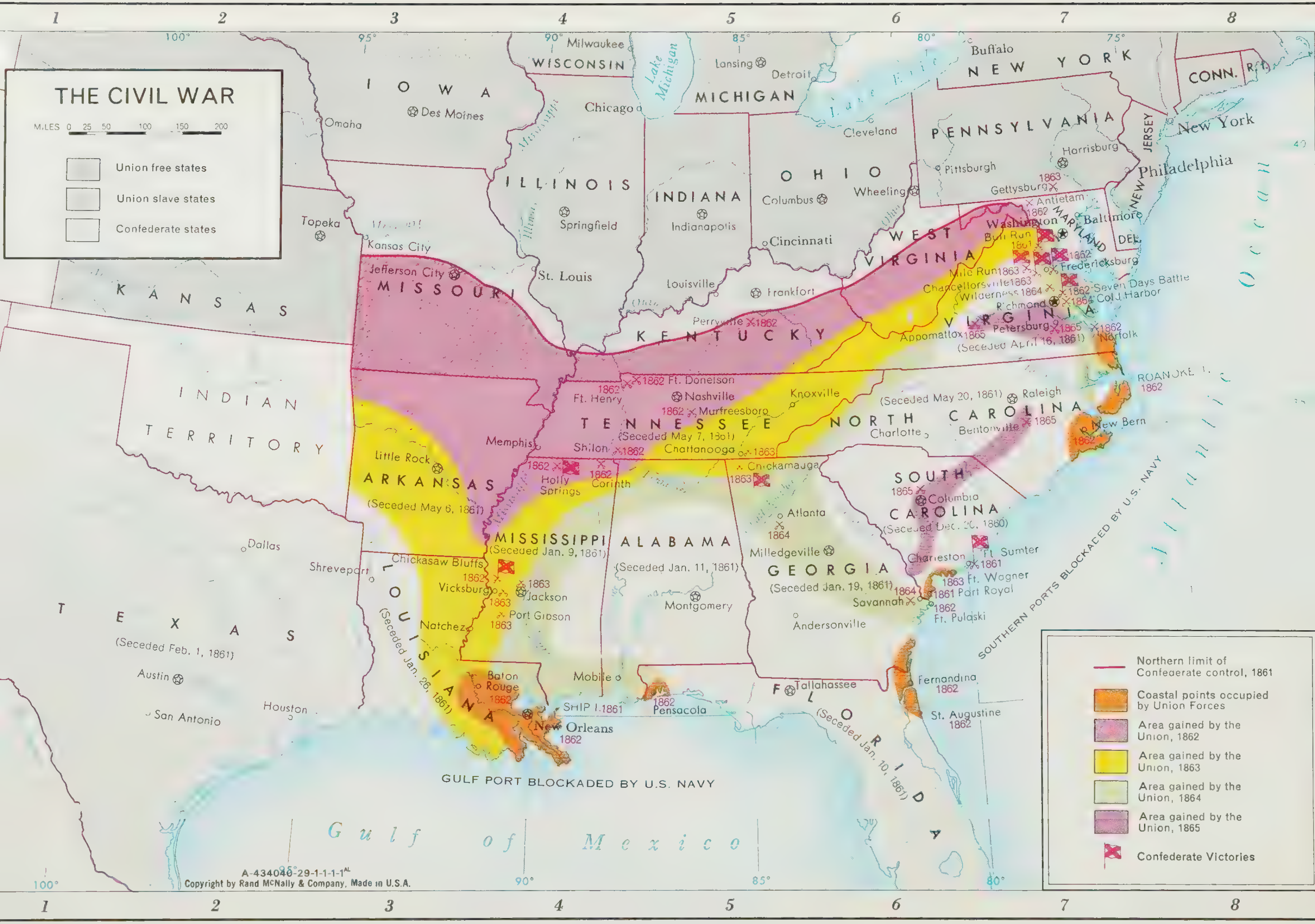

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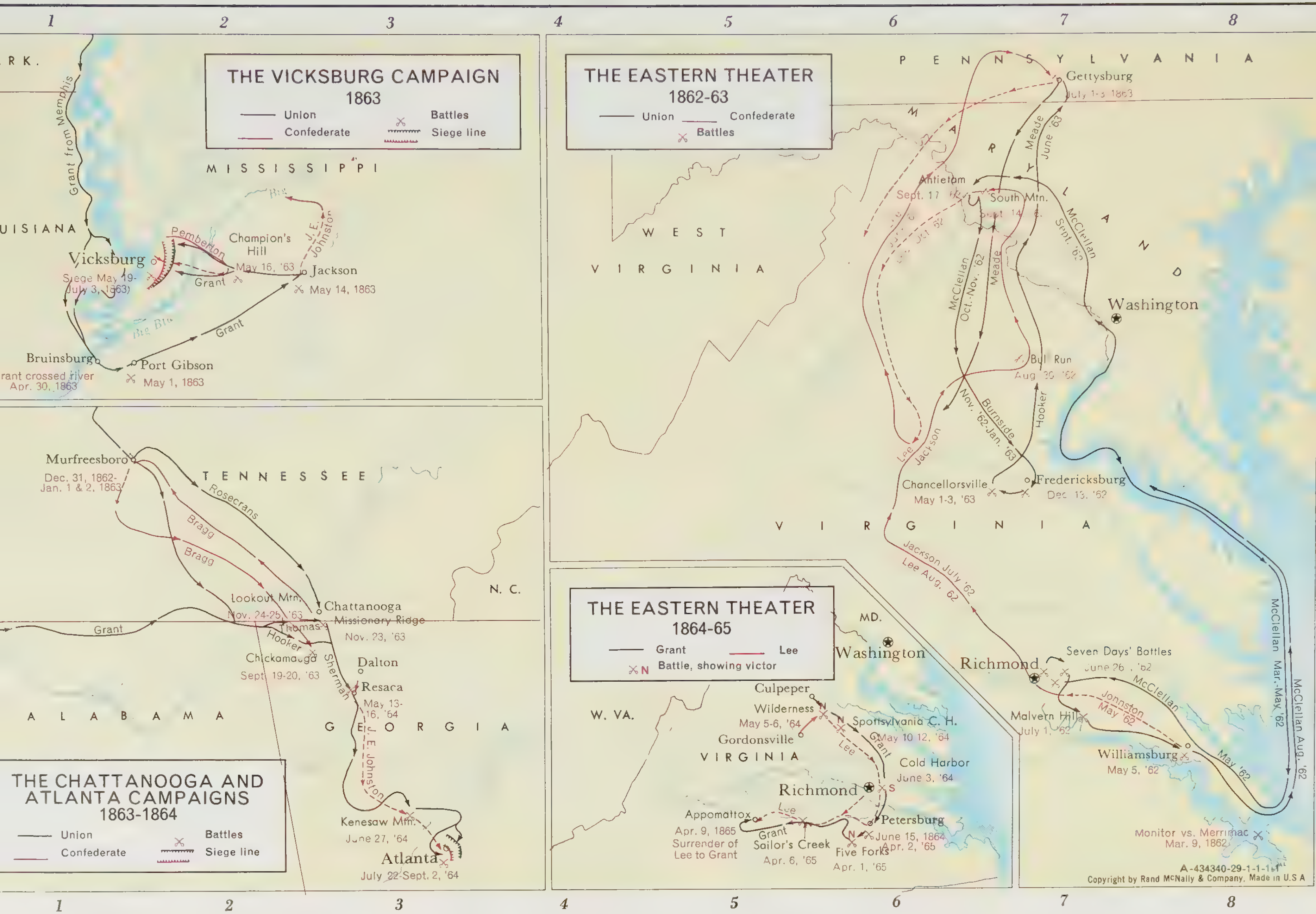
1
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8
THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN
1863
Union
Confederate
Battles
Siege line
RK.
UISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
Grant from Memphis
Pemberton
Champion's Hill
May 16, '63
J. E. Johnston
Jackson
May 14, 1863
Vicksburg
Siege May 19-July 3, 1863)
Grant
Big Blk
Grant
Bruinsburg
rant crossed river
Apr. 30, 1863
Port Gibson
May 1, 1863
THE CHATTANOOGA AND ATLANTA CAMPAIGNS
1863-1864
Union
Confederate
Battles
Siege line
Murfreesboro
Dec. 31, 1862-Jan. 1 & 2, 1863
TENNESSEE
Rosecrans
Bragg
Bragg
N. C.
Lookout Mtn.
Nov. 24-25, '63
Chattanooga
Missionary Ridge
Nov. 23, '63
Grant
Thomas
Hooker
Chickamauga
Sept. 19-20, '63
Sherman
Dalton
Resaca
May 13-16, '64
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
J. E. Johnston
Kenesaw Mtn.
June 27, '64
Atlanta
July 22-Sept. 2, '64
THE EASTERN THEATER
1862-63
Union
Confederate
Battles
PENNSYLVANIA
Gettysburg
July 1-3, 1863
MARYLAND
Meade
June '63
Antietam
Sept. 17 '62
South Mtn.
Sept. 14 '62
McClellan
Sept. '62
WEST VIRGINIA
McClellan
Oct.-Nov. '62
Meade
Washington
Bull Run
Aug. 30 '62
Burnside
Nov. '62-Jan. '63
Hooker
Lee
Jackson
Chancellorsville
May 1-3, '63
Fredericksburg
Dec. 13, '62
VIRGINIA
Jackson July '62
Lee Aug. '62
Richmond
Seven Days' Bottles
June 26 . '62
McClellan
Johnston
May '62
Malvern Hill
July 1, '62
Williamsburg
May 5, '62
May '62
McClellan Mar.-May '62
McClellan Aug. '62
Monitor vs. Merrimac
Mar. 9, 1862
THE EASTERN THEATER
1864-65
Grant
Lee
N
Battle, showing victor
MD.
Washington
W. VA.
Culpeper
Wilderness
May 5-6, '64
Spotsylvania C. H.
May 10 12, '64
Gordonsville
Grant
Lee
VIRGINIA
Cold Harbor
June 3, '64
Richmond
S
Appomattox
Apr. 9, 1865
Surrender of Lee to Grant
Lee
Grant
Sailor's Creek
Apr. 6, '65
Petersburg
June 15, 1864-Apr. 2, '65
Five Forks
Apr. 1, '65
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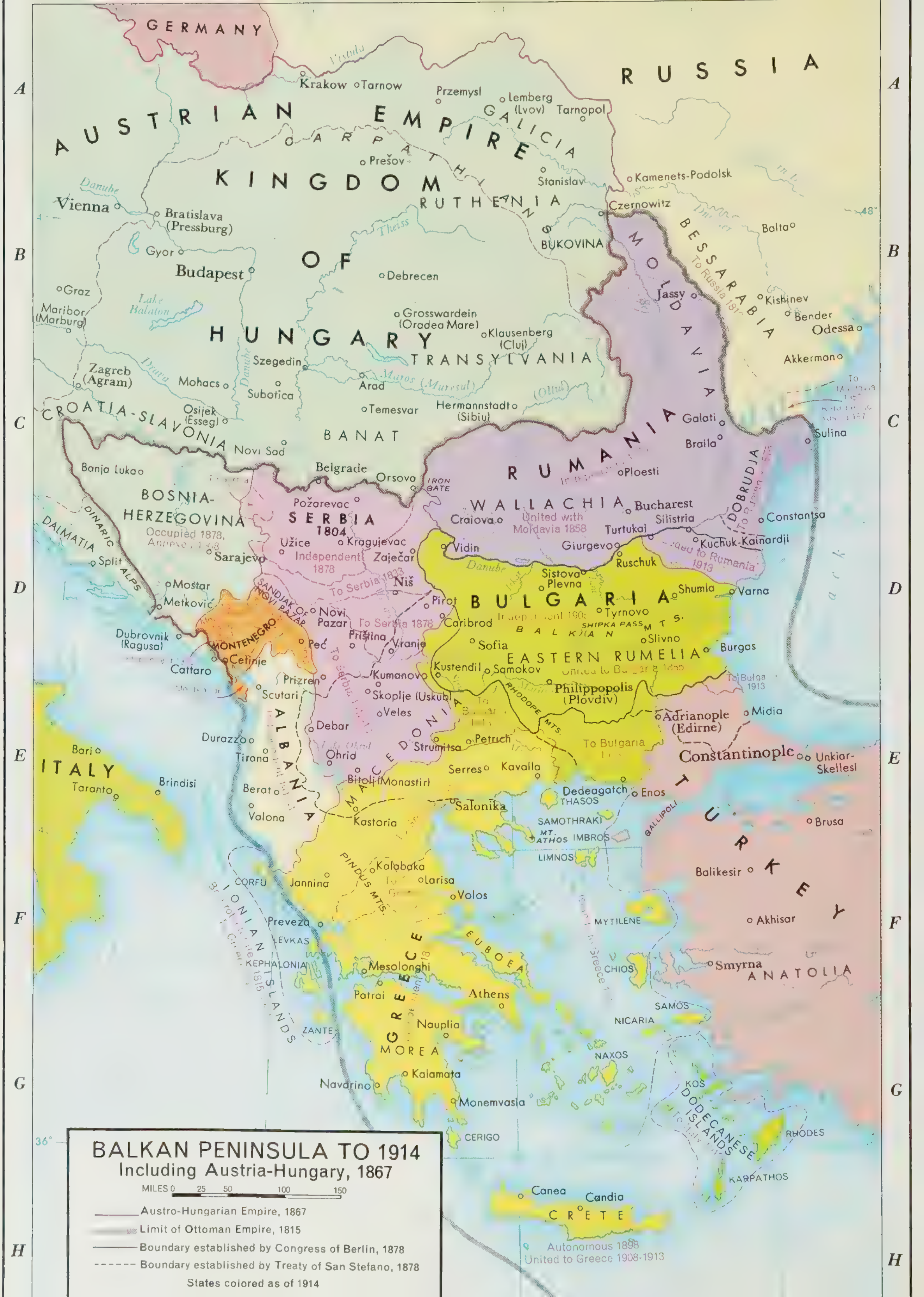
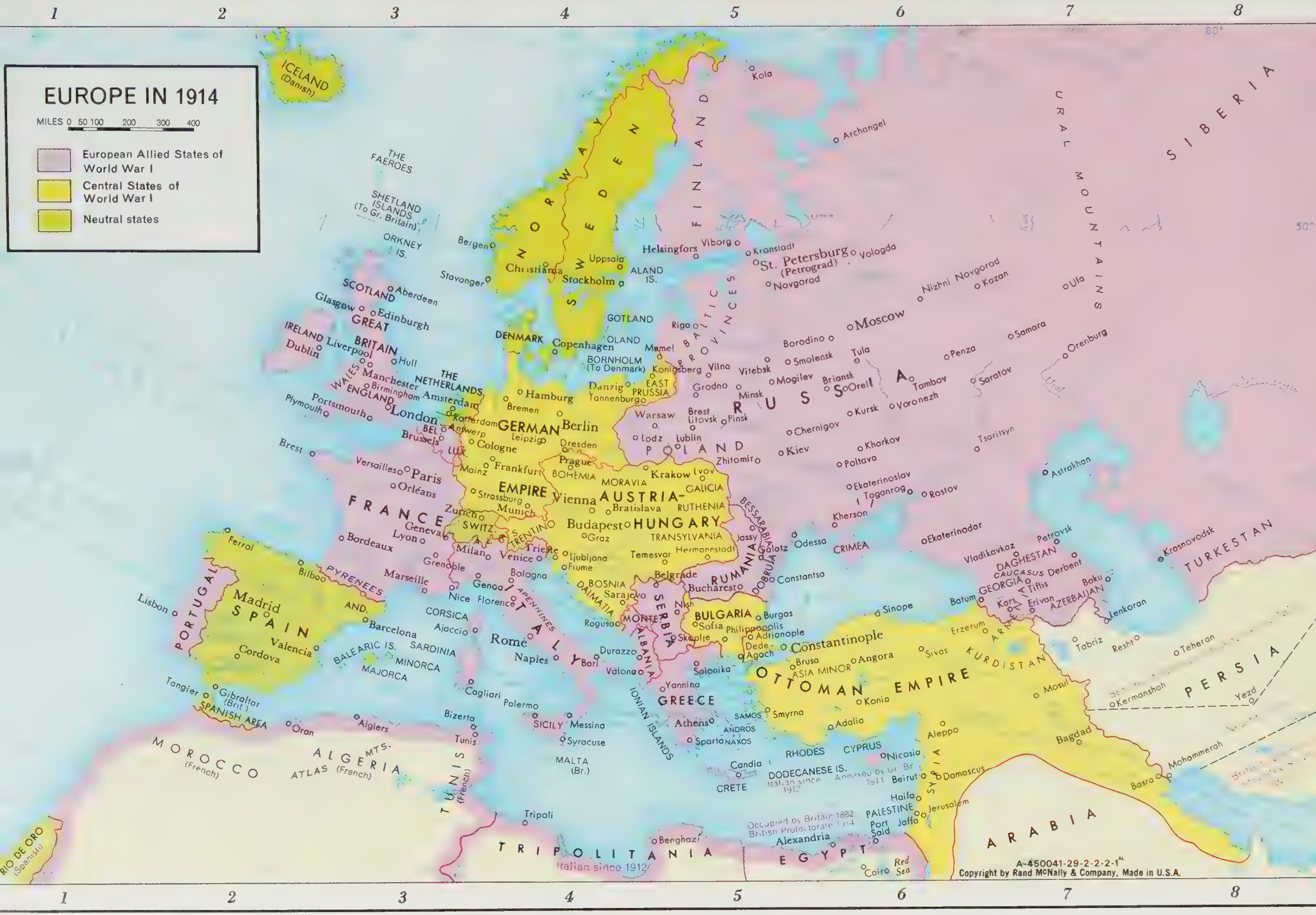


BALKAN PENINSULA TO 1914
Including Austria-Hungary, 1867

MILES 0 25 50 100 150
Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1867
Limit of Ottoman Empire, 1815
Boundary established by Congress of Berlin, 1878
Boundary established by Treaty of San Stefano, 1878
States colored as of 1914



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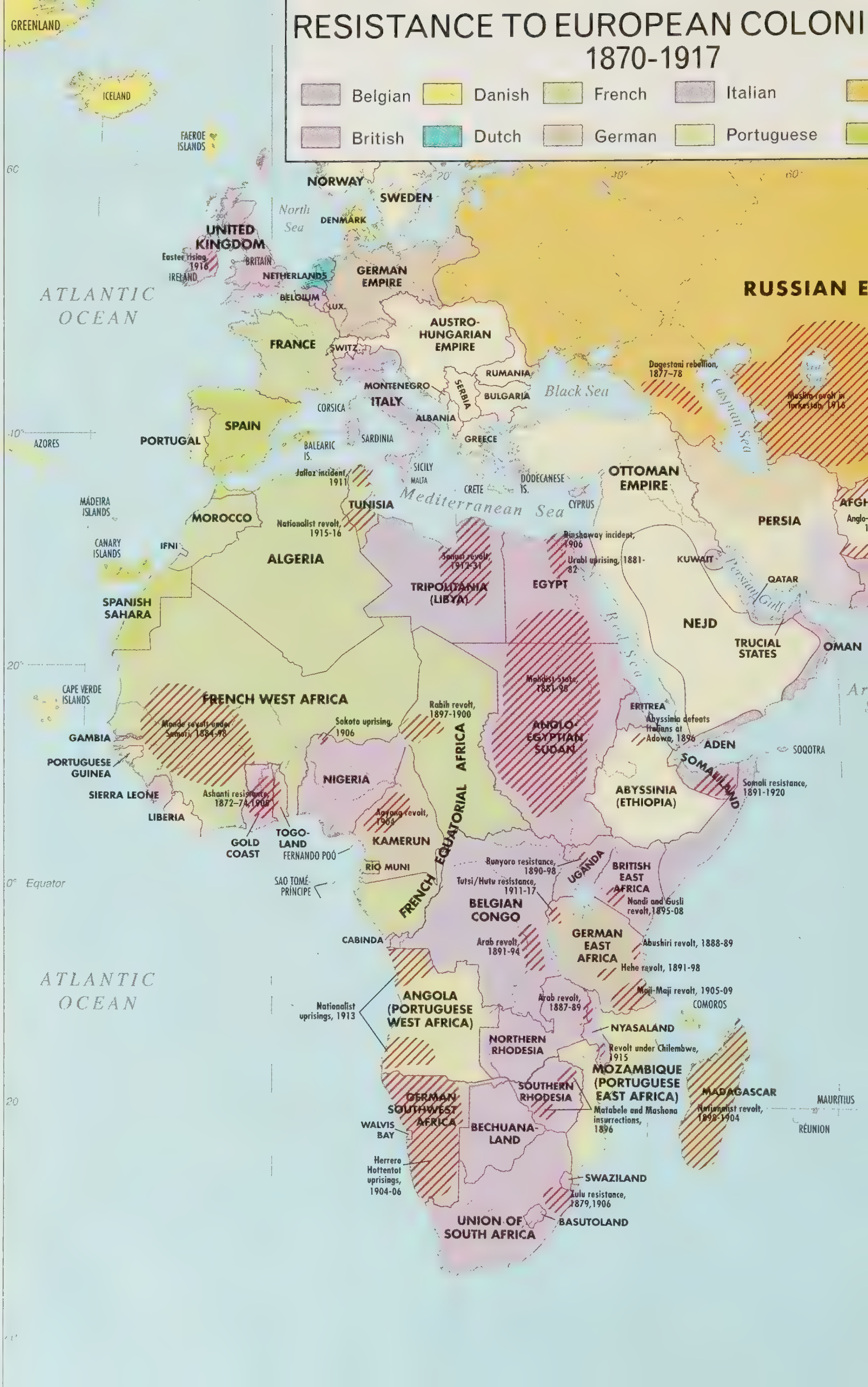
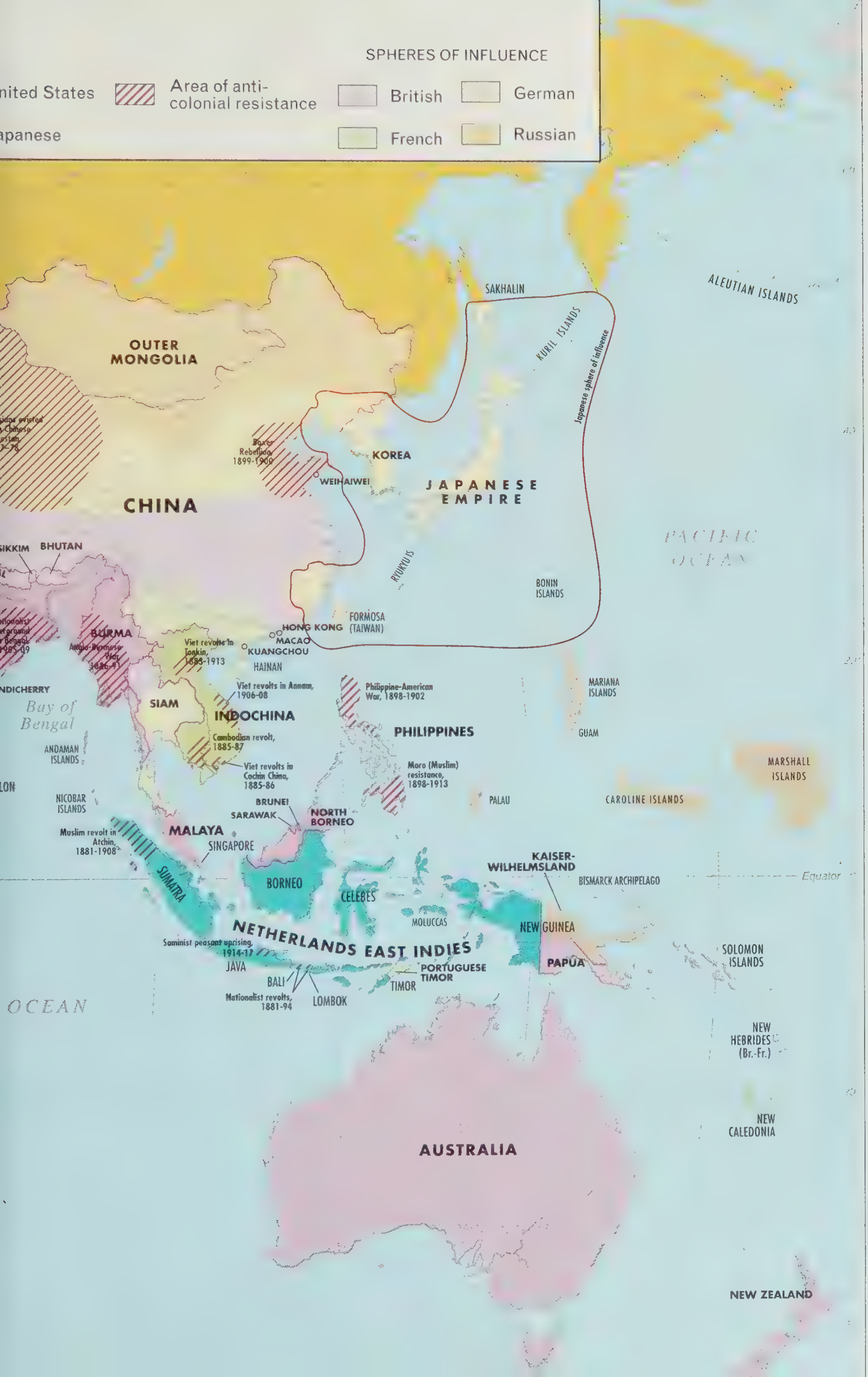
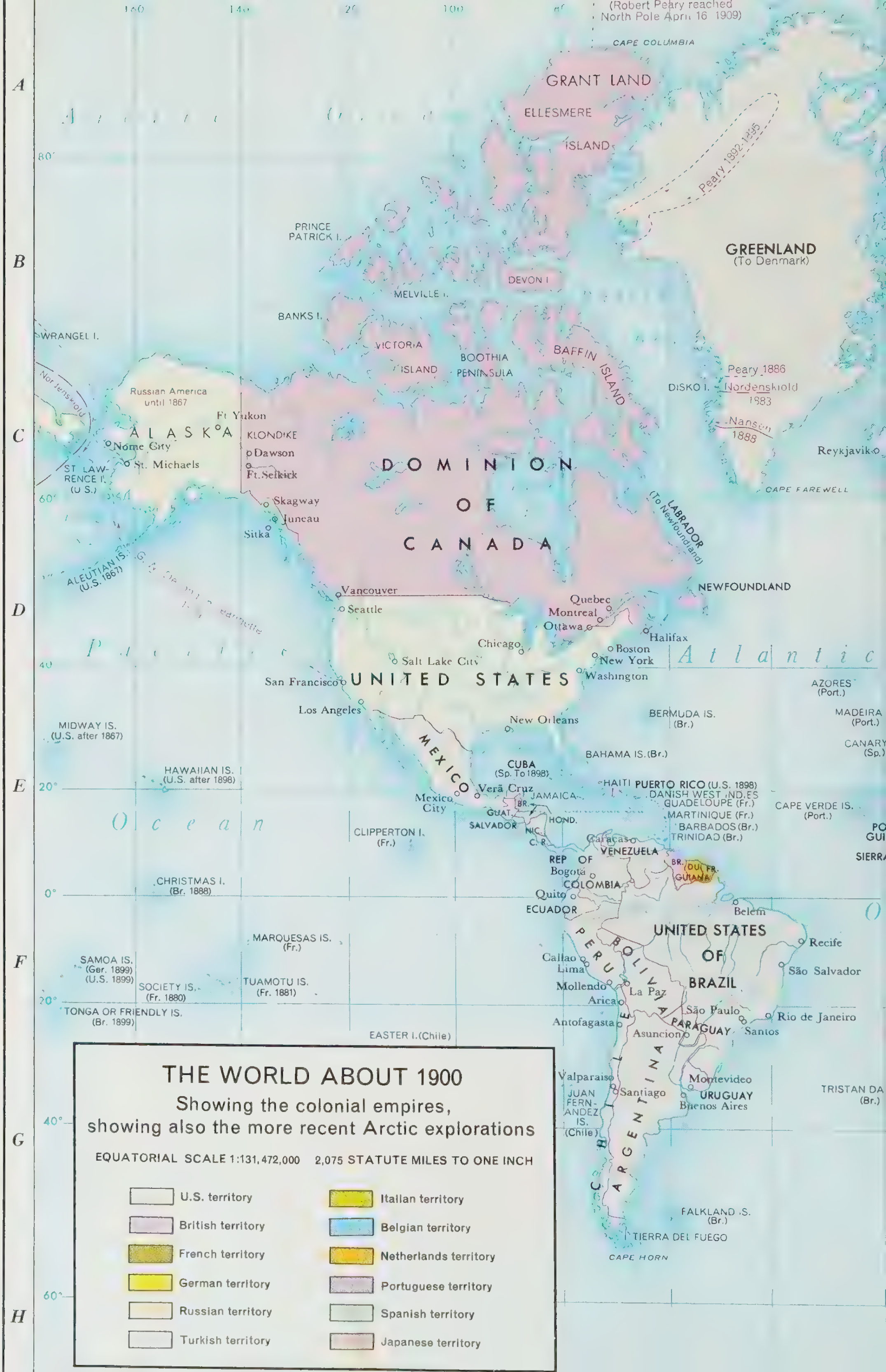


RESISTANCE TO EUROPEAN COLONI
1870-1917



nited States
apanese
Area of anti-colonial resistance
SPHERES OF INFLUENCE
British
German
French
Russian
SAKHALIN
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
KURIL ISLANDS
Japanese sphere of influence
OUTER MONGOLIA
Boxer Rebellion, 1899-1900
KOREA
WEIHAIWEI
JAPANESE EMPIRE
CHINA
PACIFIC OCEAN
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
RYUKYU IS.
BONIN ISLANDS
FORMOSA (TAIWAN)
HONG KONG
MACAO
KUANGCHOU
HAINAN
BURMA
Anglo-Burmese War, 1886-91
Viet revolts in Tonkin, 1883-1913
NDICHERRY
Viet revolts in Annam, 1906-08
Philippine-American War, 1898-1902
MARIANA ISLANDS
SIAM
INDOCHINA
Bay of Bengal
PHILIPPINES
GUAM
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
Cambodian revolt, 1885-87
Viet revolts in Cochin China, 1885-86
Moro (Muslim) resistance, 1898-1913
MARSHALL ISLANDS
LON
NICOBAR ISLANDS
PALAU
CAROLINE ISLANDS
BRUNEI
SARAWAK
NORTH BORNEO
Muslim revolt in Atchin, 1881-1908
MALAYA
SINGAPORE
KAISER-WILHELMSLAND
BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO
Equator
SUMATRA
BORNEO
CELEBES
MOLUCCAS
NEW GUINEA
NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES
Saminist peasant uprising, 1914-17
JAVA
PORTUGUESE TIMOR
PAPUA
SOLOMON ISLANDS
BALI
TIMOR
Nationalist revolts, 1881-94
LOMBOK
OCEAN
NEW HEBRIDES (Br.-Fr.)
NEW CALEDONIA
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND

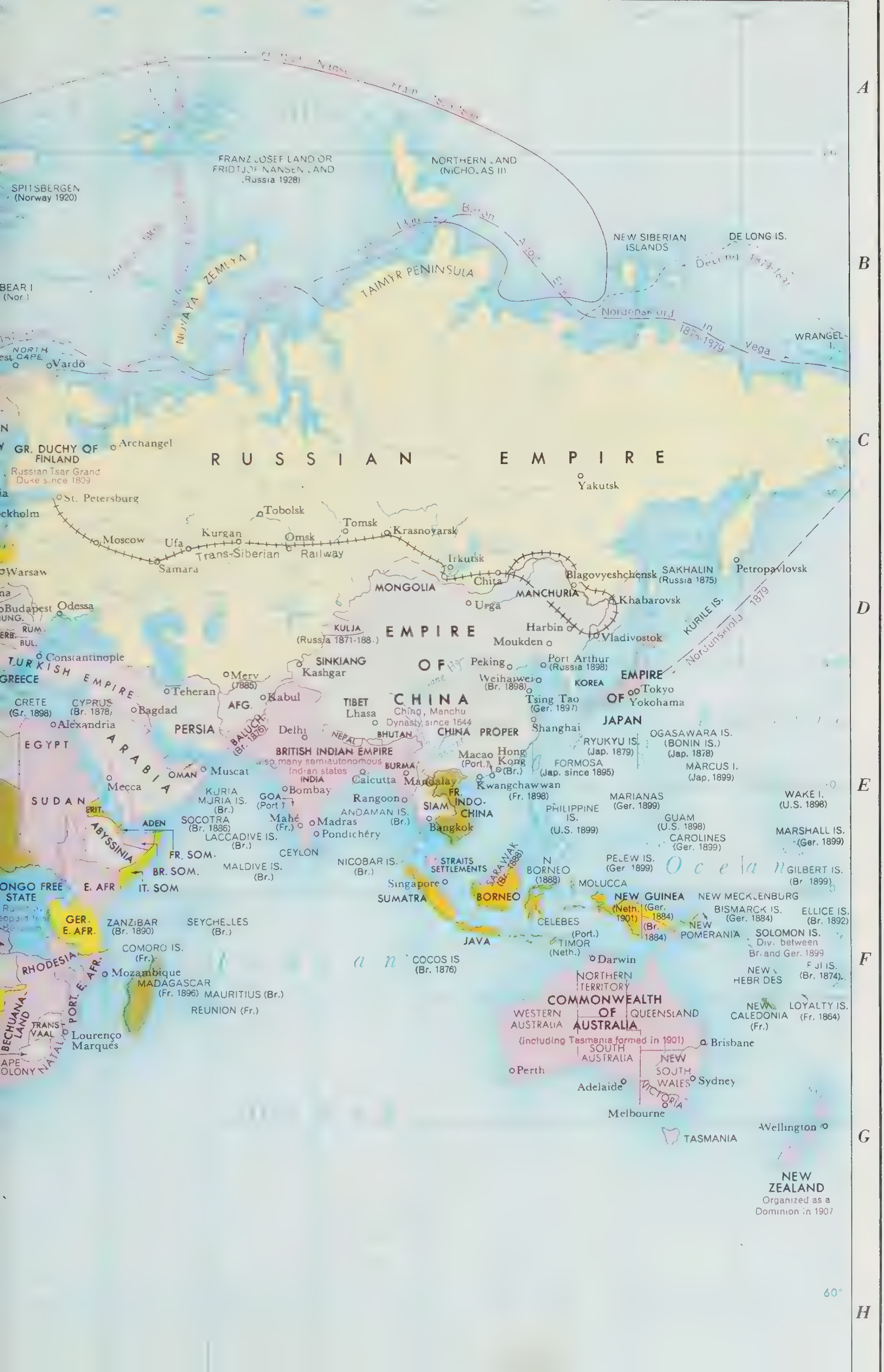


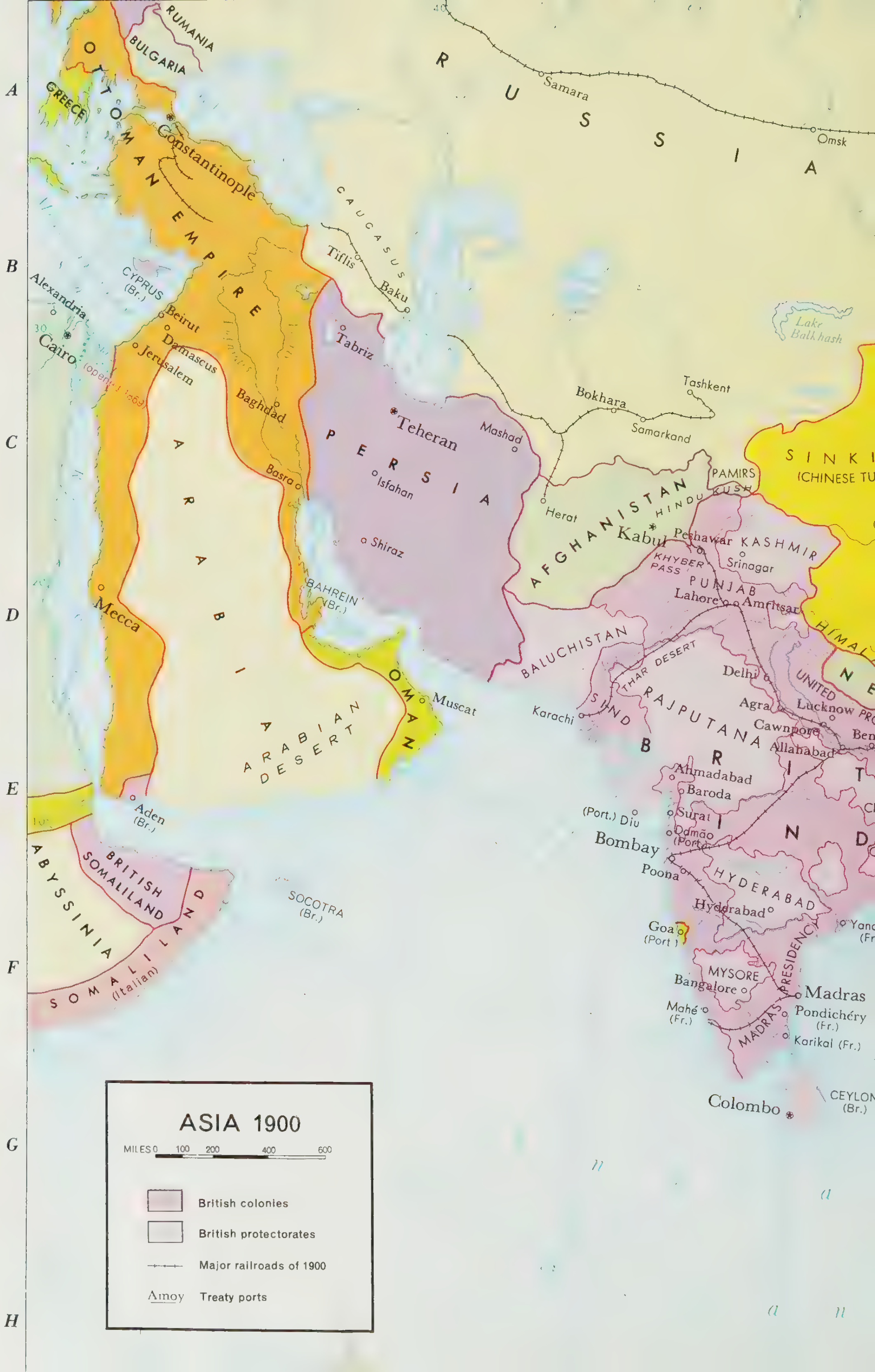
THE WORLD ABOUT 1900

Showing the colonial empires,
showing also the more recent Arctic explorations

EQUATORIAL SCALE 1:131,472,000 2,075 STATUTE MILES TO ONE INCH

▭	U.S. territory	▨	Italian territory
▨	British territory	▨	Belgian territory
▨	French territory	▨	Netherlands territory
▨	German territory	▨	Portuguese territory
▨	Russian territory	▨	Spanish territory
▭	Turkish territory	▨	Japanese territory


A
FRANZ JOSEF LAND OR
FRIDTJOF NANSEN LAND
(Russia 1928)
NORTHERN LAND
(NICHOLAS II)
SPITSBERGEN
(Norway 1920)
B
NEW SIBERIAN
ISLANDS
DE LONG IS.
BEAR I.
(Nor.)
NOVAYA ZEMLYA
TAIMYR PENINSULA
Nordenskiöld
in
1878-1879
Vega
WRANGEL I.
NORTH CAPE
Vardö
C
GR. DUCHY OF
FINLAND
Russian Tsar Grand
Duke since 1809
Archangel
R U S S I A N   E M P I R E
Yakutsk
St. Petersburg
Stockholm
Tobolsk
Tomsk
Krasnoyarsk
Moscow
Ufa
Kurgan
Omsk
Trans-Siberian Railway
Samara
Irkutsk
Warsaw
Chita
Blagovyeshchensk
SAKHALIN
(Russia 1875)
Petropavlovsk
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
Budapest
Odessa
Urga
Khabarovsk
D
KURILE IS.
Nordenskiöld 1879
RUM.
BUL.
KULJA
(Russia 1871-188.)
EMPIRE
Harbin
Moukden
Vladivostok
Constantinople
TURKISH EMPIRE
GREECE
SINKIANG
Kashgar
OF
Peking
Port Arthur
(Russia 1898)
Merv
(1885)
Weihaiwei
(Br. 1898)
KOREA
EMPIRE
OF
JAPAN
Tokyo
Yokohama
CRETE
(Gr. 1898)
CYPRUS
(Br. 1878)
Teheran
AFG.
Kabul
TIBET
Lhasa
CHINA
China, Manchu
Dynasty since 1644
Tsing Tao
(Ger. 1897)
Bagdad
Alexandria
PERSIA
BALUCH.
(Br. 1876)
Delhi
NEPAL
BHUTAN
CHINA PROPER
Shanghai
EGYPT
ARABIA
BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE
also many semiautonomous
Indian states
INDIA
BURMA
Macao
(Port.)
Hong Kong
(Br.)
RYUKYU IS.
(Jap. 1879)
FORMOSA
(Jap. since 1895)
OGASAWARA IS.
(BONIN IS.)
(Jap. 1878)
MARCUS I.
(Jap. 1899)
OMAN
Muscat
Mecca
Calcutta
Mandalay
E
KURIA
MURIA IS.
(Br.)
GOA
(Port.)
Bombay
Rangoon
Kwangchawwan
(Fr. 1898)
MARIANAS
(Ger. 1899)
WAKE I.
(U.S. 1898)
SUDAN
ERIT.
ADEN
SOCOTRA
(Br. 1886)
LACCADIVE IS.
(Br.)
ANDAMAN IS.
(Br.)
SIAM
FR. INDO-CHINA
PHILIPPINE
IS.
(U.S. 1899)
GUAM
(U.S. 1898)
MARSHALL IS.
(Ger. 1899)
CAROLINES
(Ger. 1899)
ABYSSINIA
Mahé
(Fr.)
Madras
Pondichéry
Bangkok
FR. SOM.
BR. SOM.
CEYLON
MALDIVE IS.
(Br.)
NICOBAR IS.
(Br.)
STRAITS
SETTLEMENTS
SARAWAK
(Br. 1888)
N.
BORNEO
(1888)
PELEW IS.
(Ger. 1899)
O c e a n
GILBERT IS.
(Br. 1899)
CONGO FREE
STATE
E. AFR.
IT. SOM.
Singapore
SUMATRA
BORNEO
MOLUCCA
NEW GUINEA
(Neth. 1901)
(Ger. 1884)
(Br. 1884)
NEW MECKLENBURG
BISMARCK IS.
(Ger. 1884)
NEW POMERANIA
ELLICE IS.
(Br. 1892)
GER.
E. AFR.
ZANZIBAR
(Br. 1890)
SEYCHELLES
(Br.)
CELEBES
JAVA
(Port.)
TIMOR
(Neth.)
SOLOMON IS.
Div. between
Br. and Ger. 1899
COMORO IS.
(Fr.)
I n d i a n
COCOS IS.
(Br. 1876)
Darwin
F
FIJI IS.
(Br. 1874)
RHODESIA
PORT. E. AFR.
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
(Fr. 1896)
MAURITIUS (Br.)
NORTHERN
TERRITORY
NEW
HEBRIDES
COMMONWEALTH
OF
AUSTRALIA
WESTERN
AUSTRALIA
QUEENSLAND
NEW
CALEDONIA
(Fr.)
LOYALTY IS.
(Fr. 1864)
REUNION (Fr.)
BECHUANALAND
TRANSVAAL
NATAL
Lourenço
Marques
(including Tasmania formed in 1901)
SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
Brisbane
CAPE
COLONY
Perth
NEW
SOUTH
WALES
Sydney
Adelaide
VICTORIA
Melbourne
G
TASMANIA
Wellington
NEW
ZEALAND
Organized as a
Dominion in 1907
60°
H


A
B
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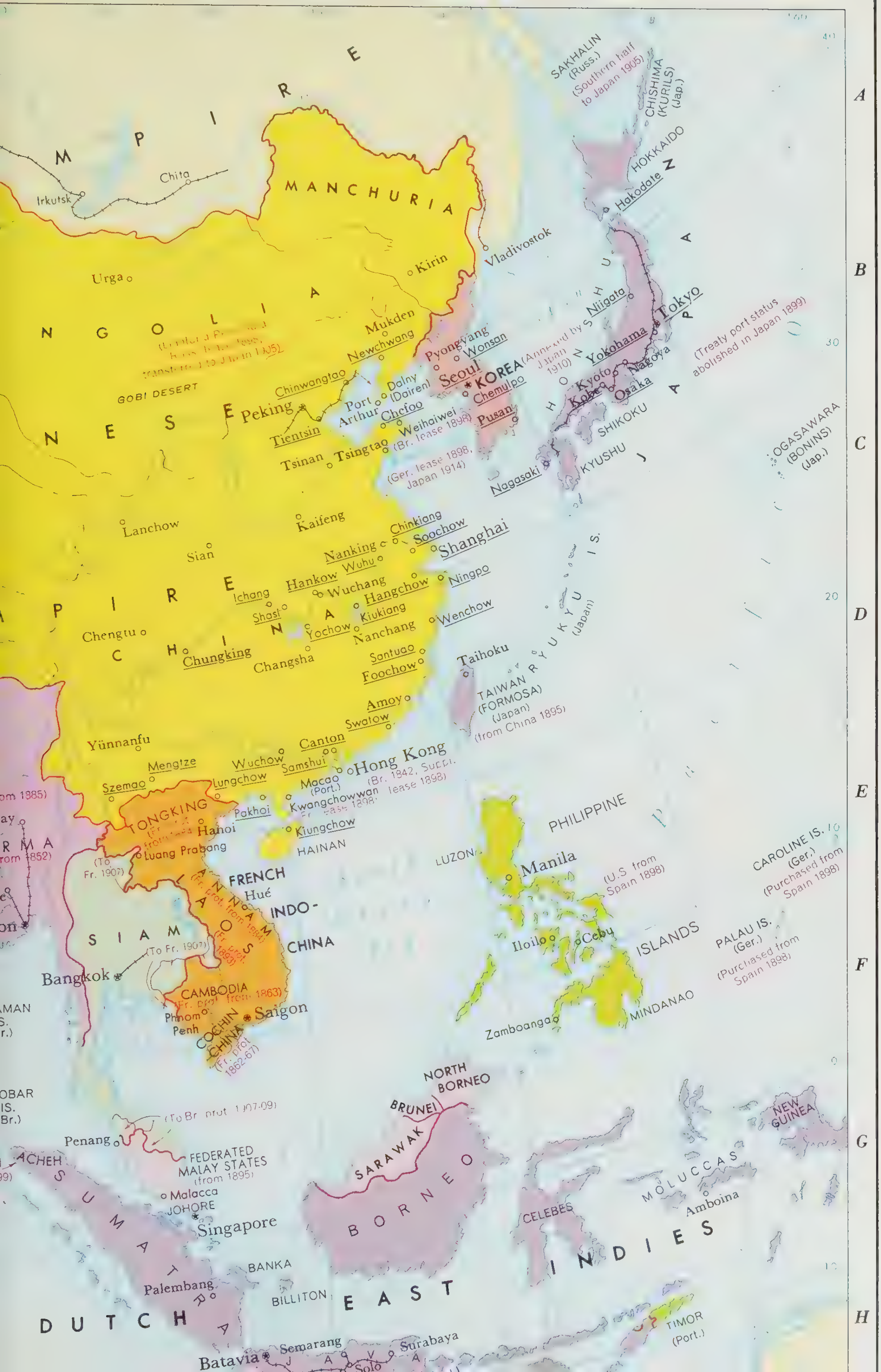
RUMANIA
BULGARIA
GREECE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
CYPRUS (Br.)
Alexandria
Cairo
(opened 1869)
Beirut
Damascus
Jerusalem
Baghdad
Basra
Mecca
Aden (Br.)
ARABIA
ARABIAN DESERT
BAHREIN (Br.)
OMAN
Muscat
BRITISH SOMALILAND
SOMALILAND (Italian)
ABYSSINIA
SOCOTRA (Br.)
RUSSIA
Samara
Omsk
CAUCASUS
Tiflis
Baku
Tabriz
Teheran
PERSIA
Isfahan
Shiraz
Mashad
Bokhara
Samarkand
Tashkent
Lake Balkhash
AFGHANISTAN
Herat
Kabul
HINDU KUSH
PAMIRS
SINKI
(CHINESE TU
Peshawar
KHYBER PASS
KASHMIR
Srinagar
PUNJAB
Lahore
Amritsar
BALUCHISTAN
THAR DESERT
SIND
Karachi
RAJPUTANA
Delhi
Agra
Lucknow
UNITED PR
Cawnpore
Allahabad
Ben
HIMAL
NE
BRITISH INDIA
Ahmadabad
Baroda
Surat
Damão (Port.)
(Port.) Diu
Bombay
Poona
HYDERABAD
Hyderabad
Goa (Port.)
MYSORE
Bangalore
Mahé (Fr.)
MADRAS PRESIDENCY
Madras
Pondichéry (Fr.)
Karikal (Fr.)
Yana (Fr
Colombo
CEYLON (Br.)
30
40
10

ASIA 1900

MILES 0 100 200 400 600
British colonies
British protectorates
Major railroads of 1900
Amoy Treaty ports


E M P I R E
Irkutsk
Chita
SAKHALIN (Russ.) (Southern half to Japan 1905)
CHISHIMA (KURILS) (Jap.)
HOKKAIDO
Hakodate
MANCHURIA
Vladivostok
Kirin
Urga
MONGOLIA
Mukden
Newchwang
GOBI DESERT
Chinwangtao
Peking
Tientsin
Port Arthur
Dalny (Dairen)
Chefoo
Weihaiwei (Br. lease 1898)
Tsinan
Tsingtao
(Ger. lease 1898, Japan 1914)
Pyongyang
Wonsan
Seoul
KOREA (Annexed by Japan 1910)
Chemulpo
Pusan
Niigata
Tokyo
Yokohama
Kyoto
Kobe
Nagoya
Osaka
SHIKOKU
KYUSHU
Nagasaki
JAPAN
(Treaty port status abolished in Japan 1899)
OGASAWARA (BONINS) (Jap.)
CHINESE EMPIRE
CHINA
Lanchow
Kaifeng
Sian
Nanking
Chinkiang
Soochow
Shanghai
Wuhu
Hankow
Wuchang
Hangchow
Ningpo
Ichang
Shasi
Kiukiang
Yochow
Nanchang
Wenchow
Chengtu
Chungking
Changsha
Santuao
Foochow
RYUKYU IS. (Japan)
Taihoku
TAIWAN (FORMOSA) (Japan) (from China 1895)
Amoy
Swatow
Canton
Yünnanfu
Mengtze
Wuchow
Samshui
Hong Kong (Br. 1842, Suppl. lease 1898)
Szemao
Lungchow
Macao (Port.)
Kwangchowwan (Fr. lease 1898)
Pakhoi
Kiungchow
HAINAN
TONGKING
Hanoi
Luang Prabang
(To Fr. 1907)
BURMA
(from 1852)
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
Hué
ANNAM (Fr. prot. from 1884)
LAOS (Fr. prot. 1893)
SIAM
(To Fr. 1907)
Bangkok
CAMBODIA (Fr. prot. from 1863)
Phnom Penh
Saigon
COCHIN CHINA (Fr. prot. 1862-67)
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
LUZON
Manila
(U.S. from Spain 1898)
Iloilo
Cebu
MINDANAO
Zamboanga
CAROLINE IS. (Ger.) (Purchased from Spain 1898)
PALAU IS. (Ger.) (Purchased from Spain 1898)
NICOBAR IS. (Br.)
(To Br. prot. 1907-09)
Penang
FEDERATED MALAY STATES (from 1895)
Malacca
JOHORE
Singapore
ACHEH
SUMATRA
Palembang
BANKA
BILLITON
NORTH BORNEO
BRUNEI
SARAWAK
BORNEO
CELEBES
MOLUCCAS
Amboina
NEW GUINEA
DUTCH EAST INDIES
Batavia
Semarang
Surabaya
Solo
JAVA
TIMOR (Port.)
A
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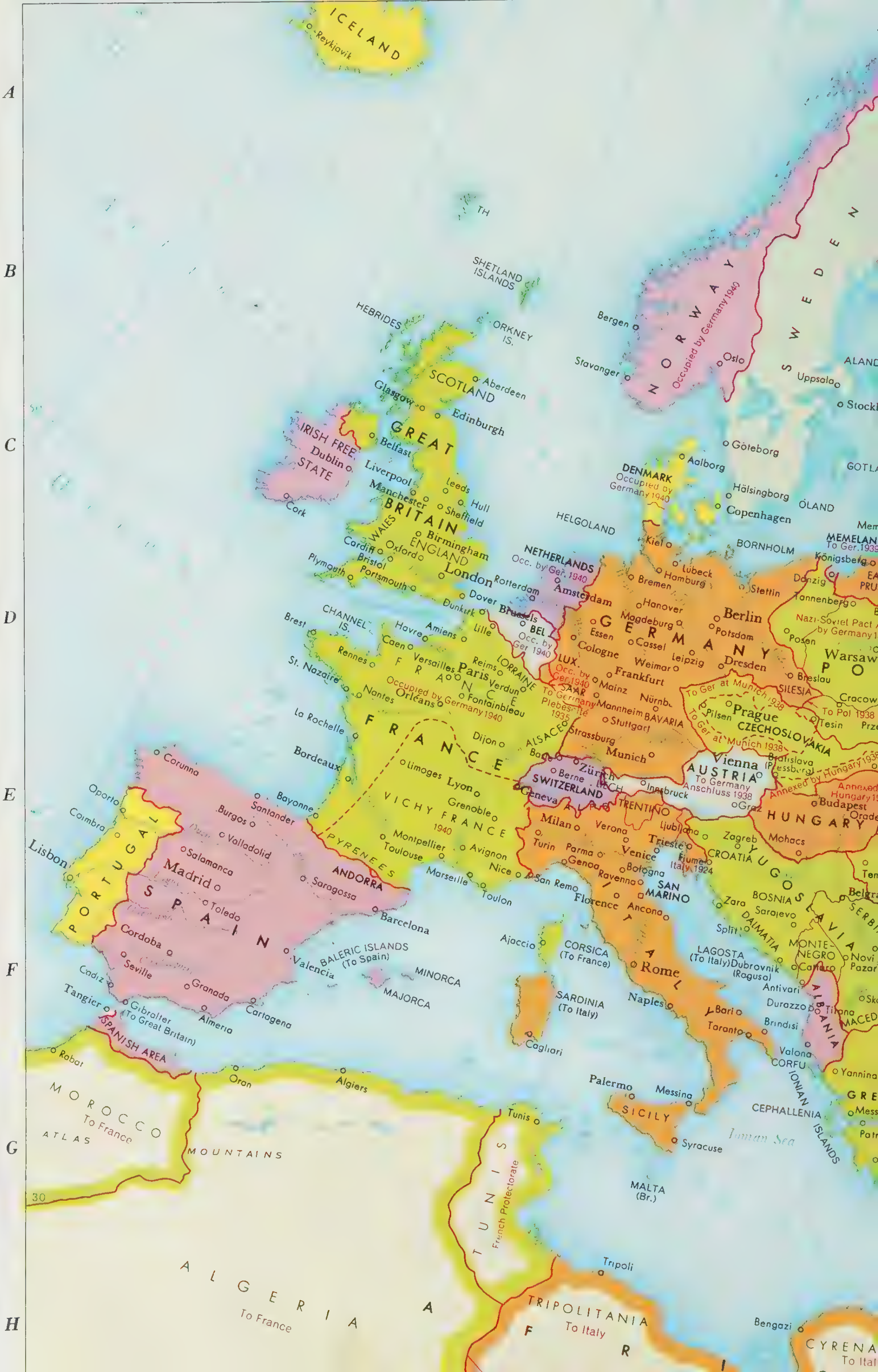
G
H
40
30
20
10
0
10



A
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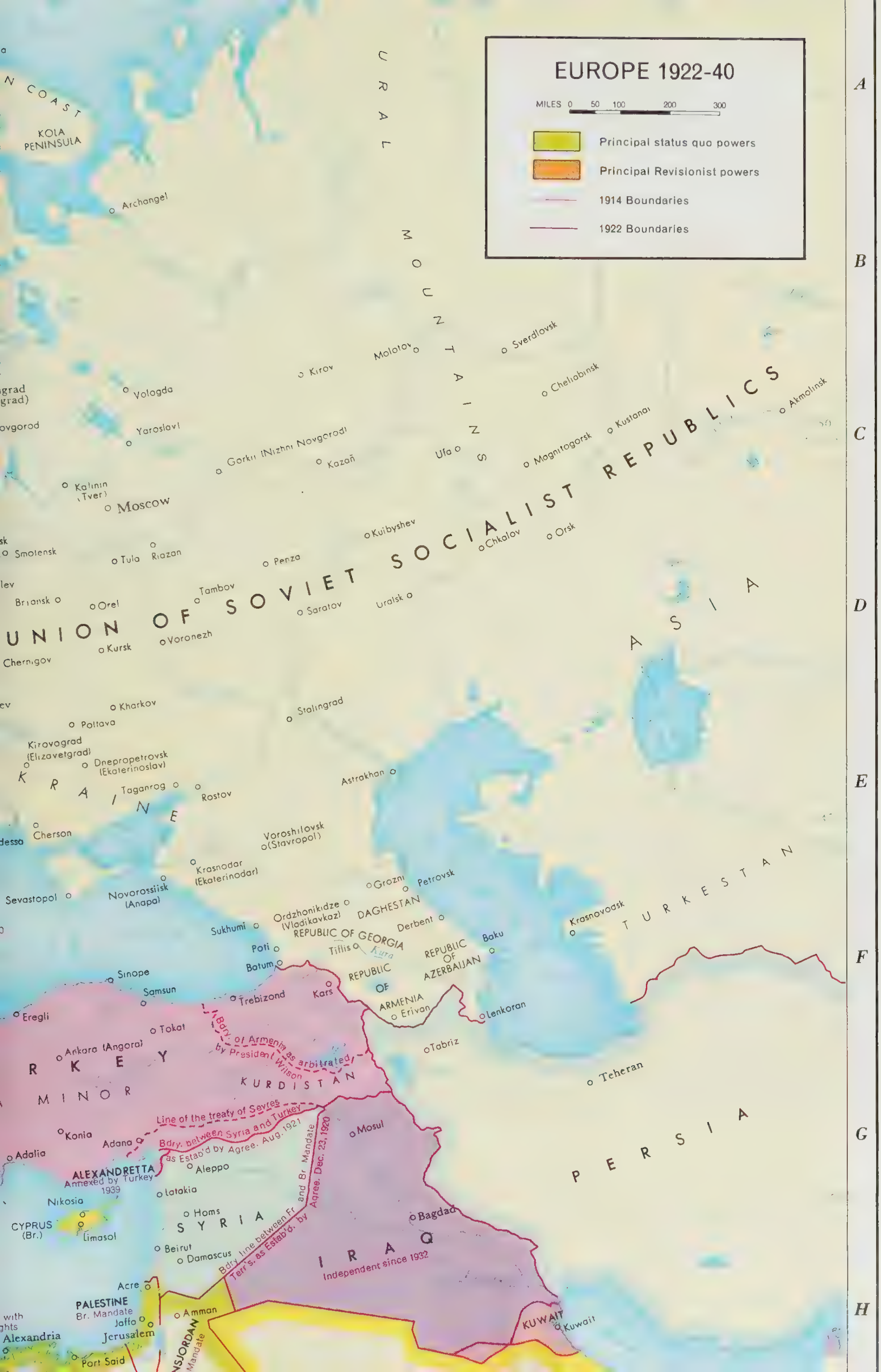
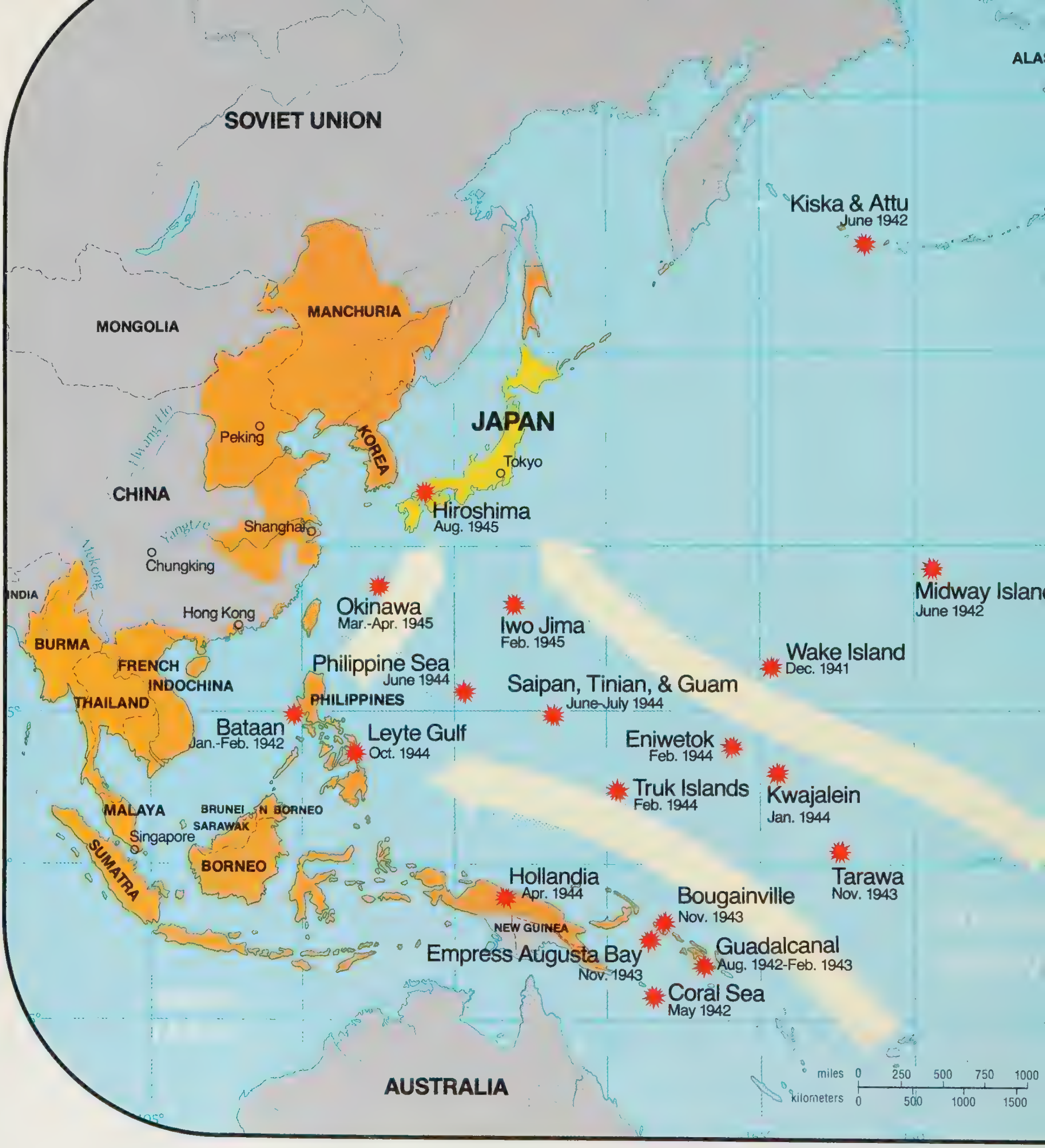
G
H
ICELAND
Reykjavik
SHETLAND ISLANDS
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
NORWAY
Occupied by Germany 1940
Bergen
Stavanger
Oslo
SWEDEN
Uppsala
Stockh
ALAND
Göteborg
GOTLA
SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Glasgow
Edinburgh
GREAT BRITAIN
IRISH FREE STATE
Dublin
Belfast
Cork
Liverpool
Manchester
Leeds
Hull
Sheffield
WALES
Birmingham
ENGLAND
Cardiff
Oxford
Bristol
London
Plymouth
Portsmouth
Dover
DENMARK
Occupied by Germany 1940
Aalborg
Hälsingborg
Copenhagen
ÖLAND
BORNHOLM
HELGOLAND
Kiel
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
NETHERLANDS
Occ. by Ger. 1940
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Brussels
BEL.
Occ. by Ger. 1940
Dunkirk
Lille
CHANNEL IS.
Brest
Havre
Amiens
Caen
Rennes
Versailles
Paris
Reims
Verdun
LORRAINE
LUX.
Occ. by Ger. 1940
St. Nazaire
Nantes
Orléans
Occupied by Germany 1940
Fontainbleau
FRANCE
La Rochelle
Dijon
ALSACE
Bordeaux
Limoges
Lyon
VICHY FRANCE 1940
Grenoble
Montpellier
Avignon
Toulouse
Nice
Marseille
Toulon
GERMANY
Hanover
Magdeburg
Berlin
Potsdam
Essen
Cologne
Cassel
Weimar
Leipzig
Dresden
Frankfurt
Mainz
SAAR
To Germany Plebescite 1935
Mannheim
Nürnb.
BAVARIA
Stuttgart
Strassburg
Munich
Stettin
Memel
MEMELAND
To Ger. 1939
Königsberg
Danzig
EAST PRU
Tannenberg
Nazi-Soviet Pact
by Germany
Posen
Warsaw
PO
Breslau
SILESIA
To Ger at Munich 1938
Prague
Pilsen
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
To Ger at Munich 1938
Cracow
To Pol 1938
Tesin
Prze
Vienna
AUSTRIA
To Germany Anschluss 1938
Bratislava (Pressburg)
Annexed by Hungary 1938
Annexed Hungary
Budapest
HUNGARY
Orade
Mohacs
Graz
Innsbruck
Basel
Zürich
Berne
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
LIECH.
TRENTINO
Ljubljana
Zagreb
CROATIA
YUGOSLAVIA
Milan
Verona
Trieste
Fiume
Italy 1924
Turin
Parma
Venice
Genoa
Bologna
Ravenna
SAN MARINO
San Remo
Florence
ITALY
Ancona
Rome
Naples
Bari
Taranto
Brindisi
CORSICA
(To France)
Ajaccio
SARDINIA
(To Italy)
Cagliari
Palermo
Messina
SICILY
Syracuse
Ionian Sea
MALTA
(Br.)
Zara
BOSNIA
Sarajevo
SERBI
Belgra
Split
DALMATIA
LAGOSTA
(To Italy)
Dubrovnik
(Ragusa)
MONTENEGRO
Cattaro
Novi Pazar
Antivari
Durazzo
Tirana
ALBANIA
MACED
Valona
CORFU
IONIAN ISLANDS
CEPHALLENIA
Yannina
GRE
Mess
Patr
Sko
Tem
PORTUGAL
Oporto
Coimbra
Lisbon
SPAIN
Corunna
Santander
Bayonne
Burgos
Valladolid
Salamanca
Madrid
Toledo
Saragossa
PYRENEES
ANDORRA
Barcelona
Valencia
BALERIC ISLANDS
(To Spain)
MINORCA
MAJORCA
Cordoba
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
Almeria
Cartagena
Gibralter
(To Great Britain)
Tangier
SPANISH AREA
Rabat
MOROCCO
To France
ATLAS MOUNTAINS
30
Oran
Algiers
ALGERIA
To France
AFRI
Tunis
TUNIS
French Protectorate
Tripoli
TRIPOLITANIA
To Italy
Bengazi
CYRENA
To Ital
TH



EUROPE 1922-40

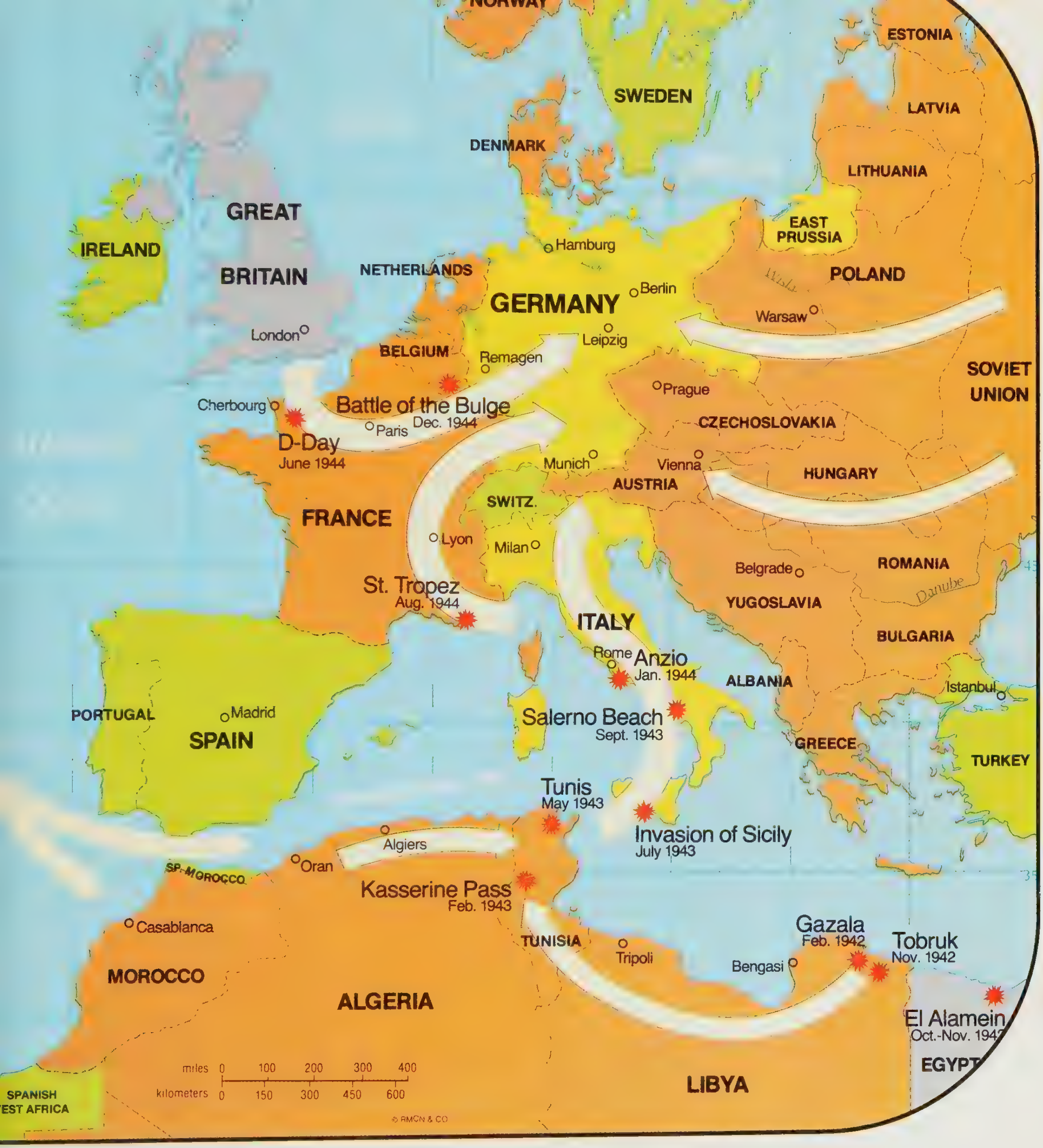


U. S. CASUALTIES IN SECOND WORLD WAR
1941-1946

Branch	Numbers engaged	Battle deaths	Other deaths	Total deaths	Wounds not mortal	Total casualties
Army*	11,260,000	234,874	83,400	318,274	565,861	884,135
Navy	4,183,466	36,950	25,664	62,614	37,778	100,392

SECOND WORLD WAR CASUALTIES

Country	Battle Deaths	Wounded
Australia	26,976	180,684
China	1,324,516	1,762,006
India	32,121	64,354
Japan	1,270,000	140,000
New Zealand	11,625	[illegible]

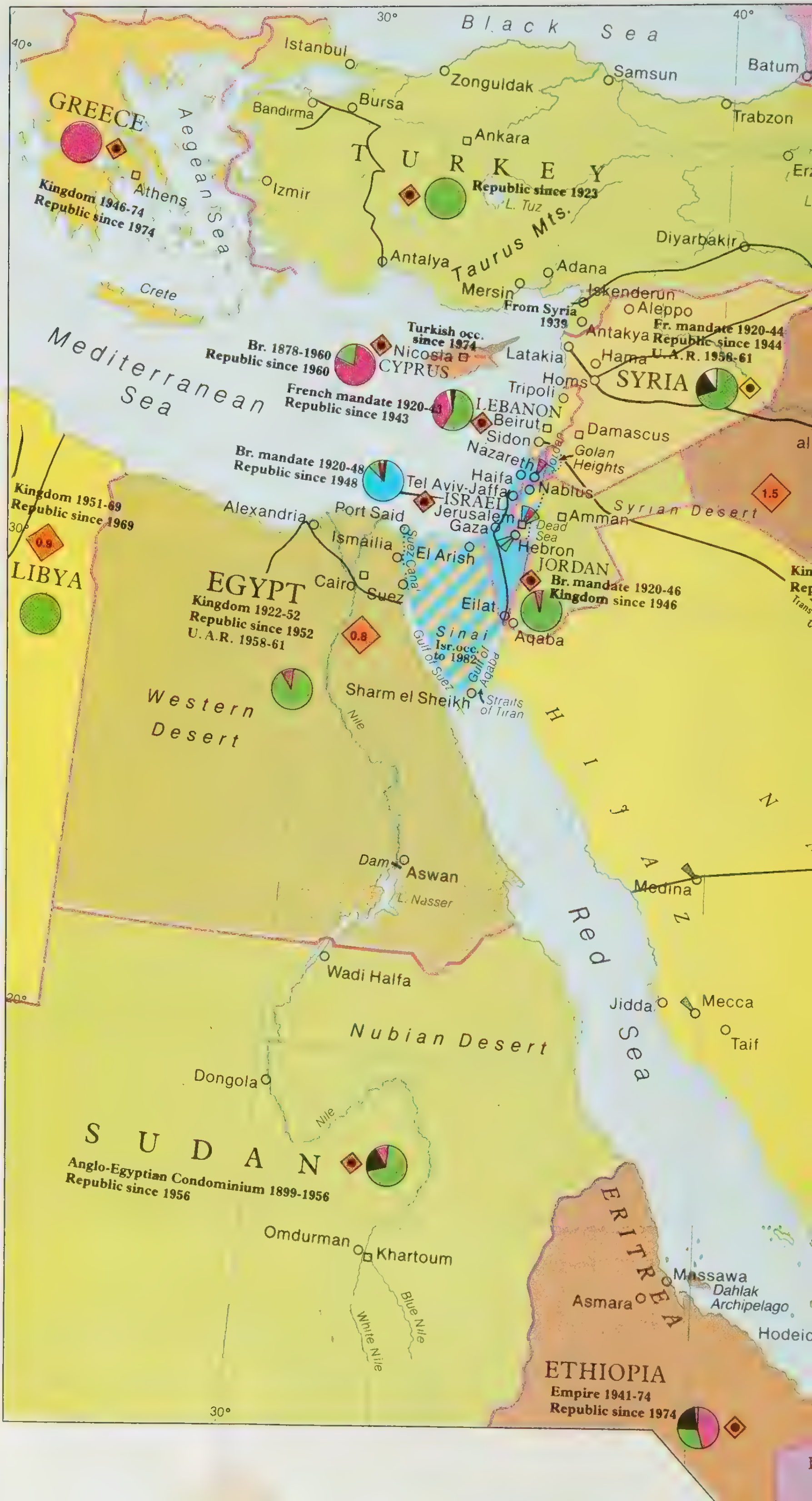


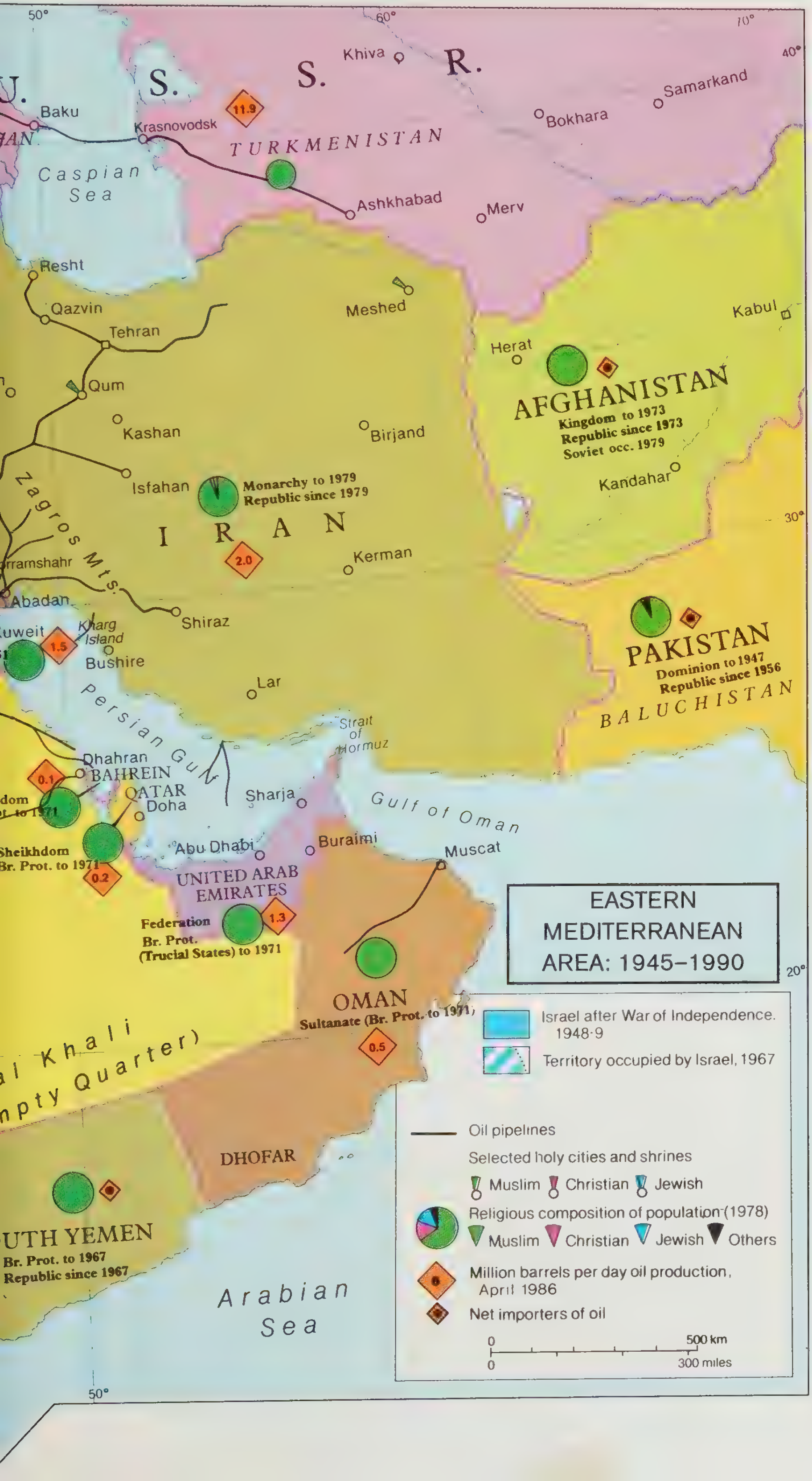
EUROPEAN THEATRE–WWII: 1941–1945

▨	Allied powers	🟩	Neutral nations
🟨	Axis powers	✹	Battles
🟧	Axis controlled	⇦	Allied advances

SECOND WORLD WAR CASUALTIES

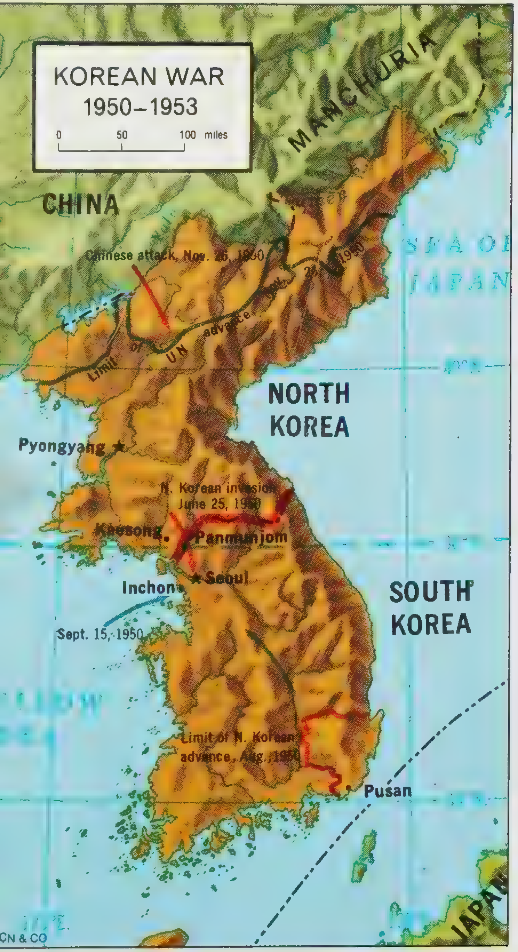
Country	Battle Deaths	Wounded
Austria	280,000	350,117
Canada	32,714	53,145
France	201,568	400,000
Germany	3,250,000	7,250,000
Hungary	147,435	89,313
Italy	149,496	66,716


30°
40°
Black Sea
Batum
Istanbul
Zonguldak
Samsun
Trabzon
Bandırma
Bursa
Ankara
GREECE
Aegean Sea
TURKEY
Republic since 1923
L. Tuz
Athens
Izmir
Kingdom 1946-74
Republic since 1974
Taurus Mts.
Diyarbakir
Antalya
Adana
Mersin
Iskenderun
From Syria 1939
Aleppo
Crete
Antakya
Fr. mandate 1920-44
Republic since 1944
U.A.R. 1958-61
Turkish occ. since 1974
Nicosia
Latakia
Hama
Mediterranean Sea
Br. 1878-1960
Republic since 1960
CYPRUS
Homs
SYRIA
Tripoli
French mandate 1920-43
Republic since 1943
LEBANON
Beirut
Sidon
Damascus
Golan Heights
Jordan
Nazareth
Haifa
Nablus
Br. mandate 1920-48
Republic since 1948
Tel Aviv-Jaffa
ISRAEL
1.5
Kingdom 1951-69
Republic since 1969
Alexandria
Port Said
Jerusalem
Amman
Syrian Desert
Gaza
Dead Sea
0.9
Ismailia
Suez Canal
El Arish
Hebron
JORDAN
LIBYA
EGYPT
Cairo
Suez
Br. mandate 1920-46
Kingdom since 1946
Kingdom 1922-52
Republic since 1952
U.A.R. 1958-61
Eilat
0.8
Sinai
Isr.occ. to 1982
Aqaba
Gulf of Suez
Gulf of Aqaba
Western Desert
Sharm el Sheikh
Straits of Tiran
Nile
HIJAZ
Dam
Aswan
L. Nasser
Medina
Red Sea
Wadi Halfa
20°
Jidda
Mecca
Taif
Nubian Desert
Dongola
Nile
SUDAN
Anglo-Egyptian Condominium 1899-1956
Republic since 1956
Omdurman
Khartoum
ERITREA
Massawa
Dahlak Archipelago
Asmara
Blue Nile
White Nile
Hodeid
ETHIOPIA
Empire 1941-74
Republic since 1974
30°



EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AREA: 1945–1990

Israel after War of Independence, 1948-9
Territory occupied by Israel, 1967
Oil pipelines
Selected holy cities and shrines
Muslim
Christian
Jewish
Religious composition of population (1978)
Muslim
Christian
Jewish
Others
Million barrels per day oil production, April 1986
6
Net importers of oil
0
500 km
0
300 miles



VIETNAM WAR CASUALTIES

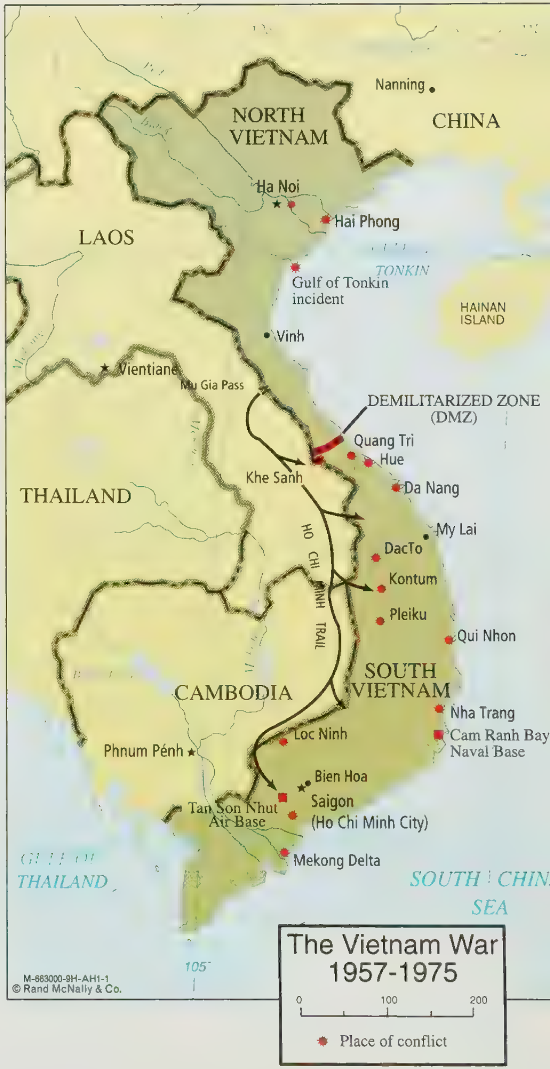
United States	
Battle deaths	47,382
Wounded	153,303
Died, non-combat	1,811
Missing, captured	10,753
South Vietnam	
Military killed in action	110,357
Military wounded	499,026
Civilian killed	415,000
Civilian wounded	913,000
Communists Regulars and Guerillas	
Killed in action	666,000

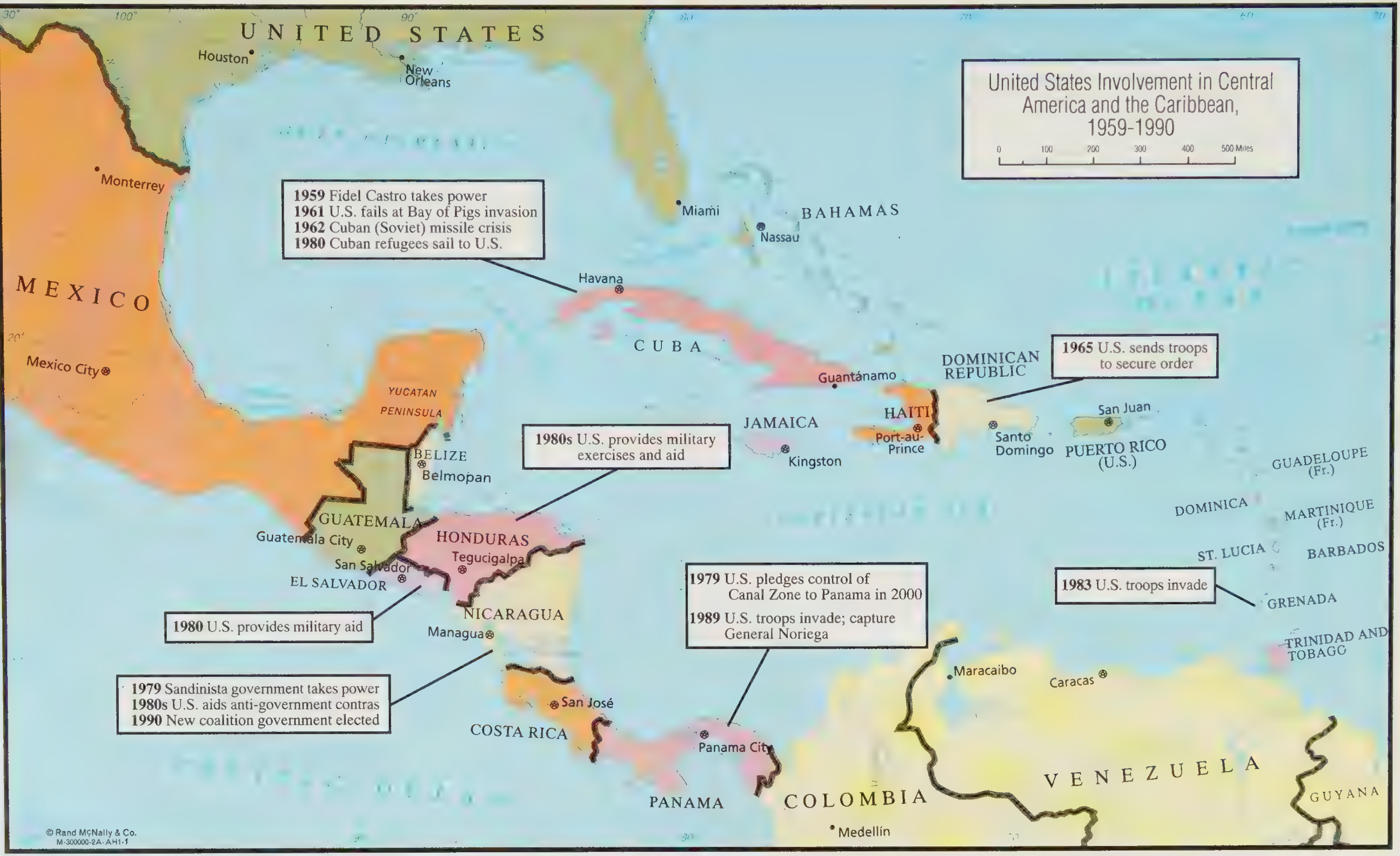
Source: U.S. Department of Defense

KOREAN WAR CASUALTIES

United States	
Killed	54,246
Wounded	103,284
Republic of Korea	
Killed	415,004
Wounded	428,568
United Nations	
Killed and wounded	15,465
China	
Killed and wounded	900,000
North Korea	
Killed and wounded	520,000

Source: U.S. Department of Defense





United States Involvement in Central America and the Caribbean, 1959-1990

1959 Fidel Castro takes power
1961 U.S. fails at Bay of Pigs invasion
1962 Cuban (Soviet) missile crisis
1980 Cuban refugees sail to U.S.

1965 U.S. sends troops to secure order

1980s U.S. provides military exercises and aid

1980 U.S. provides military aid

1979 Sandinista government takes power
1980s U.S. aids anti-government contras
1990 New coalition government elected

1979 U.S. pledges control of Canal Zone to Panama in 2000
1989 U.S. troops invade; capture General Noriega

1983 U.S. troops invade

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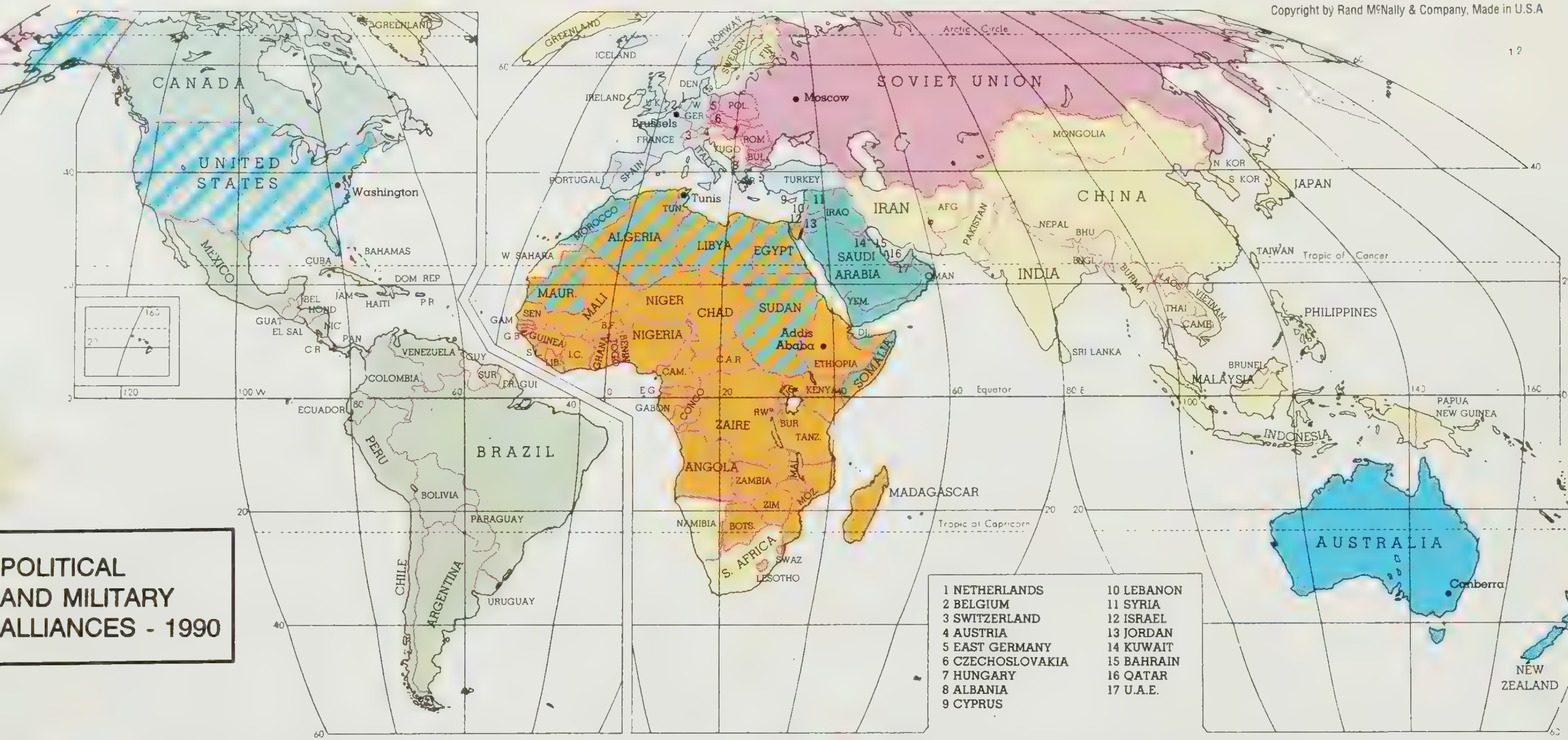

POLITICAL AND MILITARY ALLIANCES - 1990

⬜ NATO-North Atlantic Treaty Organization, founded 1949.
Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium.

🟦 ANZUS-Australia, New Zealand, United States, founded 1952.
Headquarters in Canberra, Australia.

🟩 OAS-Organization of American States, founded 1948.
Headquarters in Washington, D.C., United States.

🟪 Warsaw Pact-The Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, founded 1955. Headquarters in Moscow, Soviet Union.

🟦 League of Arab States, founded 1945.
Headquarters in Tunis, Tunisia.

🟧 OAU-Organization of African Unity, founded 1963.
Headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

🟨 Not affiliated with above organizatons.

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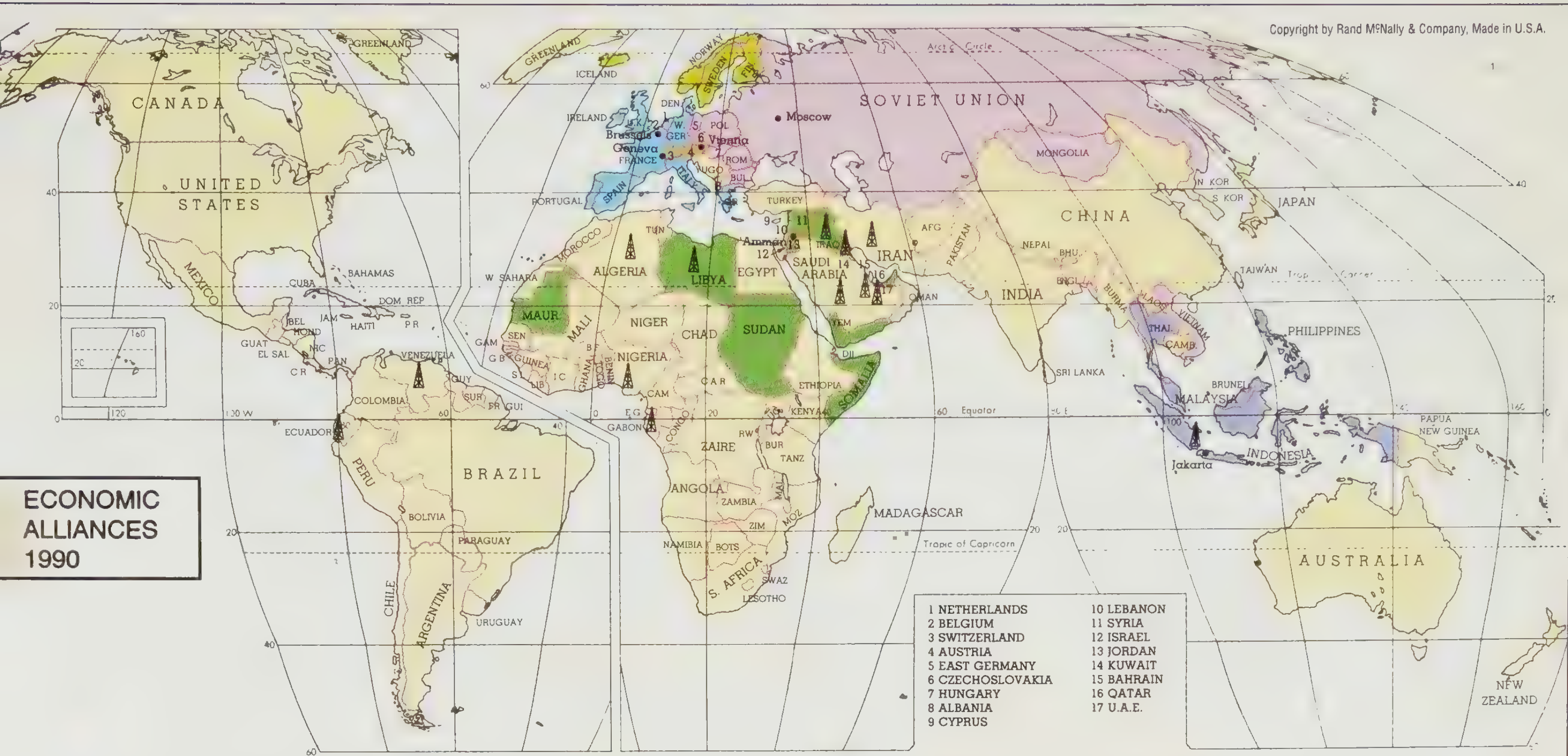
ECONOMIC ALLIANCES 1990



🟦 EC (Common Market)-European Community, founded 1957. Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium.

🟨 EFTA-European Free Trade Association, founded 1960. Headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

▨ CMEA (COMECON)-Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, founded 1949. Headquarters in Moscow, Soviet Union.

🟪 ASEAN-Association of Southeast Asian Nations, founded 1967. Headquarters in Jakarta, Indonesia.

🟩 Council of Arab Economic Unity, founded 1964. Headquarters in ʻAmmān, Jordan. Includes Arab Common Market Countries.

▲ OPEC-Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, founded 1960. Headquarters in Vienna, Austria.

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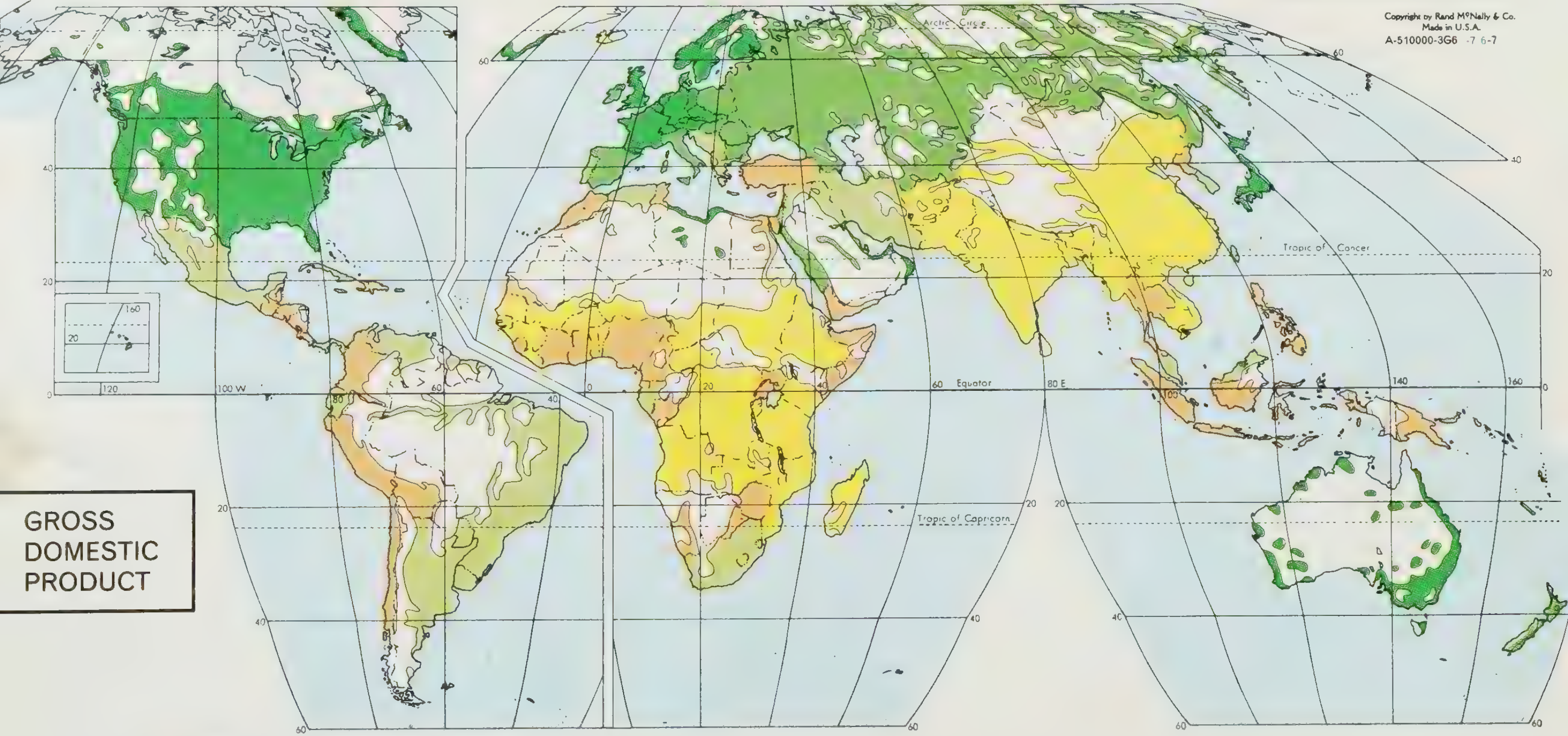
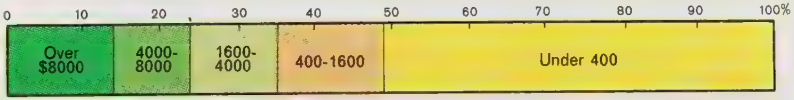
GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT



Per Capita
Gross Domestic Product

- 🟩 Over $8000 U.S. Dollars
- 🟩 4000-8000
- 🟩 1600-4000 ← World Av. $3600
- 🟧 400-1600
- 🟨 Under 400
- ☐ Uninhabited or sparsely populated

Percentage of World Population in each Per Capita GDP Category - 1985



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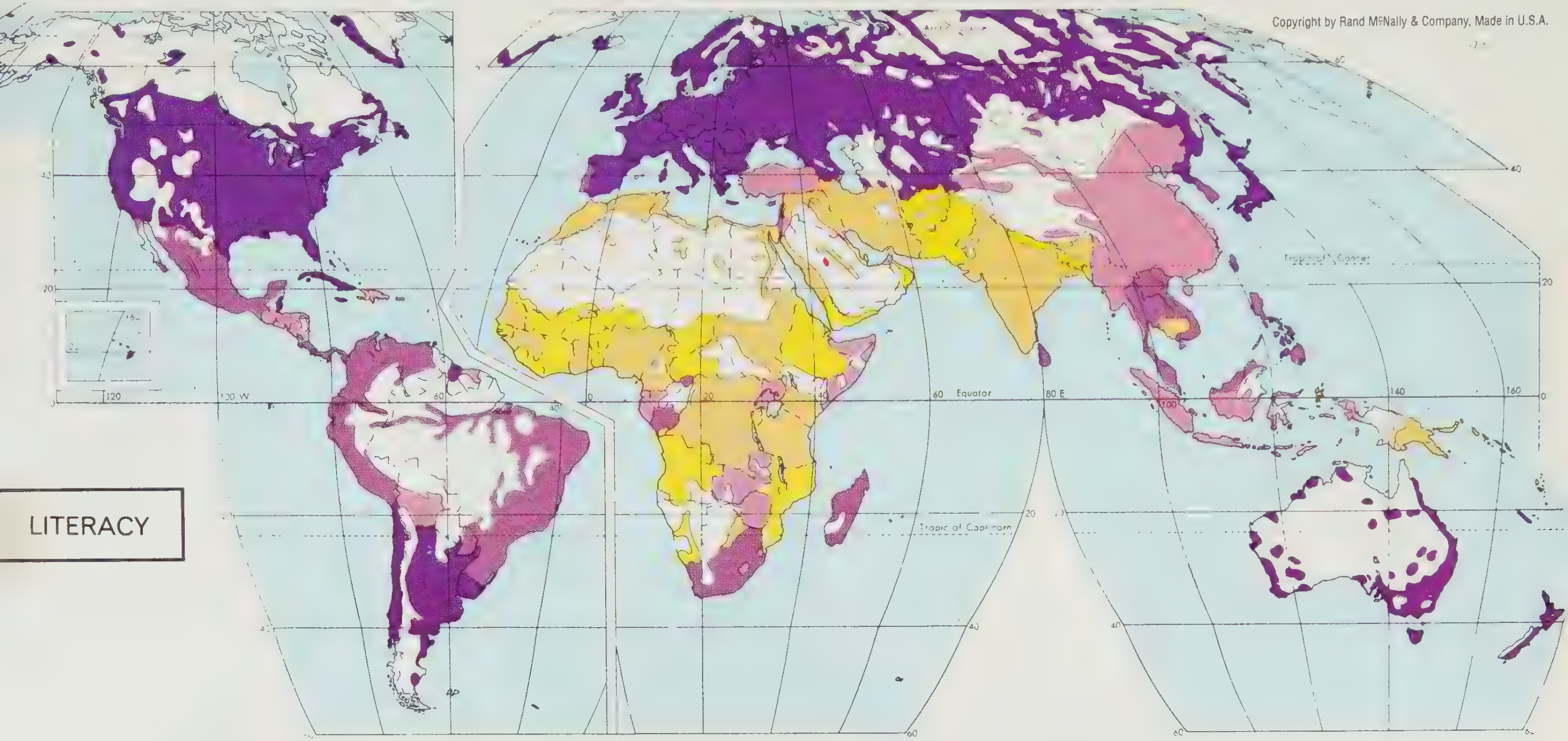
LITERACY



Literacy Rate

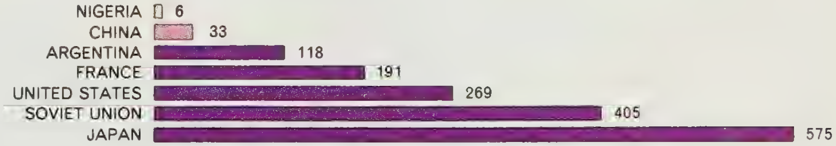
- ▨ Over 90%
- ▨ 70-90
- ▨ 50-70
- ▨ 30-50
- ▨ Under 30
- ☐ Uninhabited or sparsely populated

World Av. 69% (approx.) → 50-70

Based on population 15 years and over who can read and write

Daily Newspaper Circulation

per 1,000 population



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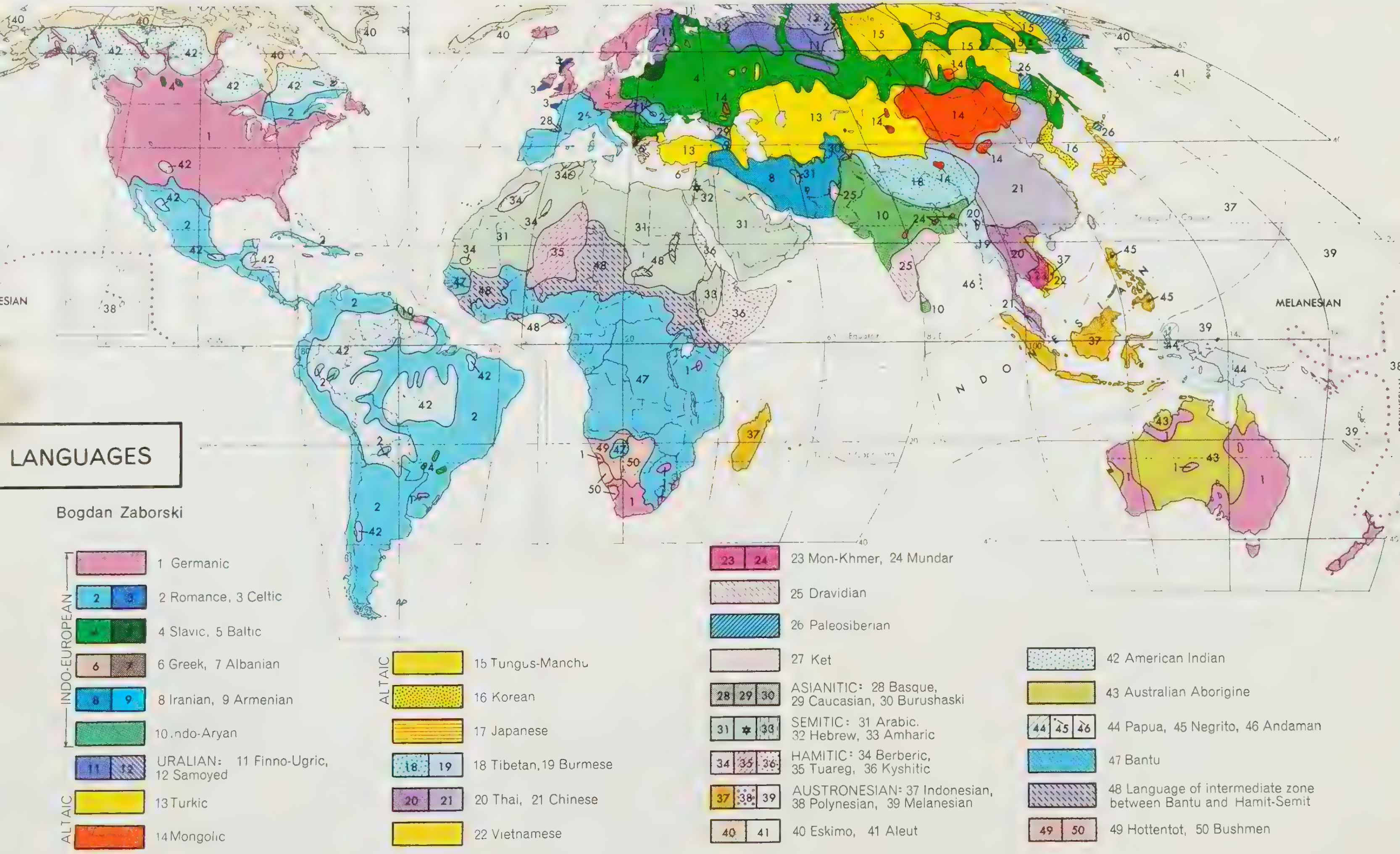
LANGUAGES

Bogdan Zaborski



RELIGIONS

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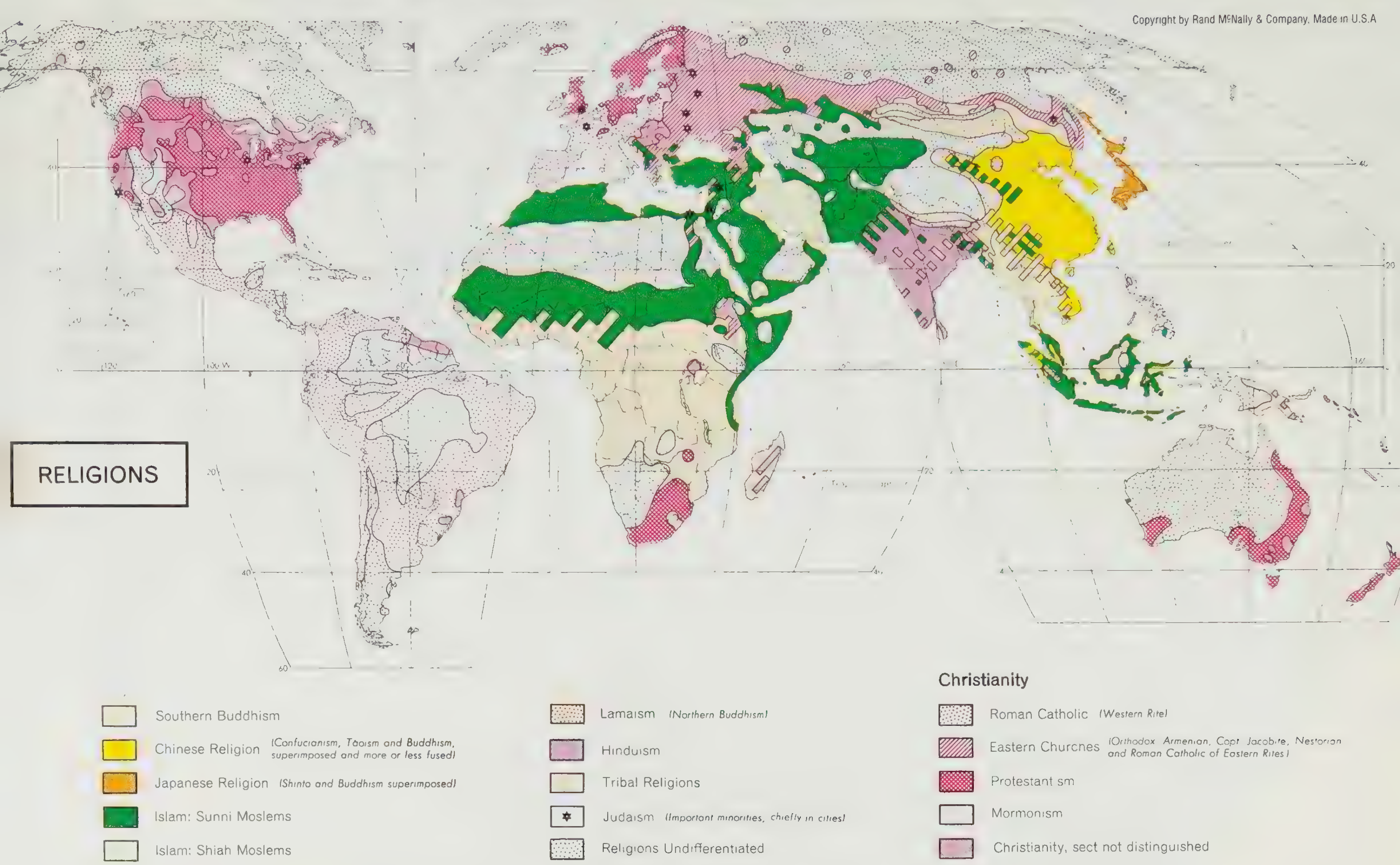
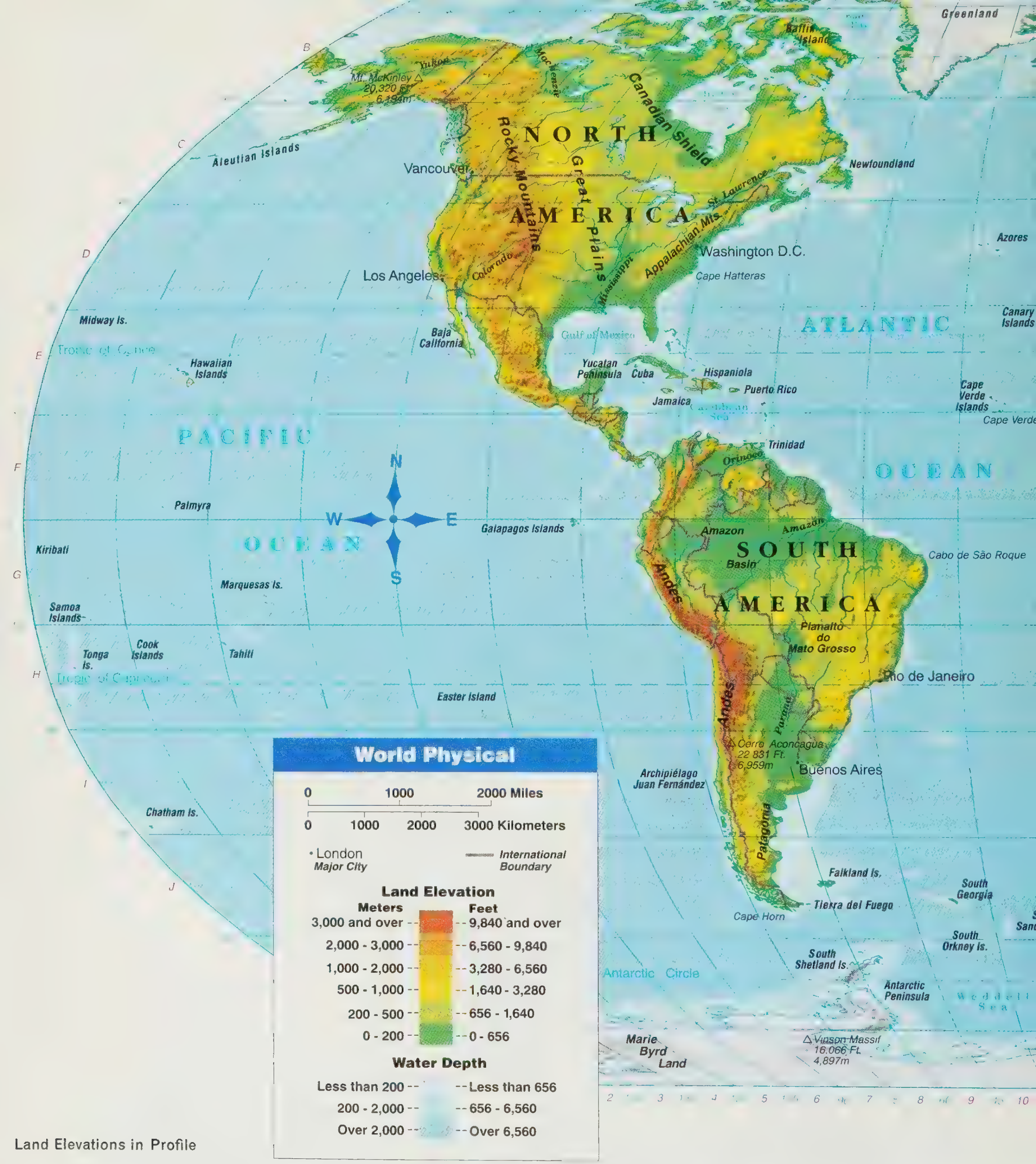
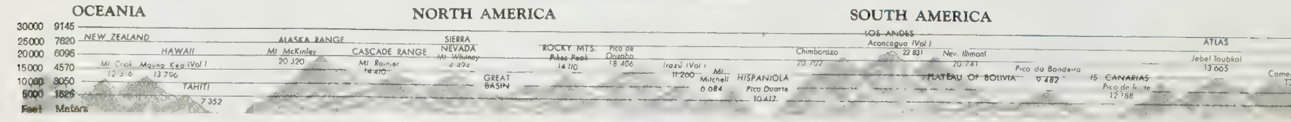

Southern Buddhism
Chinese Religion (Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, superimposed and more or less fused)
Japanese Religion (Shinto and Buddhism superimposed)
Islam: Sunni Moslems
Islam: Shiah Moslems
Lamaism (Northern Buddhism)
Hinduism
Tribal Religions
Judaism (Important minorities, chiefly in cities)
Religions Undifferentiated
Christianity
Roman Catholic (Western Rite)
Eastern Churches (Orthodox, Armenian, Copt, Jacobite, Nestorian and Roman Catholic of Eastern Rites)
Protestantism
Mormonism
Christianity, sect not distinguished
120
100 W
40
20
60
160
20
40

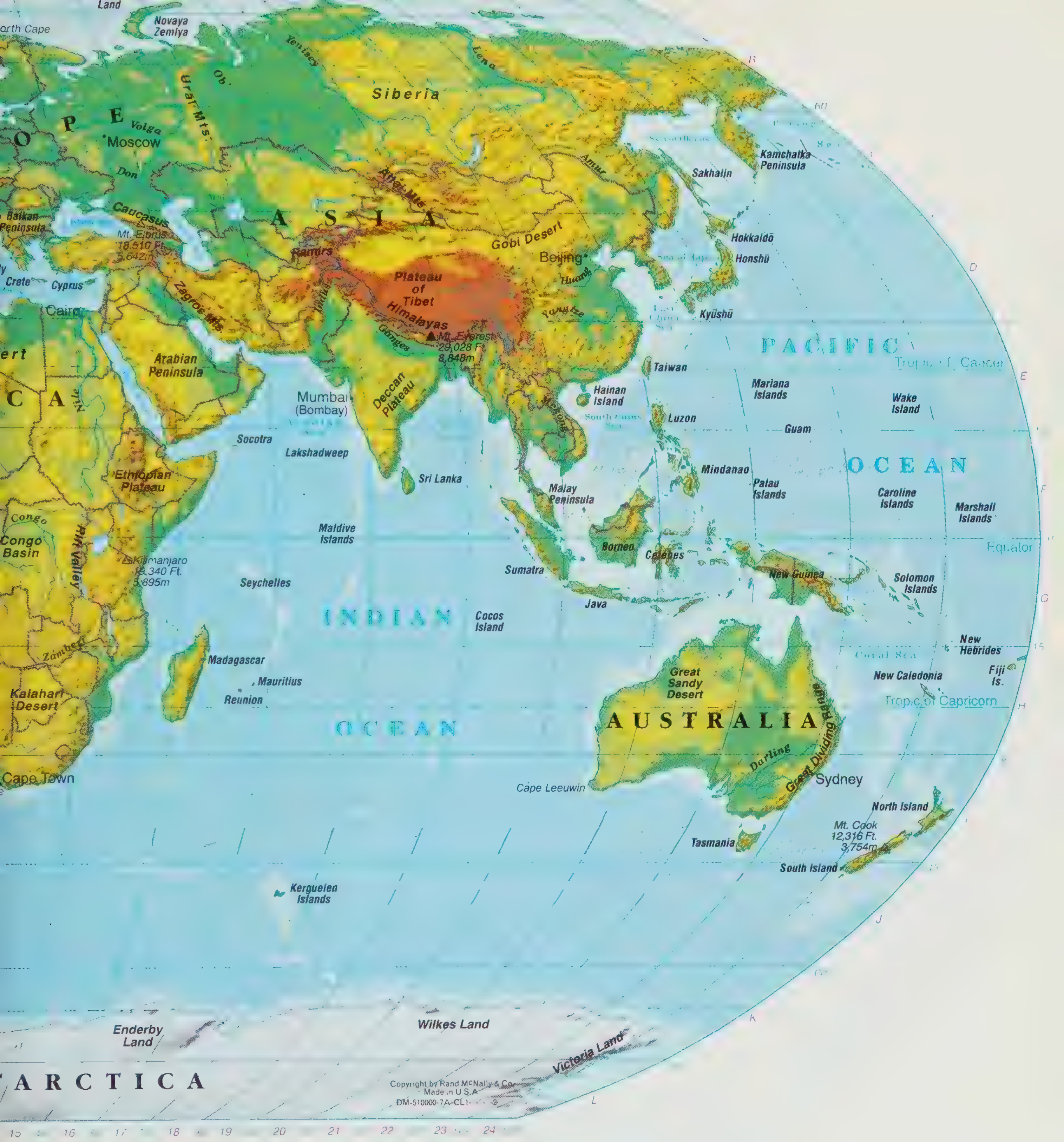
After a map compiled by the Office of the Geographer, Department of State



Land Elevations in Profile



Ocean Depths in Profile



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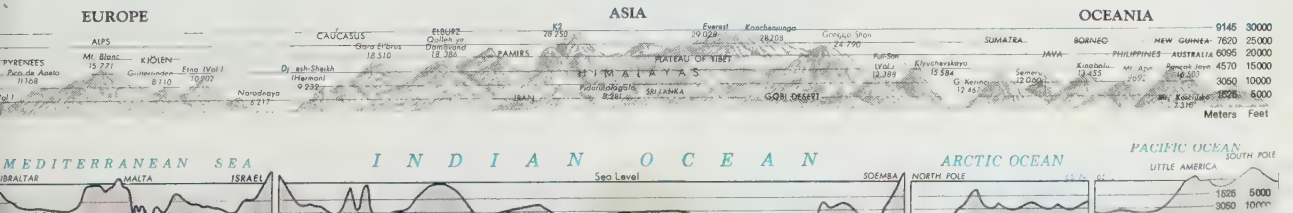

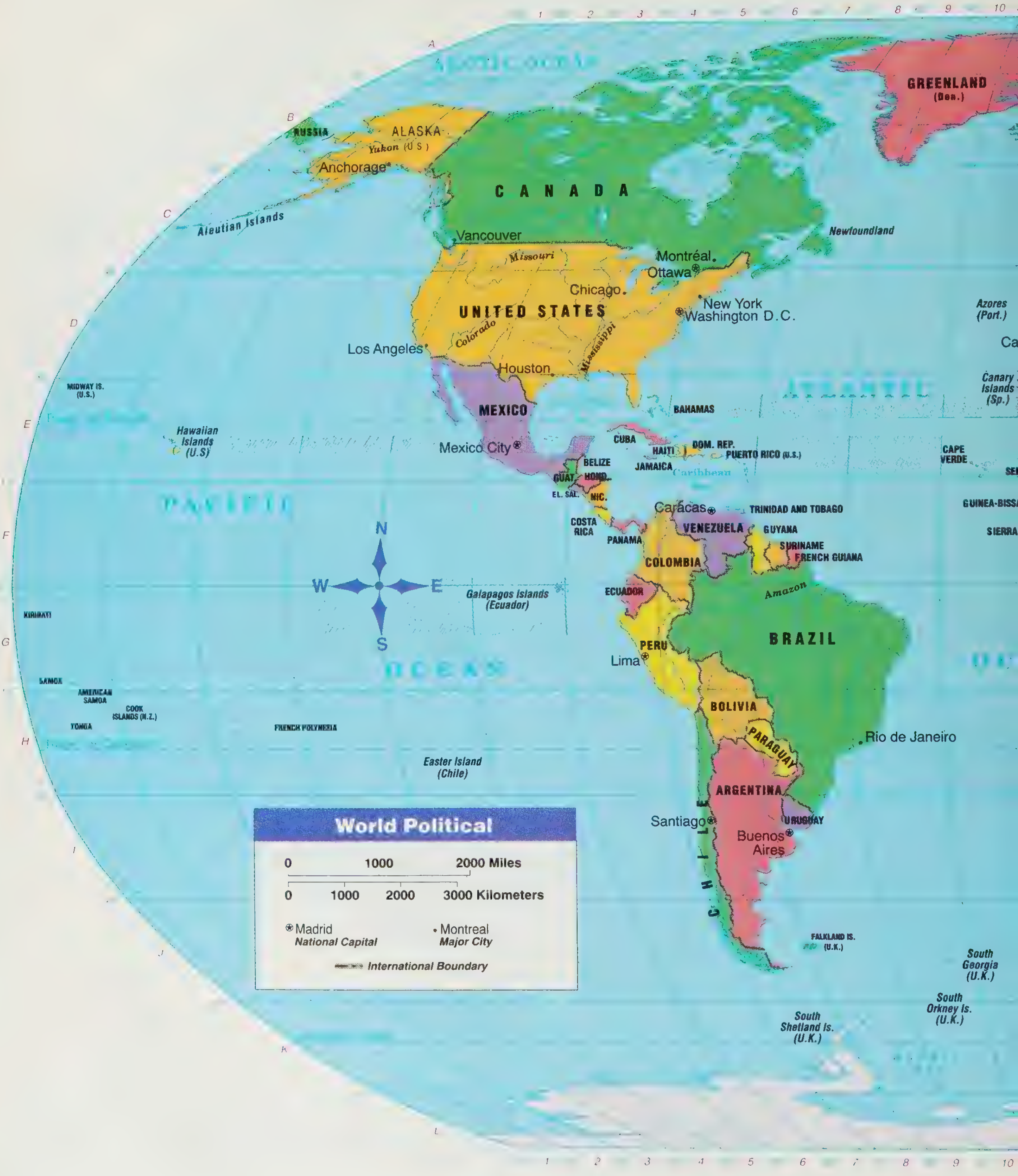
World Political
0 1000 2000 Miles
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Madrid National Capital
Montreal Major City
International Boundary
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RUSSIA
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Yukon (U.S.)
Anchorage
Aleutian Islands
CANADA
Vancouver
Newfoundland
Missouri
Montréal
Ottawa
Chicago
New York
Washington D.C.
UNITED STATES
Colorado
Mississippi
Los Angeles
Houston
Azores (Port.)
Canary Islands (Sp.)
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Hawaiian Islands (U.S.)
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Mexico City
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ATLANTIC
CUBA
HAITI
DOM. REP.
PUERTO RICO (U.S.)
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EL SAL.
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COOK ISLANDS (N.Z.)
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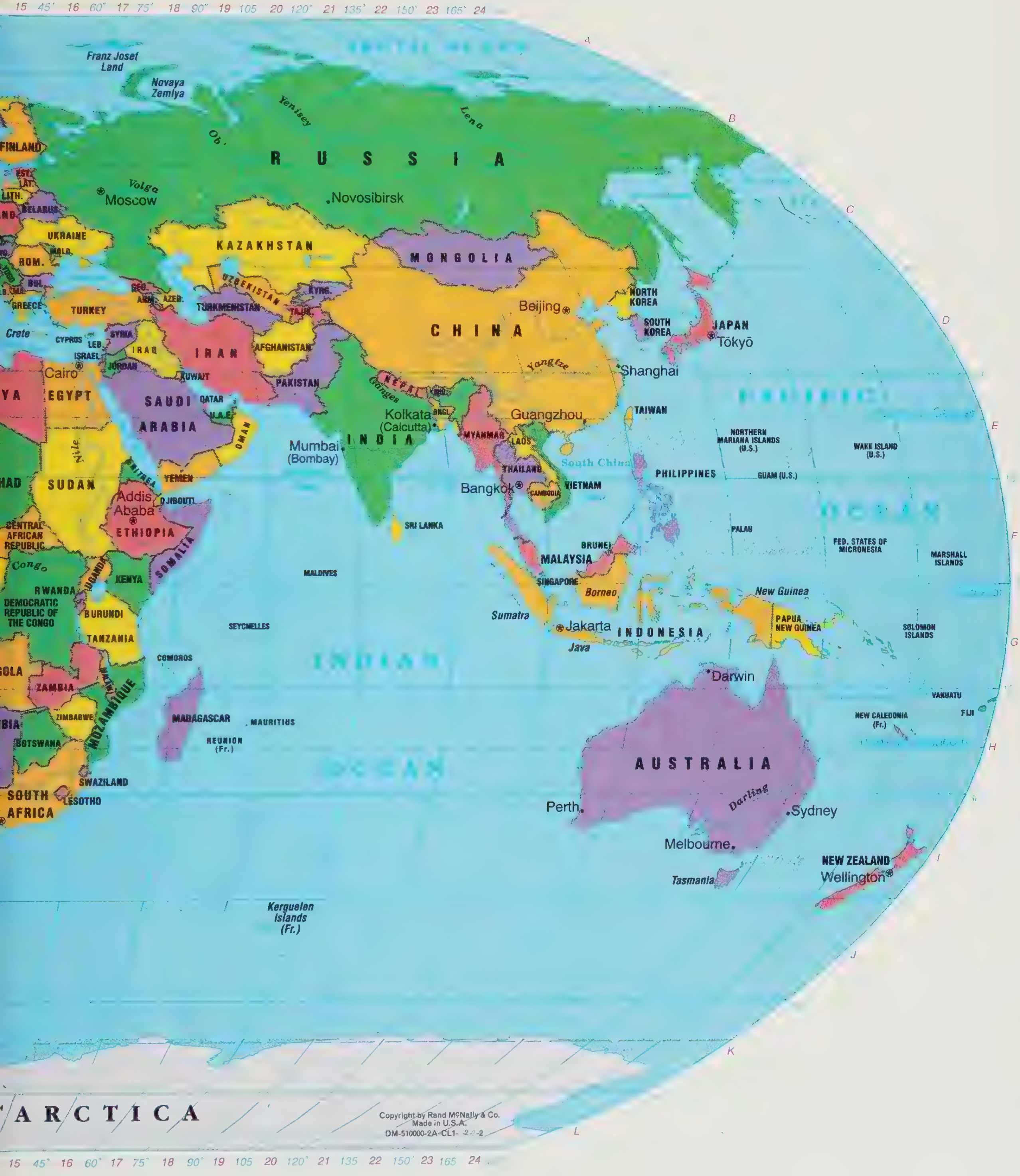
FRENCH POLYNESIA
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
Rio de Janeiro
Easter Island (Chile)
ARGENTINA
Santiago
URUGUAY
Buenos Aires
CHILE
FALKLAND IS. (U.K.)
South Georgia (U.K.)
South Orkney Is. (U.K.)
South Shetland Is. (U.K.)



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Index

The following index lists important place names appearing on the maps in the *Historical Atlas of the World*. Countries and regions are indexed to the several maps which portray their areal and political development at successive periods. In general, each index entry includes a map reference key and the page number of the map. Alternate names and spellings are added in parentheses.

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